GUIDE TO THE NT14 PLATEAU YUMANS (HAVASUPAI) FILE

[The Havasupai have been selected as the Plateau Yuman sample group. Most of the material is subheaded for Havasupai although some information has been marked for other Plateau groups. There are 14 sources in the file, all of them in English.

The basic sources are 1: Spier, 4: Smithson, and 14: Smithson and Euler. These were written by professional ethnographers, and offer general information on Havasupai culture. Considerable historical depth is present through the sources by Iliff, James, Shufeldt, Cushing and Curtis, all of which were written before Western culture had influenced the Havasupai to any extent.

The file is probably above average in coverage of material culture, economy, women's activities, and certain aspects of culture. The file is weak in information on physical anthropology, language and socialization. The file was processed between 1961 and 1968.]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August-September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ə	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *hdə́'dá*, coyote, *hdə́d'dá*, left hand; *ədáĺgá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *ədáĺgá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ţ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Southwestern tribe the comparisons do not clearly show the interrelations of this area. On the distribution maps I have entered the names of only those tribes for whom data are available.

A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* appeared when this manuscript was completed and should therefore be used for further comparisons with my material.

The long delay in the completion of this paper is due in part to a desire to include the comparative material, but in larger degree to more imperative duties which have crowded the last five years.

LESLIE SPIER.

University of Washington, July, 1928.

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

131 Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*kdəndĭshâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâti'dà, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pŏkâdespai'ĭvà, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigĭvĭlâ'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nallvehâ*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakâsa*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Moho Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Cocuino Basin about 1858.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Cocuino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Ives, *The Navajos*, 34 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mohahaves" four days' travel up the San Juan River, the site "about 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 139, 144.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *hasasáwalpa*[a], blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ká'nina*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[1] They call the Walapai *ðulgámpaya* or *guchegata*; the Yavapai, *tícahud* (enemy) or *nyáðpa*[b]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé*; the Navaho, *hua'dmá'u*; the Hopi, *móka*; the Zuñi, *sá'u'ú*; the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamókava*; the Paiute, *paiutia*; and, by my recollection, the Ute, *yáta* and the Pima, *palaya*.[2]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[3] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[4] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[5]; in 1869 there were 300[6]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[7], and Coues, 214[8];

[a] Tau Kats, (a), 300, gives Kuchaihwa or Kuchainahwa (pitch-nut people ?) as the Zuñi name.
[b] This might be etymologized as ápi, man, and hapʼpi, black, or hapá, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black man.
[1] See p. 209 for the composition of population.
[2] Coues, 243.
[3] Ives, 108.
[4] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 126.
[5] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884, XVIII.
[6] Coues, 243.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *hua* (people) of the *vasu* (blue) *hakka* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

[pp. 1-198 not processed]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [139]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 114 172 A.D. 900 and continuing until A.D. 1300, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 114 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 114 197 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 25) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is vasu´wa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasu. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai vasu´wa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axa´ in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

BY LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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Havasupai

sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterising the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterisations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realising however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognise lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

● 101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

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Havasupai ('blue or green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in N.

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HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 82, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Cosninos" roamed from the

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Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito E. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther E., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the N. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present village, composed of temporary cabins or shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. N. of Prescott and 7 m. S. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

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105 primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 253 in 1902, 174 in 1906. (H. W. H.)

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Agua Supais.—Hodge, Arizona, 168, 1877. Ah-Supai.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. Ăr'-ba-zĭ'-pai.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Walapai form). Ahasuá-pai.—Gatschet in Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 127, 1883. Ava-Supios.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 547, 1889. Avidupai.—Gatschet, op. cit., 128. Cosinos.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1868, 91, 1870. Cosninos.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Mar. 27, 1863. Co-o-si-nis.—Powell in Scribner's Mag., 213, Dec. 1875. Coshinenes.—Emory, Recon., 96, 1848 (trans. 'dirty fellows'). Coshnichenes.—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., II, 178, 1854. Cosninos.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882. Cohninos.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. Cojninos.—Stigreaves, Expedition, 15, 1858 (name by which a Havĕsdpai called himself). Cojonins.—Scott in Donaldson, Moqui Pueblo Inds., 82, 1893. Cominos.—Vargas (1682), cited by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 376, 1869. Cominos.—Browne, Apache Country, 220, 1869 (mentioned as a branch of Gila Apache). Cominos.—Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, leg. 960, 1766. Cominos.—Pumpelly, Across America and Asia, map, 1870. Cominos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 472, 1900. Cominos.—Whipple, Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt.1, 92, 1856. Cominos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900 (erroneously said to be Maricopa name for Mohave). Cuismer.—Orosco y Berra, Geografia, 89, 1864 (misquoting Garcés). Cuismos.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900. Cuismos.—Ibid., 473 (erroneously said to be applied to Mohave). Cuismos.—Ibid. (erroneously said to be applied to the Mohave). Hahaeopia.—Gibbs, MS. map of Colorado tribes, B. A. E., no. 282. Ha-ha-vasu-pai.—James, Inds. Painted Desert, 195, 199, 1903 ('people of the blue water'). Hawaspai.—Thomas, MS., no. 662, B. A. E., 1868. Havasoos Pai.—Ewing in Great Divide, 203, Dec. 1882. Ha-va-su-pai.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 374, Sept. 1882. Hava-su-pay.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 366, 1892. Havesu-pai.—Ewing, op. cit. Havisoo Pai.—Ibid. Jabesúa.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 340, 1900. Java Supais.—Baxter in Harper's Mag., June 1882. Jevesua.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 226, 1834 (misquoting Garcés). Kochaiakwe.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pinon nut people'?). Kochaikwe.—Ibid., 256. Ko'-hai'-ne.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Hopi name). Kŏhoninu.—Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, 19, 1905 (Hopi name). Kohoninu.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XVIII, 97, 1886. Kŏsinu.—Ibid., XV, 124, 1883 (Hopi name). Koy-sina'-kwe.—ten Kate, Synonymie, 7, 1884 (Zuñi name, borrowed from the Hopi). Kŭsinumu.—Ibid. (Hopi name). Kŭshaikwe.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pinon nut people'?). Kuhai kwe.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, Sept. 1882 (Zuñi name; *kwe*='people'). Ku'h-sin.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 226, 1834 (misquoting Garcés, 1776). Kŭyai-kwe.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 124, 1883 (Zuñi name). Nation of the Willows.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, 541, 1882. Navisi-pai.—Gatschet, op. cit., XV, 127, 1883 (a Walapai form). People of the Willows.—Powell in 3d Rep. B. A. E., xix, 1884. Sapais.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882 (after "Arizona Miner"). Sapios.—Hinton, Handbook to Arizona, 359, 1878. Sapis.—Orosco y Berra, Geografia, 89, 346, 1864 (erroneously given as part of Faraon Apache). Supai.—Ind. Aff. Rep.,

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lxxxi, 1886. Tonto Cocnino.—Möllhausen, Tagebuch, II, 198, 1858. Yabipais Jabesua.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 414, 1900. Yavas Supai.—*Arthur* (1882) in Ind Aff. Rep., 297, 1886. Yavipai Jabesua.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, III, 112, 1890 (after Garcés). Yavipai javesua.—Orozco y Berra, Geog., 41, 1864 (after Garcés). Yuva-Supai.—Corbusier in Am. Antiq., 276, Sept. 1886.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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Havasupai

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Ha-vesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist. 114

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai. 114

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish 114

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [349]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [33] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Ank'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 793

133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-paí a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

● 101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-paí are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-paí by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-paí have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

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The Havasupai

133 [131] The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] 487 To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor 131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an 133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

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1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

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●101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohúnina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773
197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-

144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same.

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund.

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established.

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices.

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ɛ̃ʾbɛ̃ʾdjih.

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ö?wi?gath? ǵwä (rock split apart) and ö?ih?ga^{l}č? ǵwäv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnograph is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisse, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and pifion trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

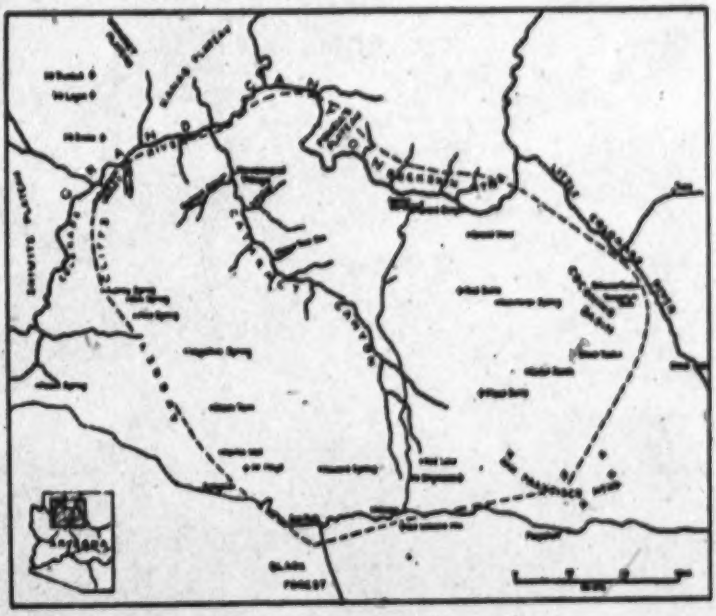

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded
731 cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[text continues on p. 94]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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The grinding slab or metate of the Pueblos is also found in Southern California and the Basin. Among the non-Pueblo peoples it is used to some extent by the Pima, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave,

[102]
[415]

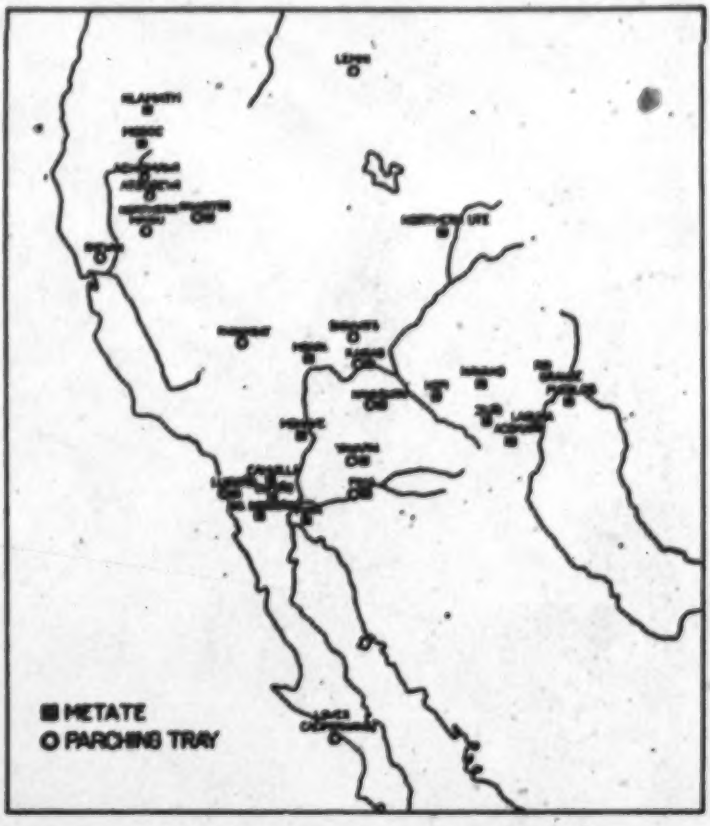

Fig. 8. Distribution of the Metate and Parching Tray.

Kaibab, Moapa, Northern Ute, Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, Yuma, and undoubtedly by others in their vicinity.[1] Most of these people, if not all, use stone or wooden

[1] Russell, (d), 99, 105; Hrdlička, (a), 44; Franciscan Fathers, 63, 219; Carbonell, 326; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921; Powell, 127; Lewis, (i), 304; Barrett (a), 288; Kroeber, (g), 44, 51, 58; Sparkman, 208; Spier, (a), 326; Trippel, 372.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

among the Klamath, Modoc, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Maidu, Pomo, Lassik, and Chemehuevi.[1] Kroeber states that the Yumans of the lower Colorado do not make basketry and his paper on Mission basket decoration does not figure conical carrying baskets.[2] Furthermore, we know

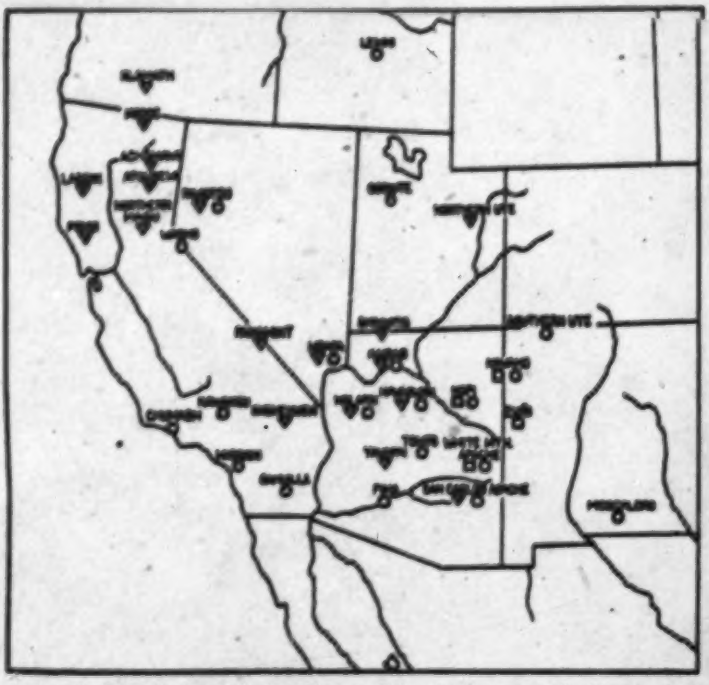

Fig. 27. Distribution of Basket Types. Triangle, denotes conical burden basket; square, rectangular burden basket; circle, biconate water bottle.

that the carrying net is used in southern California,[3] hence, we should presumably exclude all groups south of the Chemehuevi. Eastward this type is in use among the Paviotso, Ute, Kaibab, Shivwits, Moapa, and Panamint, and in Arizona among the Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, and San Carlos Apache.[4] East of this the carrying basket is different.

[1] Barrett, (a), 220; Dixon, (c), 314; (a), 180; Mason, O. T., (g), 437-439; Kroeber, (g), 42.
[2] Kroeber, (g), 54; (m).
[3] Spier, (e), 342.
[4] Lowie, (f), 233-237; Powell, 125; Dutcher, 378; Curtis, II, 99; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 196; Carbuncr, 226; Hrdlicka, (d), 424-428.

1:Spier
102, 133, 361

Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

[The map of the settlement has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

P. 392 C-1	P. 392 C-2
P. 392 C-3	P. 392 C-4

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 28. Distribution of the Sinew-Backed Bow in North America (omitting Eskimo types).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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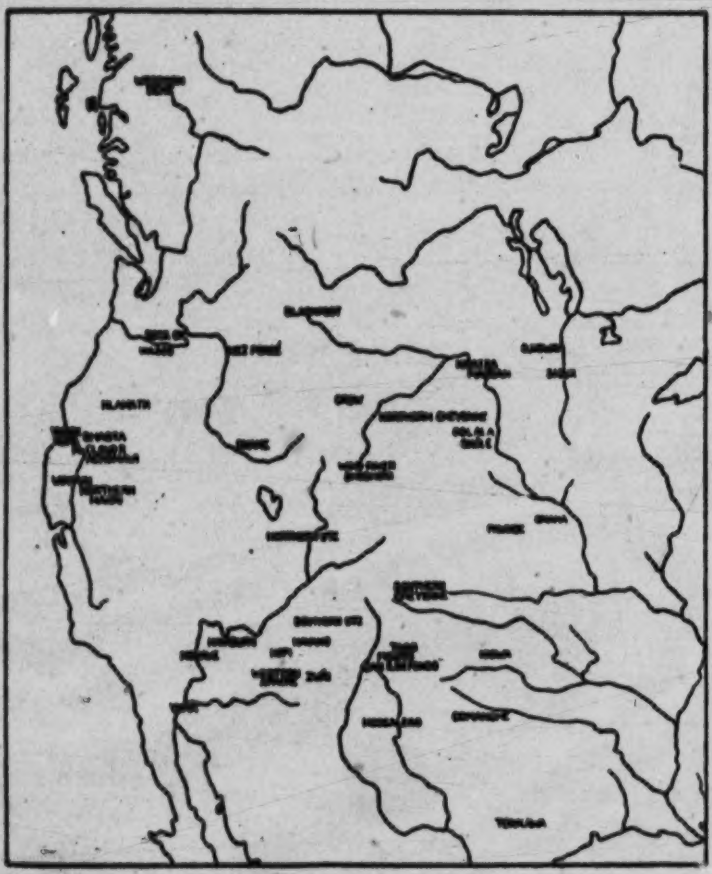

Fig. 29. The Distributionsof the Grooved Arrowshaft.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 291 301 Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apache and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

●102 171 291

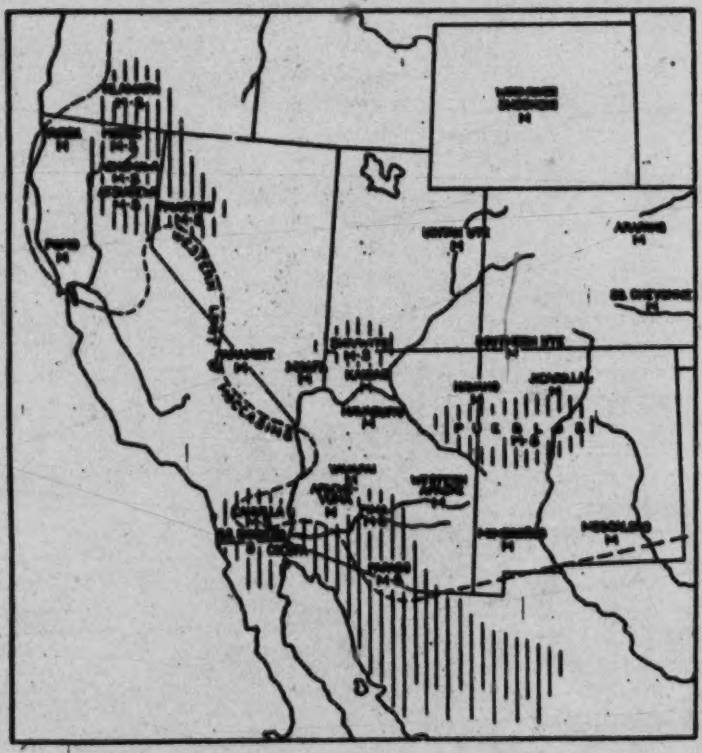

Fig. 48. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and Californian Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

171 291 [175] The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, (5), 140; St. Clair and Lowie, 279.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

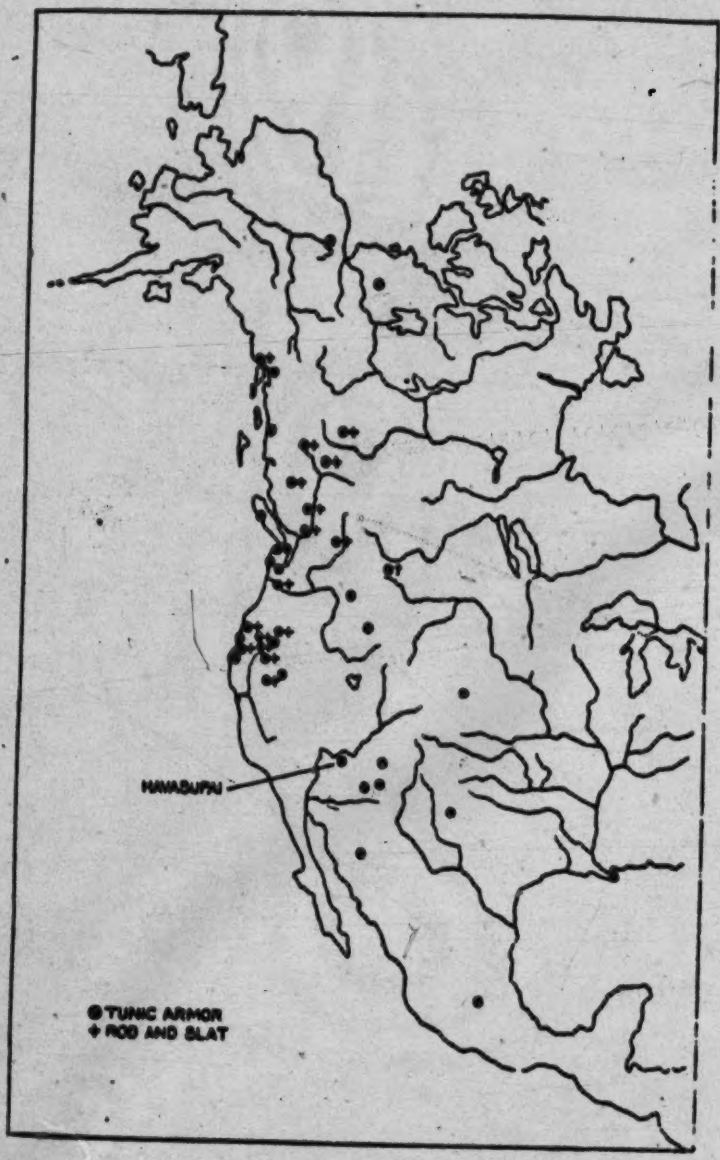

Fig. 81. Distribution of Tunic, Rod, and Slat Armor in North America.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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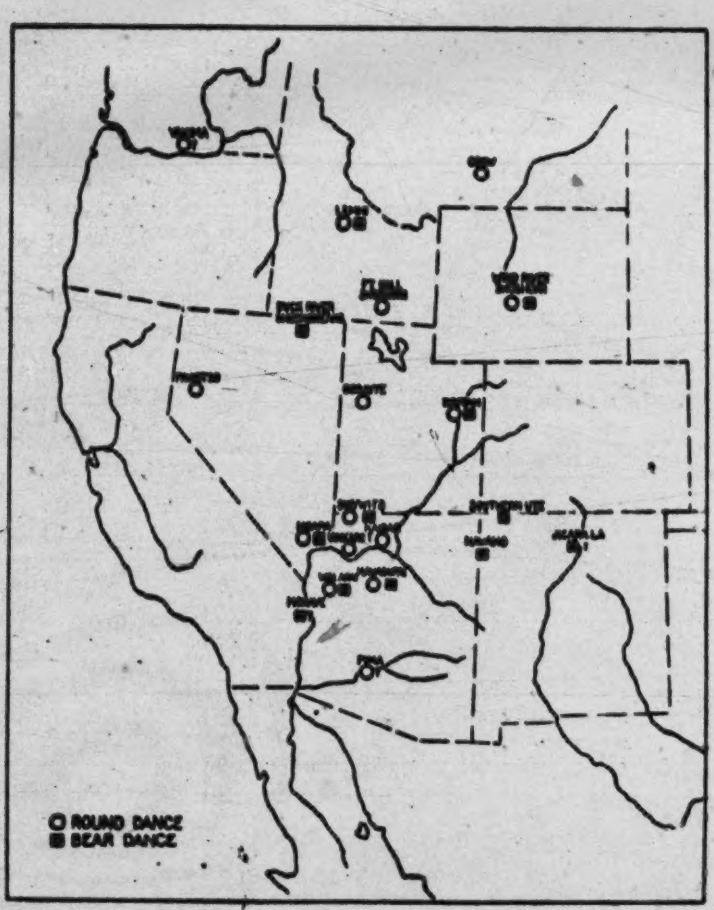

Fig. 53. Distribution of the Round and Bear or Mohave Dances.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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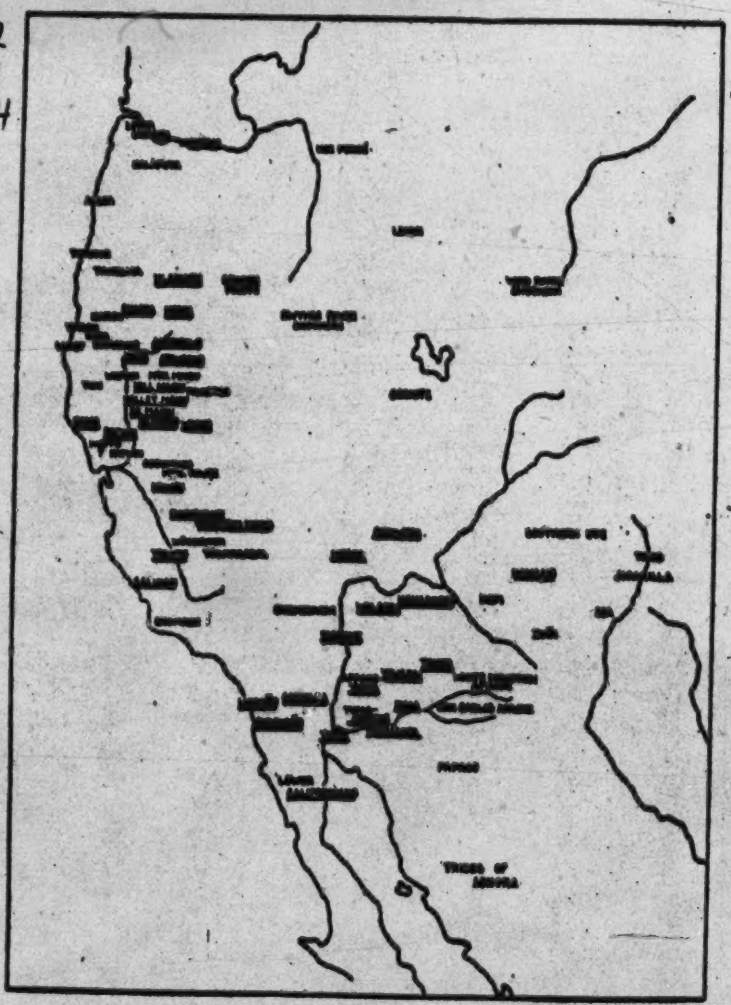

Fig. 84. Distribution of Cremation and Burial. Cremation occurs where names are underscored; cases where both practices occur (or where the evidence conflicts) are lightly underscored.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 88. Distribution of Cradles in the Southwest and Basin-Plateau Areas. Californian sitting cradle and Northwest trough form omitted.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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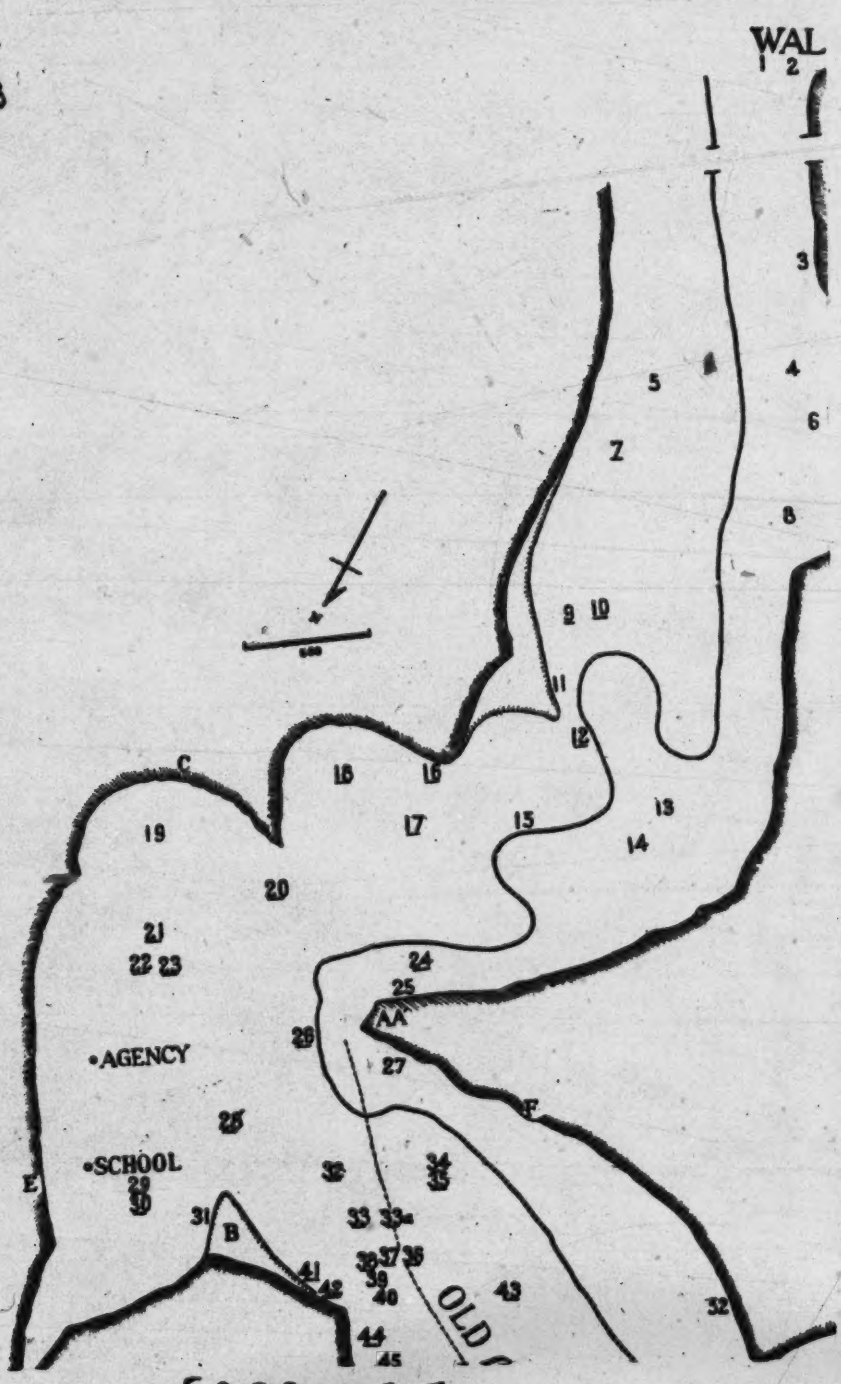

[p. 392 - C]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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[p. 392 - C-2]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

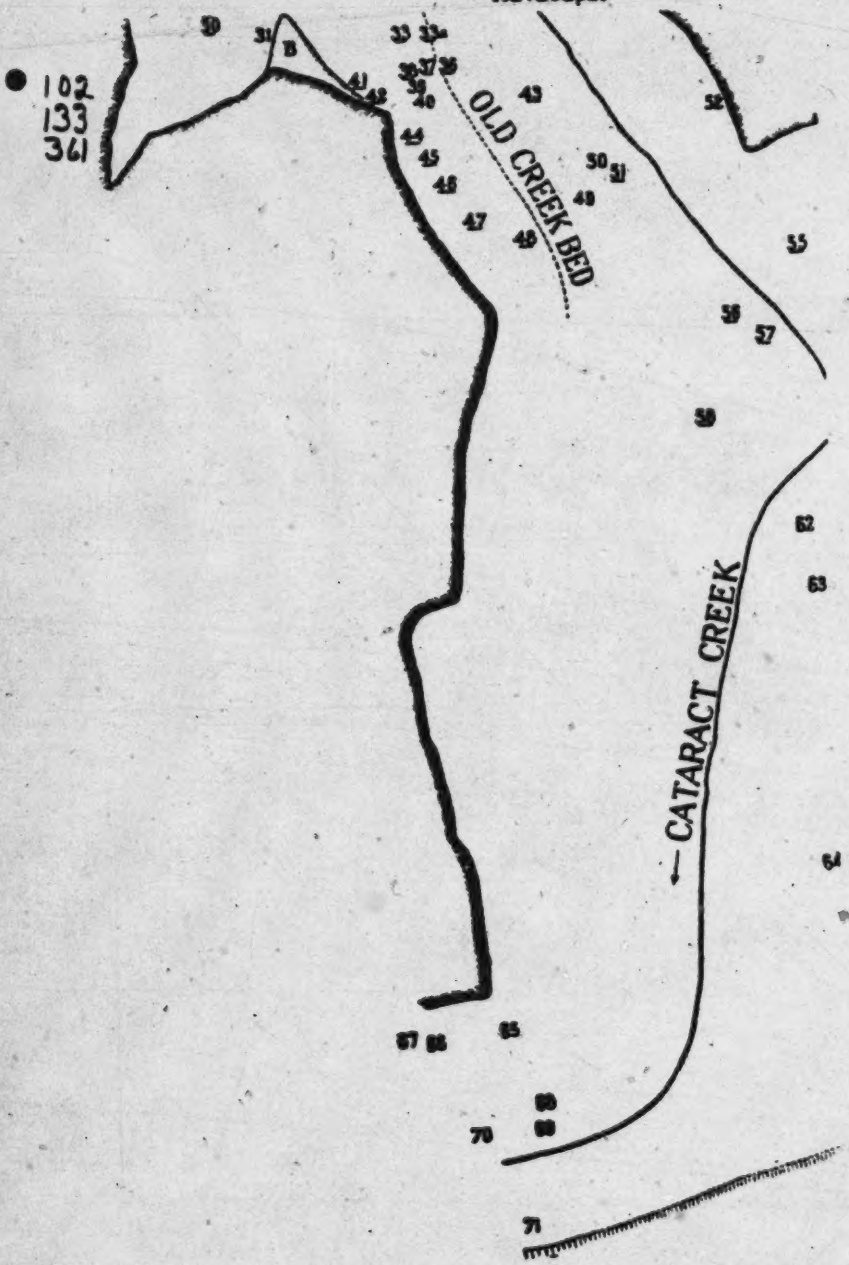

Fig. 88. Map of Camps in the Havasupai Village, Cataract

[p. 392 c-3]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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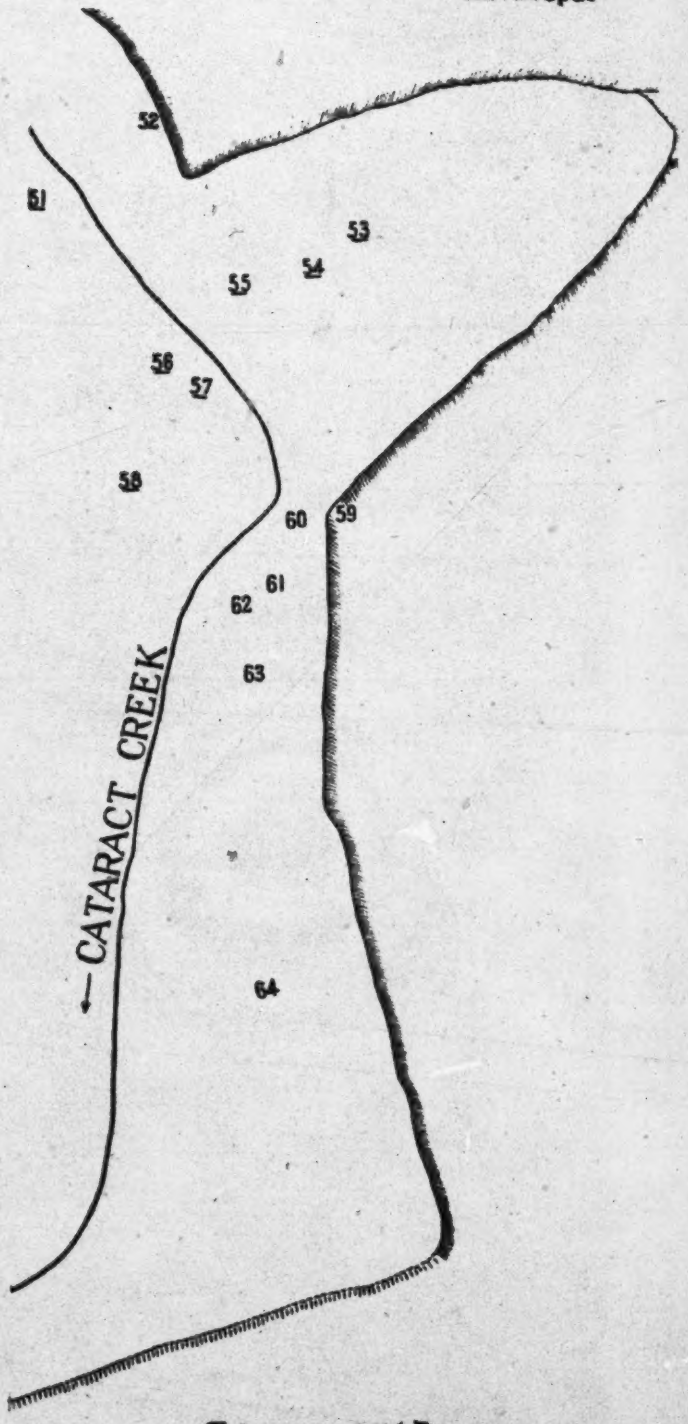

[p. 392 c-4]

the Havasupai Village, Cataract Canyon.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Pierson Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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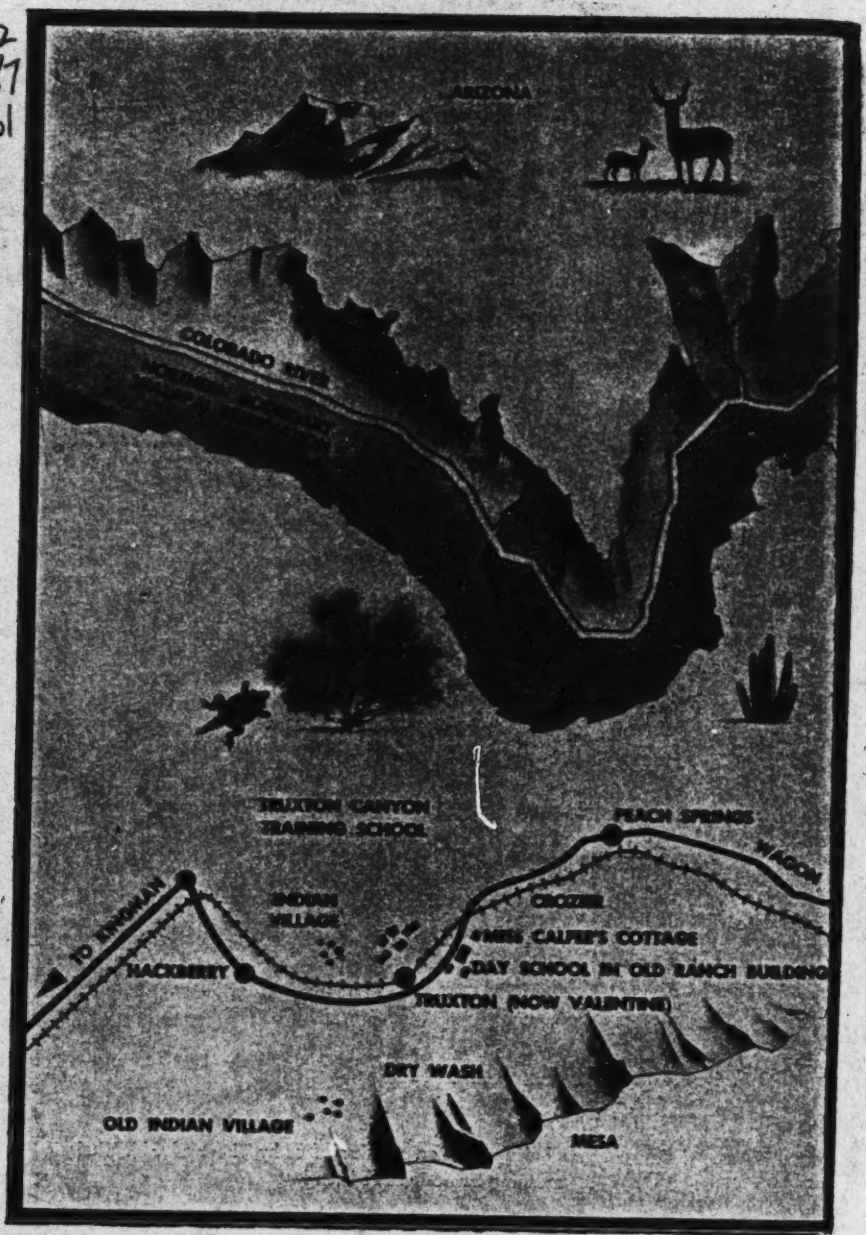

[p.116H]

2:HH Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Historic Tuweap NT14
Havasupai

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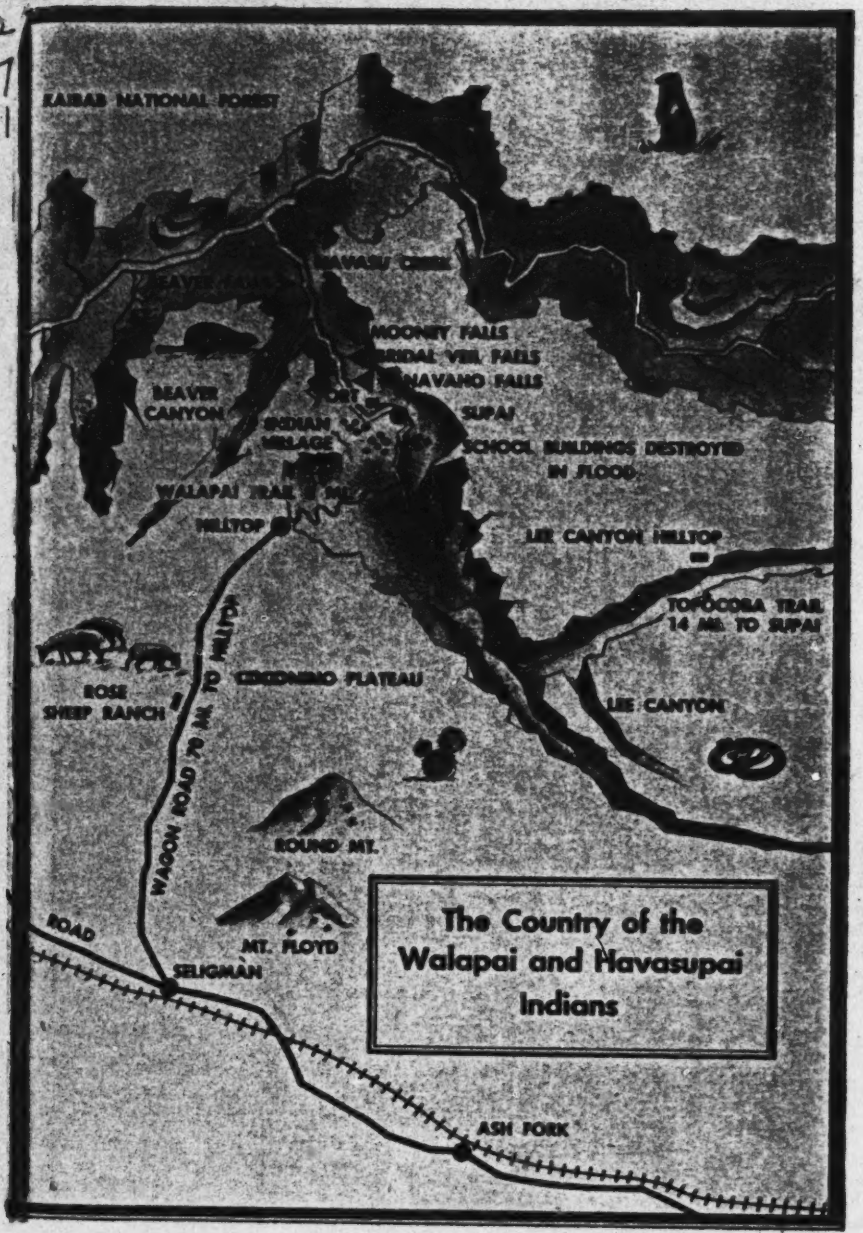

[p. 116 I]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

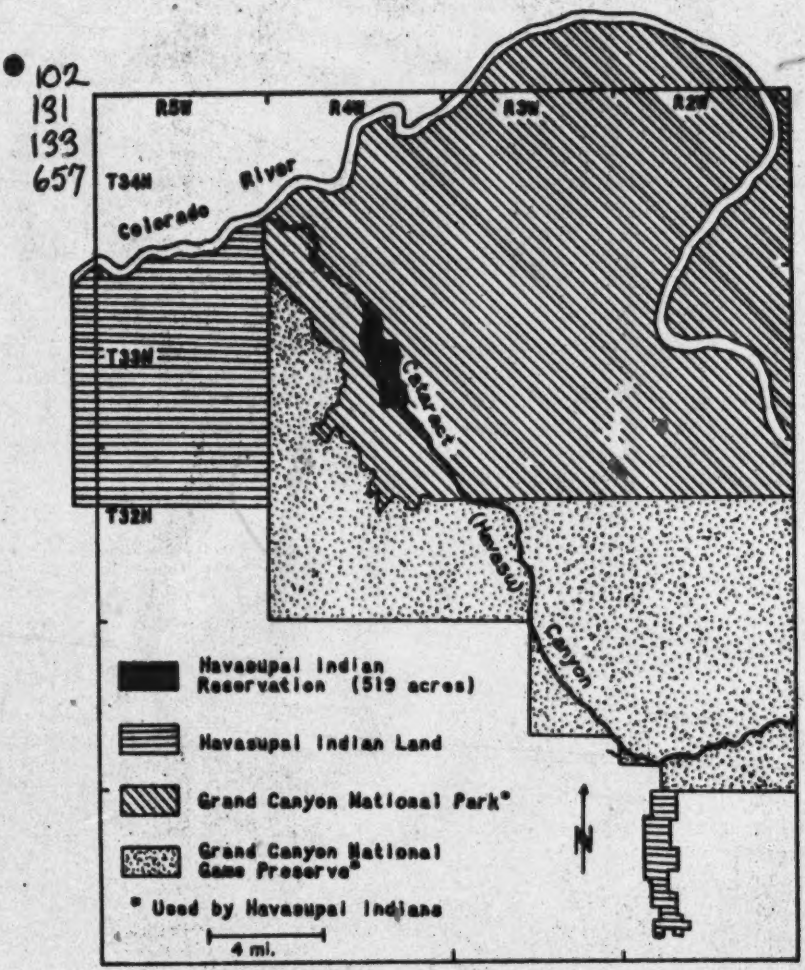

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

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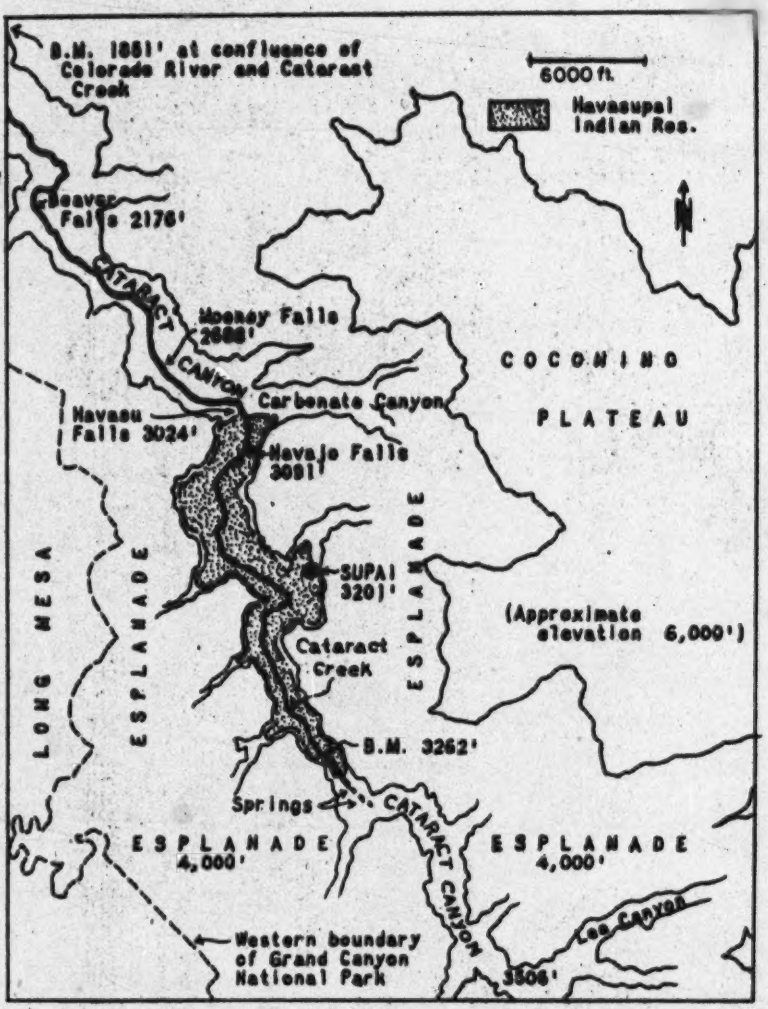

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below. 133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers. 221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasupai in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation. 241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house. 133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ɷ	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dȟá*, water, *dȟá*, cottonwood tree; *káθθ'dá*, coyote, *káθd'dá*, left hand; *θdúlgá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *θdúlgá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ʈ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously; I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterising the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterisations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realising however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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ists like the Pueblos and conduct cultivation in the same fashion, more so than the lower Colorado tribes. There is however an alternation with fall-to-spring seed- and root-gathering activities of the Basin type. The house construction of the Basin and Western Rancheria areas is similar, with the Havasupai showing something of lower Colorado and southern California forms as well. Their sweatlodge and its uses are of the type widespread in the western non-Pueblo area, the Basin, the Northwest, and the Plains. Domestic utensils are large numbers of baskets as in the Basin and in twine technique. Seed-beaters, parching trays, narrow-necked jugs, and conical burden baskets have Basin and central Californian affiliations on the whole. Pottery is specifically the Western Rancheria type, which has analogues in the southern Basin. Dress for women is the two-apron affair of California and the Basin in contrast to the Pueblo garment. Men's costumes resemble the Plains, hence may have no claim to antiquity.

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Social customs and organization are of the excessively simple Basin type. Every vestige of sibs is lacking; the family is the sole unit, with some further nucleating because of common patrilocal residence, which in turn is based on patrilineal inheritance of land. Marriage is permissibly polygamous (in contrast to strict Pueblo monogamy) and contracted by agreement. Post-nuptial residence is temporarily matrilocal as in the Basin and central California, in contrast on the one side to the matrilocal western Pueblos and on the other to patrilocal southern California. Kinship terminology is characteristically Yuman. In the readiness with which personal names are used they are unlike the generality of Southwestern and Californian peoples. In their meaningless character, or as nicknames, these resemble the Basin. The slight political structure is also of Basin type: chiefs have advisory function alone and at meetings are provided with speakers. There is none of the pluralistic leadership (hunt bosses, etc.) of Basin type, however, and their bias toward hereditary succession aligns them rather with the Californians. Tribal solidarity of the lower Colorado pattern exists, but we must not overlook that the Havasupai form but a single local group in contrast to the large tribal aggregations of that region. On the other hand

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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105 they have emphatically the peaceful disposition of the Pueblos, the Basin peoples, and California at large.

Crisis ceremonialism is absent. At birth, there is a limited couvade which connects with the Basin especially and California. Cremation aligns them with the tribes to the west rather than the Pueblos, but commemorative rites of the western region are lacking. Of adolescent rites, those for boys are lacking, as in the Basin; girls' rites and in fact menstrual customs at large are of the Californian type and the Basin, except that there is no seclusion, in which they are one with Pueblos and the Plains tribes.

The relative prominence of the shaman and the absence of organized religious rites is again an expression of an outlook basically of Basin type. Specifically, familiar spirits are possessed by shamans alone, whose power is acquired in dreams. Specialisation is minimal; weather shamans, e.g., hardly form a separate class. The absence of the vision-quest is Californian, Basin, and Southwestern; the dream source, Basin and Californian. Disease is due to a pathogenic agent, as in all neighboring areas except the lower Colorado. Pueblo religious concepts appear only in some prayer plume planting, rain producing as an indefinite aim of social dancing, and Pueblo ritualism only in some slight masked dancing.

Dances are secular and specifically of Basin type, the round (squaw) dance and the Bear dance. Ritual dances of the Pueblos are as such absent; nor is the absorption of the lower Colorado tribes in ritual without dancing duplicated here. Masks, altars, ground paintings, god impersonation, ritual chambers, organized bodies, a priesthood, are all absent; on the other hand, song cycles are also.

Their mythology is a neat blend of Western Rancheria types, those of the Colorado and southern California, with a large ingredient of Basin tales. The dying god, the emergence and deluge, the wanderings of peoples, sun- and water-conceived heroes in the forms known to Pueblos and southern Californians are compounded. Familiar Coyote tales of the Basin reappear. There is no color-direction symbolism. The pattern number is four and sometimes seven, but it figures in the tales alone. In the Basin

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable.

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos.

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain.

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors'

[P.538A]

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131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Coconino caves on
[172] the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present
361 village, composed of temporary cabins or
342 shelters of wattled canes and branches
131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai
142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and
● 105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

[P. 538 B]

● 105 primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 233 in 1902, 174 in 1905. (H. W. H.)

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Agua Supais.—Hodge, Arizona, 169, 1877. **Ah-Supai.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. **Ăk'-ha-sĕ'-pai.**—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Walapai form). **Akaxed-pai.**—Gatschet in Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 127, 1883. **Ava-Supies.**—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 547, 1889. **Avĕsĕpai.**—Gatschet, op. cit., 123. **Cesinos.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1869, 91, 1870. **Cesninos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Mar. 27, 1863. **Co-a-ai-ais.**—Powell in Scribner's Mag., 213, Dec. 1875. **Cochinesnas.**—Emory, Recon., 96, 1848 (trans. 'dirty fellows'). **Cochnichnas.**—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., II, 178, 1854. **Coconinos.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882. **Cohninos.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. **Cojninos.**—Sitgreaves, Expedition, 15, 1853 (name by which a Havĕsŭpai called himself). **Cojninos.**—Scott in Donaldson, Moquí Pueblo Inds., 52, 1893. **Cominas.**—Vargas (1692), cited by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 370, 1869. **Cominos.**—Browne, Apache Country, 290, 1869 (mentioned as a branch of Gila Apache). **Cominas.**—Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, leg. 950, 1756. **Cominos.**—Pumpelly, Across America and Asia, map, 1870. **Cominas.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 472, 1900. **Cominos.**—Whipple, Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt.1, 82, 1856. **Cuccninas.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 445, 1900 (erroneously said to be Maricopa name for Mohave). **Cuismer.**—Orosco y Berra, Geografía, 50, 1864 (misquoting Garcés). **Cuismers.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900. **Cuisninas.**—Ibid., 473 (erroneously said to be applied to Mohave). **Cuismers.**—Ibid. (erroneously said to be applied to the Mohave). **Eahasopis.**—Gibbs, MS. map of Colorado tribes, B. A. E., no. 282. **Ha-ha-vasu-pai.**—James, Inds. Painted Desert, 195, 199, 1903 ('people of the blue water'). **Havasopi.**—Thomas, MS., no. 602, B. A. E., 1858. **'Havasua Pai.**—Ewing in Great Divide, 203, Dec. 1892. **Ha-va-su-pai.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 374, Sept. 1882. **Have-su-pay.**—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 346, 1892. **Havesu-pai.**—Ewing, op. cit. **'Haviasu Pai.**—Ibid. **Jabesúa.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 340, 1900. **Java Supais.**—Baxter in Harper's Mag., June 1882. **Javesus.**—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés). **Kechnimkwe.**—ten Kate, Reisen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Piñon nut people'?). **Kechnimo.**—Ibid., 259. **Ke'-hai'-na.**—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Hopi name). **Kĕhonino.**—Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, 19, 1905 (Hopi name). **Kehninos.**—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XVIII, 97, 1886. **Kĕnino.**—Ibid., XV, 124, 1883 (Hopi name). **Kox-aina'kwe.**—ten Kate, Synonomie, 7, 1884 (Zuñi name, borrowed from the Hopi). **Kŏχniname.**—Ibid. (Hopi name). **Kŏchaikwe.**—ten Kate, Reisen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Piñon nut people'?). **Kuhai kwe.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, Sept. 1882 (Zuñi name; *kwe*='people'). **Ku'h-aia.**—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés, 1776). **Kŭχni-kus.**—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 124, 1883 (Zuñi name). **Nation of the Willows.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, 541, 1882. **Navĕsĕ-pai.**—Gatschet, op. cit., XV, 127, 1883 (a Walapai form). **People of the Willows.**—Powell in 3d Rep. B. A. E., xix, 1884. **Supais.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882 (after "Arizona Miner"). **Supies.**—Hinton, Handbook to Arizona, 353, 1878. **Supis.**—Orosco y Berra, Geografía, 50, 396, 1864 (erroneously given as part of Faraon Apache). **Suppai.**—Ind. Aff. Rep.,

1: Spier, Leslie. Havasupai Ethnography. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 24, pp. 81-408. New York, 1928.

9 maps; 2 charts; 51 illustrations; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nk10 An45e

[This account of the Havasupai is based on field work undertaken in 1918, 1919 and 1921 by the author, a trained ethnologist. It is a comprehensive monograph covering all aspects of culture with a particularly strong treatment of material culture. In addition to Havasupai materials there is considerable distributional data covering the Southwest, the Basin and Plains and California. Havasupai are compared with groups in these areas and the presence or absence of traits, their similarities, etc. are noted. The author attempts some reconstruction based on distributional evidence. A number of maps are provided which are useful in this context. --Analyst]

Field date: 1918-20
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

2: Iliff, Flora Gregg. People of the Blue Water, New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1954.

Pp. xii, 271; 23 illustrations; 1 map

Yale: C63.147j

[Only pp. 102-205, dealing with the Havasupai have been processed.]

[The material contained within this source constitutes a general account of the Havasupai Indians, written by the author during the years in which she served as a government teacher and administrator among the Havasupai. Since Iliff was not a professionally trained anthropologist, and not trained in the systematic collection of data, most of the information presented is intermixed with her personal relationships to the Havasupai Indians. Data presented in this source deal with topography, foods and food preparation, climate, marriage, mythology, shamans and curing, the Peach Dance, and relations with the "Whites."--Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1901
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Educator-5
Processed in 1960

3: James, George Wharton. The Indians of the Painted Desert Region. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1903.

Pp. xxii, 268; 40 plates.

Yale: C 63.105

[Only pages 199-264 dealing with the Havasupai have been processed for this source.]

[This source is a general account of the Havasupai people as viewed through the eyes of a traveler in the region during the early 1900's. Although the author tends towards a "journalistic" presentation of his material, there is abundant ethnographic data presenting, especially in regard to location and topography of the Havasupai region, fauna and flora, house styles, mythology, engineering works (i.e., bridges and trails), relations with the early white settlers, games and gambling, domesticated animals, activities of the young, marriage, trade, diet and food preparation, medicine men and their curing ceremonies, mourning and funeral rites, and religious dances, and beliefs in general. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1900 Evaluation: Traveler-5

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1960

4: Smithson, Carma Lee. The Havasupai Woman. Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, Anthropological Papers, No. 38. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959.

Pp. viii, 170; 19 figures in text; 2 tables.

Yale: C 52. 098. 38

[This source, which was first submitted as an M. A. thesis to the Department of Anthropology, University of Utah, was the outcome of four field trips made over a total period of five months during which the author lived among the Havasupai people. This work gives the reader a general picture of Havasupai life both as it exists today, after considerable acculturation, and as it existed in the past prior to European contacts. Much emphasis in the source is placed on the position of the Havasupai woman in the society.

The data presented herein was obtained primarily from nine informants, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years of age.

Frequent references to the works of other ethnographers who have studied

4: Smithson, Carma Lee.

the Havasupai in the past are made throughout the source, and many direct quotations are presented primarily from the works of Leslie Spier. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

NT14 Plateau Yumans
Havasupai

5: Anonymous. The Havasupai and the Hualapai. Arizona State Teachers College Bulletin, Vol. 21, No. 5, pp. 1-18. Flagstaff, 1940.

1 plate

Northwestern University: 378.05 A719 v.18 no. 5

[This source was compiled by the Writers' Program of the W. P. A. in Arizona. Only the section relating to Havasupai have been processed for the files. This section of the article provides a general account of Havasupai culture dealing with agriculture and other economic activities, diet, dwellings, utensils and tools and their manufacturing techniques, marriage and family organization, childrearing, recreation, mythology and shamanism, etc. While the article is short it covers a wide range of material and provides a surprising amount of detail. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Unknown-4, 5
Processed in 1961

NT14 Plateau Yumans
Havasupai

6. Schwartz, Douglas W. The Havasupai 600 A. D. -1955 A. D.: A Short Culture History. Plateau, Vol. 28, pp. 77-85. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Inc., Museum of Northern Arizona, 1956.

Yale: A53f 150 28-31

[This source deals with the prehistory of the area now occupied by the Havasupai. The author, an archeologist, describes 5 periods of Havasupai and pre-Havasupai history tracing the connections between the Havasupai and the earlier Cohonina culture. The major features and changes of each period are noted and the influences from neighboring cultures briefly described. --Analyst]

Field date: 1953
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Archeologist-5
Processed in 1961

7: Spier, Leslie. Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai. American Anthropologist, n. s., Vol. 31, pp. 213-222. Menasha, 1929.

Yale: NK10 Am37 II31

[In this article the author determines the cultural affiliations of the Havasupai by studying the distribution of a variety of culture traits in 6 different areas. He concludes that the Havasupai are predominantly a Basin type people who have specialized in agriculture and borrowed a number of traits directly or indirectly from other groups. There is also some theoretical discussion of the processes of borrowing and change and general problems involved in the study of culture history. The author, an ethnologist, did fieldwork among the Havasupai. --Analyst]

Field dates: 1918-1921
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluations: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

8: Service, Elman. Recent Observations on Havasupai Land Tenure. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 360-366. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1947.

HRAF copy

[This source deals primarily with property rights in land held by the Havasupai. The author, an ethnologist who did field work in this area, considers the various rights of the individual, extended family, and community to land and its produce and, in particular discusses the inheritance system. Some comments are offered on theories regarding clan formation in relation to inheritance and residence which were advocated by Spier. --Analyst]

Field date: 1946
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

NT14 Plateau Yumans
Havasupai

9: Emerick, Richard. The Havasupai, People of Cataract Canyon. Bulletin University Museum, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 32-47. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1954.

Yale: A53P. 216. 18/20

[The material in this source consists of a generalized account of some aspects of Havasupai ethnography. Much of the data in the article pertain to the topography of Cataract Canyon, the Indian trails leading into it, and the ways and means by which Havasupai society has adapted, through the process of acculturation, to European civilization. Further information contained in this source deals with house types, agriculture and irrigation, linguistic relations with other Indian groups, physical appearance, annual cycle of economic activities, foods, gambling (by women), and sweat houses and sweat bathing (by men).

The author of this article is a professional anthropologist. --Analyst]

Field date: 1953
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

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NT14 Plateau Yuman
Havasupai

10: Henshaw, H. W. Havasupai. In, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 1, pp. 537-539. New York: Pageant Books Inc., 1959.

HRAF copy

[This article gives a very brief thumb-nail sketch of Havasupai ethnography, dealing primarily with history, relations with other tribes, location, and material culture. At the end of the article appears a listing of alternate names used to refer to the Havasupai, and the sources in which these names appear.--Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1961

NT14 Plateau Yumans
Havasupai

11: Shufeldt, R. W. Some Observations on the Havesu-pai Indians. Proceedings of the United States National Museum, Vol. 14, pp. 387-390. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

2 plates

Yale: A52 66 14

[This article offers a brief review of the limited literature available on the Havasupai at the time of writing and includes short quotations from the works of Whipple, Bourke and Cushing on these people. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Physician-4
Processed in 1961

12: Cushing, Frank Hamilton. The Nation of the Willows. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 50, pp. 374, 541-559. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1882.

Yale: A89. AT 64. v. 50

[This source presents to the reader a picture of the Havasupai Indians as they existed shortly after the first European-Indian contacts. The author describes his first contact with the indians, their culture history, and the various aspects of Havasupai ethnography that he observed during the brief time that he lived in the village. Most of the information presented in the article deals with the material culture of the Havasupai, the ecological basis of their existence, the physical appearance of the people, (including clothing and ornaments), and certain aspects of social organization (pertaining to chiefs, and medicine men).

The first part of this article, pp. 362-373, has not been processed, because it deals with the details of the author's trip to the Havasupai.

The author, an anthropologist, was until his death, a member of the Smithsonian Institution. --Analyst]

Field date: 1881 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1961

NT14 Plateau Yumans
Havasupai

13: Curtis, Edward S. The Havasupai. The North American Indians, Vol. 2, pp. 97-102 [HRAF pagination 1-6]. Cambridge, 1908.

Yale: Western Americana Collection

[This article, written by a specialist in American Indian ethnology, is a succinct account of the Havasupai as they existed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Data presented in this article pertain to topography, trails, mythology, population statistics, houses, foods and food preparation, clothing, basketry, chieftainship, marriage, inheritance, and medicine men.

This source has been typed since the original book itself is not available for photo-reproduction. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1961

14: Smithson, Carma Lee and Robert C. Euler. Havasupai Religion and Mythology. Foreword by Jesse D. Jennings, Preface by R. C. Euler. University of Utah, Anthropological Papers, No. 68. Salt Lake City, 1964.

Pp. viii, 112; bibliography.

Yale: CE51 .U83 68. DLC: E51.U8 No. 68. DLC card no.: 64- 64214.

[This source was originally intended to be a detailed study of Havasupai religion and mythology, which prior to that time had been covered generally but not intensively by such authors as Kroeber and Spier. With this intent in mind Smithson made several field trips to the Havasupai between the years 1951-1958 collecting data from a number of native informants. These data, however, were never compiled by the author, for in 1961 she died from an incurable disease leaving her notes to R. C. Euler for completion. He, who was allowed to use the remainder of the grant originally awarded to Smithson by the University of Utah, visited the Havasupai in 1962 for the purpose of verifying portions of the notes with his informants, and eventually organized the notes into their present form. (See foreword and preface for a more detailed account of the above.)

In general the work deals with Havasupai religion in terms of cosmology, spirits and sacred places, eschatology and concepts of the soul, dreams and their meanings, shamans and shamanistic curing, ideas about disease and illness, forms of medicinal therapy including the use of the sweathouse, and finally death and funeral customs. Mythology is presented in the form of 26 folk-tales.]

Field date: 1951-1958, 1962
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologists-5
Processed in 1966

Schwartz, Douglas W. Culture Area and Time Depth: the Four Worlds of the Havasupai. American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, pp. 1060-1070, Menasha: 1939.

Hraf copy

[This article is largely theoretical, dealing with methods of determining the cultural relationships of the Havasupai. No new data are included. -- Analyst]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following abbreviations are used.

AA	American Anthropologist
BBAE	Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology
BAMNH	Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
Mem AMNH	Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History
Pa AMNH	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Proc USNM	Proceedings of the United States National Museum
RBAE	Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology
R Smithson	Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution
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252 262 A hole is made in this carbonized surface to let out the steam, and, when cold, the fruit is eaten as a great delicacy. I have often eaten and enjoyed it, though it has a sickish-sweet vegetable taste that at first is somewhat unpleasant. The pinion nut, sunflower and squash seeds are also regarded as delicacies. Practice has made the Havasupais dexterous in eating these husk-covered seeds. The novice finds it a wearisome task to hull them, but the expert throws a handful of seeds into his mouth, cracks the shells, and by skilful manipulation eats the nuts on one side of his mouth and expels the shells on the other. When I can do this I shall make a meal on pinion nuts, as they are of exquisitely sweet and delicious flavor.

Sunflower seeds, squash seeds, and a variety of wild grass seeds and corn are parched by the women by placing them in saucer-shaped baskets — or kü-üs' — with hot ashes, and then tossing them up and down and to and fro until sufficiently cooked. The seeds are then scooped out with the fingers, and ground on a slab of basaltic rock, by rubbing one stone over the other. On the occasion of one of my visits, when I was the guest of Chickapanagie, I made the accompanying photograph of his wife as she thus parched corn in a basket. It was the placing of a covering of clay inside the kü-ü, to prevent its burning, that led Frank Cushing to the belief that here was the explanation of the origin of pottery.[1]

Green squash is cooked after being hacked into pieces in an apparently reckless but most effective manner. With the squash in one hand, the woman takes a large

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[1] See chapter "Basketry the Mother of Pottery," in "Indian Basketry," by George Wharton James.

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

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106 primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground 657 of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy 161 a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 233 in 1902, 174 in 1905. (H. W. H.)

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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Canon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Navajilla, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Chevkapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	á	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ə	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *hâ'dá*, coyote, *hâ'dá*, left hand; *dǎlpá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *dălpá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855. 101 [133]

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1] 174 648

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Hrdlička observes that 114 174 131 [101]

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Lloyd, *The Navajos*, 54 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Nabahoes" four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 130, 141.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the *Uckayágat*, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Picacho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them.[5] In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[6] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 326. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1889*, I, 84.
[2] Bandelier, (a), I, 109.
[3] Sitgreaves, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16; Cosnu, 222.
[4] Whipple, 32. He saw Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whence they were said to range to the junction of the Rio Virgen with the Colorado.
[5] Beale, 45, 49, 54, 64, 67, 68, 70.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

[1] Ibid, 79, 80, 82. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's dromedaries had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 119. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. c).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

> I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyd'dj*) is not planted deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*husdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

mĕdjpák	teyădjmehâna	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[1] Coues, 344. A later statement (436), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Hayuxupai had less than the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 330, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 178–179).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*ñnaid*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2-1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gitsil*[4] (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pimas.[4] When desired for use they are soaked in water. [171] All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[5] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*dji'nsid*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (a), 330. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake in natural since the ball of mineral tissue which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai case, has been widely quoted, (b), 464-497. [164]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Gilmore, Pls. 15.

[5] Double, single, or two-rod foundations are never used.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (50.2-1663, 1664). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. *a*, Beginning of twine stitch; *b*, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made 285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's 531 claw (*hulī'k*^{a}). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long, [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her older sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[1] Mason misinterprets his Plate 200, (b), also 687: the undivided face is not the interior.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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285 direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the
531 top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c-d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

285 While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direc-
[171] tion of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes.
[114] These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

285 The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets
531 are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[171] [1] This stitch is used as a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one from the Aztec ruin and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, (i), T., (b), 276, Fig. 87. Compare Matthews, (1), 203.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Wissler, (z), 404–501; Kroeber, (g), 49–51.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*dmdl'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamdkwi'dipd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] A Havasupai man's sole specialised product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, [439] another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Undoubtedly the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins (*ib.*, 555). [114] I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Hulnish or hula'-chum (3 stars) (Orion)	Mu or emu, mountain sheep (Orion)	Amu, mountain sheep (3 stars)	A-mau (3 stars) (Great Bear)	Amo, mountain sheep (3 stars) (Orion)	Mn-'u, mountain sheep (Orion's belt)

171
821

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand+to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest

[805]

Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cĭlák (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-ma, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavish, buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

[114]

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cĭlák* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure

[805]

[1] Handbook, 382.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified.

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*aʻwaʻdelgá*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:—

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kápdáʻdtátópígá*, "It is hard to say."

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdamddjígá*, *gwétdámáʻdjígá*, cf. *amdgá*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin.

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues reporting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare—is it too obvious?—leaving the field to the fulminations of the armchair-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 370.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 344, footnote.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks.

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring.

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place.

[1] Culin, (b), 332–342.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 259.
[3] Lowie, (b), 58.
[4] The Navaho and Kwakiutl hiding game in which four men are given four grooves shows how the same pattern has combined in a different form (Culin, (b), 376).
[5] Kroeber, (b), 376.

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3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *ɲai* (people) of the *vuuw* (blue) *ʔaʔa* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

[pp. 1-198 not processed]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

papers, resulted from his field work in 1918, 1919, and 1921. My debt to Professor Spier will be self-evident to Southwestern scholars.

No attempt has been made to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task, since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier is cited where his monograph includes material not in my notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observations differ in any degree from mine or that a culture change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar example, and where Spier is directly quoted. In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhaustive search of literature, most of which is not indexed), only one example from Spier or other sources is cited, although additional references to the subject may occur in a publication.

I wish to express my appreciation for assistance received from the University of Utah Research Fund. It made possible much of the field work on which the present publication is based.

I am indebted also to my husband, Harold Murray Smithson, who financed my first and fourth field trips.

Members of my thesis committee were generous in their efforts to evaluate and to improve the original paper. They include Professors Elmer R. Smith, chairman, and Henry Frost and Robert Anderson, committee members. Professors E. Adamson Hoebel and Edward Norbeck also acted for a time as committee members.

Many individuals have given me encouragement and invaluable assistance. My friend, Lois Snider, now Mrs. Lee Fetzer, shared the problems and inconveniences of the initial field venture. Verne B. Brown, author and professor emeritus of Santa Monica College, observed and took an interest in my field study. I owe to Mr. Brown a special debt, for at a time of difficult decision, it was he who urged that I apply for a fellowship and complete the Havasupai project.

Others who have assisted in ways too numerous to be described here are the following: Laetitia Viele, Episcopal missionary; David and Muriel Chambers, missionaries of the Supai Bible Mission; Marian and Victor Collins, former day school teacher and present resident agent, respectively; Mr. and Mrs. Olaf Barnard, former resident agent and day school teacher, respectively; Austin F. Ladd, assistant superintendent, Truxton Canon Agency, Valentine, Arizona; and Asahel Perry, extension agent, Valentine, Arizona.

101 A.D. 900 and continuing until A.D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so
● 114 far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although
172 Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai
114 and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai,
114 form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family.
197 Havasupai and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 28) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasu'wa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasu. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasu'wa and in Maricopa xavacu while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axe in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 51) suggests the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were in restricted

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1938 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 171

When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
[941] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

881 A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual
84 taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt un-
concern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting
[177] of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed
by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, al-
though not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted pen-
alties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural
183 patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior ap-
proximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns.
Thus, a casual attitude toward underviating observance of menstrual and
other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly
dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Hava-
[114] supai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your
remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very
just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism
and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

981 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's
182 impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony
is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Per-
haps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not
mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of
a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about
the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the
Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association
with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public
character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 338) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[641] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the
[177] same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 338) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

291 ship period.
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●[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration con-
[301] sisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 189) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[445] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumieka, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Hava-supai.

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1885, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582-585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her bogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 14 582

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two dis-
584 tinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter.
[583] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

592 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1880-14 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 33 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1959 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five [594] of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

592 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of
[114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 282-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [771] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 146) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [474]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[1176] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[394] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also. Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1937) records
[134] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[821] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1960, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back, Spier (1928, 137) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black stripe from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the stripe being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 153) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 139-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chlorides. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [174]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776 when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the owner's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, as they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cien*

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Havasupai

the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wascoguma family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory.

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai.

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches.

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254).

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Anh'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191).

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the [17] Pueblan Indians.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
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FOREWORD

by

Jesse D. Jennings

Carma Lee Smithson was an ambitious woman, single-minded in her interest in anthropology. As a student she was interested in all the subfields, but in research her concern was only with the living. She selected the Havasupai as the aboriginal group she wished to know. Her sympathy with the Havasupai was recognized by the tribe. Its members proffered such respect and trust that Carma Lee had continuous good rapport as she pursued detailed study of the culture. The professional reception of her Havasupai Woman monograph, of which the tribe fully approved, led her to undertake this record of religious beliefs.

This material is woefully incomplete. The field work was never finished because Carma Lee fell prey to an illness finally diagnosed as lymphosarcoma, to which she succumbed in 1961. Work on this project really never got fully underway. She was able to visit the tribe for only brief periods after 1958. Late in her illness, she arranged a rendezvous with informants at Flagstaff because the journey down into their canyon home-land was then beyond her strength. On this occasion, her informants did not appear and she returned to Salt Lake City having accomplished nothing. It is a measure of her interest in the Havasupai and of her devotion to science that when it was evident she could not finish the task, she requested that her notes be made available to Robert C. Euler.

My own role in the Havasupai studies has been very limited. Aside from encouragement and the raising of funds, I took no part. I most appreciatively acknowledge the patience shown by the University of Utah Research Committee during Smithson's long illness when no progress was being made toward completion and, later, in leaving the unused grant funds available so that Euler could re-visit the tribe in 1962.

In publishing these incomplete notes on religion and mythology, I feel that we are not only adding something to the data of Southwestern anthropology, but are paying respect to Smithson's dedication as well.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
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PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same. 101

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. 114

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established. 122 128 115

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices. 114 115

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755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
● [114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village] .

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
● [114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?] . Later, the Havasupai [535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

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[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

[114] ●

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

[177]

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[502]

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

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*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [825] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [226] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

#539 The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [823] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai village. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ɷ	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dȁd*, water, *dȃd*, cottonwood tree; *kdθ̌d'dá*, coyote, *kdθ̌d'dȁ*, left hand; θdálɣd a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), θdálɣd, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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601 *winyégà* son's wife, wife of all relatives except as noted elsewhere
pahamí'ligà husband of all relatives except as noted, wife's brother or her grandparents[1]

I am doubtful regarding the application of some terms. Sinyella did not know what a woman's female cross-cousin's children should be called, nor the terms for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's children. He said the latter would just be recognized as relatives. Djerdwaimo gave *nofligà* for a woman's male parallel-cousin's child, *migà* for the son, and *pofigo* for the daughter of her female parallel-cousin; but I think she is mistaken. Probably she did not understand the question. She did not know what her daughter Helen would call Pete's grandchildren if he had any, i.e., Helen's father's younger half-brother's grandchildren (see the genealogical chart).

There are no terms for a husband's brother or sister, nor their spouses, nor for a wife's sister or her husband, nor a wife's brother's wife, nor for a husband's parents, nor a child's parents-in-law. There are no terms for step-parents; they are not called by parent terms, because "we are afraid, for the father and mother are dead." Half-brothers and sisters are called brothers and sisters.

[551] References to dead relatives are by the relationships they bear to the living, as Manakadja's father. The form *panyá'atatéldj*, my father now dead, was recorded.

The reciprocal of *kotigà* is said to be *nagofligà*, but other terms are given for the reciprocal relationships. The word *gdidjigà* may mean relative in general, as *Inydnyan,tkddjddj*, Sun, my relative, occurring in a prayer.[2] In a myth, "Wolf, my father" was recorded as *hatágwil n,anddda*, said to be an obsolete term; son-in-law, *ginyégo*, was also recorded as *ginyígà*.

601 124 [115] These meanings were checked at the hand of genealogical data given by Mark Hanna, his sister Susie, his nephew Jess Checkapanyega, and Jess's mother, Djerdwaimo. A record was made of the terms used by Mark and Jess for every living relative, and the reciprocal terms, on the basis of the agency census, before any genealogical charts were drawn, so that the names did not occur in logical order. The accompanying chart gives Jess's relatives in full. For convenience I have separated his

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[1] The following possessive forms were recorded in myths:—

nyán,dzyadéld	my mother's father	*nyan,dzíjed ldj*	my father's younger brother
n,anddda	my mother's mother	*nyaldzáldvá*	my male cross-cousin (man speaking)
nyándddjvádvádj	my mother's brother	*nyanddjvádj*	my older brother's son (man speaking)
n,ladzdvá		*n,anddda*	my father

[2] However the more general word would be *n,atcgddjdol*, my relative (*Inyddjá dddjdá lowdlwol*, he marries a relative; literally, relative, he knows it, to take a wife).

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjta*, your mother, *mamádjítatha*, your father, or *huudgítum*, your parents (*huudgá*, two). A man uses *gínyígá* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wínyígá* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gínyígá* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors; this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type; a

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwivámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 367). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwivámá big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwivámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwivámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Teyadjává (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

624 648 Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mănăkădjă n„Inapĕldj; nĭpĕ'ipă*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pănămĭ'dăpĕnătăladj; djĭtăl-ipă*, father). The word *nidjĭstmat ipă* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken. 551

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment. 553 551 553 [603]

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Cheekapanyega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wawăskwămă*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *hăwă*, house, and *dwă*, rock, are in this suspect class. 115 551 551

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpă*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*wwdvlgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kápdá' dtdtópigd*, "It is hard to say." [201]

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdsmddjigd*, *gwétásmá' djigd*, cf. *smdgd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 344, footnote.

4: Smithson E-8 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report.

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman.

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication.

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement.

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 423 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same.

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund.

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established.

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices.

[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman. He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it away on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai. However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coincided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later, after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dismounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the informant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place." Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the [Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning" enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The [533] spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning. If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become competent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were [755] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover; otherwise the illness would remain.

the water and now you will be like me forever. Come on and I'll show you the world". They visited a tree that was in the sky and went many places. 539*

The boy returned home and lived with his mother many years. Then he thought it was no good to stay in one place all the time. So his grandmother said, "I'll go west and take the big horses. You go east and take the little horses. If you want to see me any time, in the spring or fall, if the days are windy or cloudy, I'll know you are coming to see me. I'll give you seeds. You can scatter them along with the rain. You can say this will be grass, food, pinyons and other plants. There are many people in world but they fight one another but we will do this to keep them going "

The boy went to the east, his grandmother to the west. So when the weather is windy and stormy we know the boy goes to visit his grandmother.

2. Havasu Canyon Walls Closing Up

[Following are three versions of this story, as related by three informants.] [115]

Version 1: Coyote said that long ago the walls of Havasu Canyon used to close and open and close so no one could come down this canyon. Many people were crushed between them. Then two boys came down with arrows and tried to stop the walls from closing. They shot arrows at the walls and this stopped them from closing. So after that people could pass this way.

Version 2: Long ago these canyon walls moved back and would close up and kill anyone who passed through here. This happened repeatedly until many people were killed. Then a man came and wondered how he would stop it. He carried a big log on his head projecting on each side. The canyon walls closed but were stopped by the log. They can't move any more so from then on people could pass through safely.

Version 3: It started from an old lady who lived somewhere on the plateau. She had two boys. When they went around on the plains up there they used to see much wild game, deer and rabbits. They wondered how to get them and kill them. Finally they asked their mother and she told them to shoot them. "How would we shoot them? With what?" She told them to use an arrow. So they wanted to make arrows with feathers and points. They asked where to get the reeds. She told them it was in a dangerous place and she didn't want them to go.

*539 The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [823] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai villiage. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
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HAVASUPAI ETHNOGRAPHY

BY LESLIE SPIER

BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK CITY
1928

[Title page]

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HAVASUPAI ETHNOGRAPHY

By Leslie Spier

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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtin' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ɷ	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *kaθó'dá*, coyote, *kaθá'dá*, left hand; *θdáĭgd* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *θdúĭgd*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ʈ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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Southwestern tribe the comparisons do not clearly show the interrelations of this area. On the distribution maps I have entered the names of only those tribes for whom data are available.

A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* appeared when this manuscript was completed and should therefore be used for further comparisons with my material.

The long delay in the completion of this paper is due in part to a desire to include the comparative material, but in larger degree to more imperative duties which have crowded the last five years.

LESLIE SPIER.

University of Washington, July, 1925.

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INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arisona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five. 131 133

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow 133 137 [241]

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133 mesquit, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and pifion trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

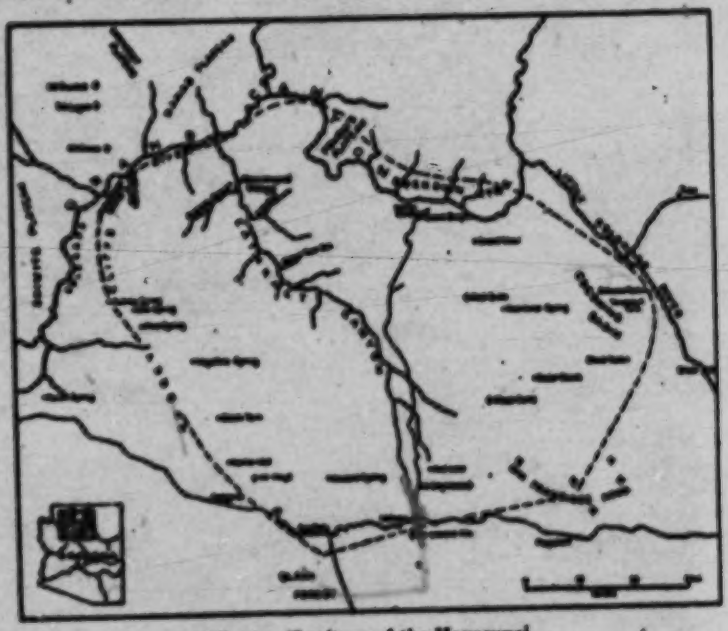

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the brights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

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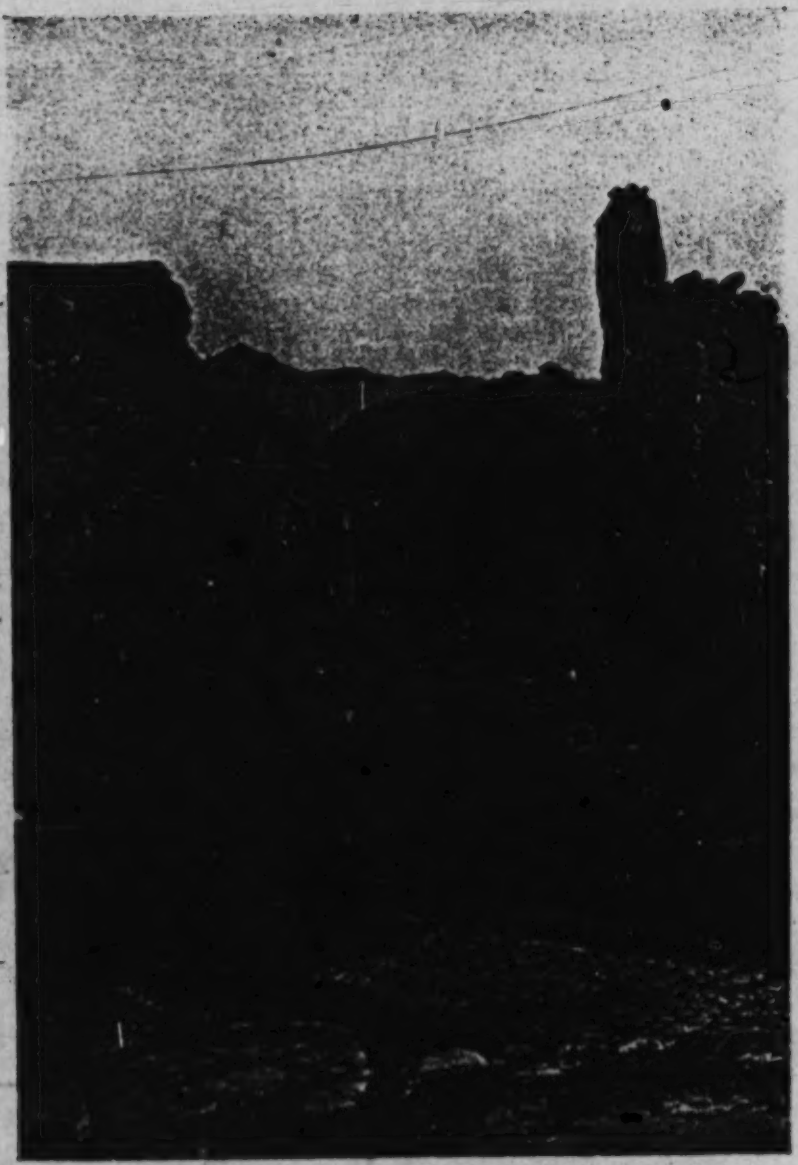

Fig. 2. Havasupai Village in Cataract Canyon. The lower canyon level (red bench) shows in the middle ground, the level of the plateau in the distance.

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132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

131 Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*kâ'adtwhâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâti'dâ, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pŏkâdespai'îvâ, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hâwaigîvilî'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*naîlwâhâ*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakdad*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Moho Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855. 101 [133]

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1] 174 648

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that 114 174 131 [101]

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Lippo, *The Navajos*, 54 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Nabahoes" four days travel up the San Juan River; this was "distant 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 139, 144.)

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refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the *Ucka'yága*, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Picacho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them. In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[5] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 538. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1886*, I, 84.
[2] Bandelier, (a), I, 109.
[3] Sitgreaves, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16; Coues, 223.
[4] Whipple, 62. He saw Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whence they were said to range to the junction of the Rio Virgen with the Colorado.
[5] Beale, 48, 49, 55, 65, 67, 68, 70.

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Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] Ibid, 79, 82, 83. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's dromedaries had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 103, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *A Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (a, c).

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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *havasúwaĭpa*[a], blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *kâ'nina*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[1] They call the Walapai *ǒulgampayá* or *guekegaiá;* the Yavapai, *ucâhud* (enemy) or *nyâvâpe*[b]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjĕ;* the Navaho, *hua'dmâ'u;* the Hopi, *móká;* the Zuñi, *sâ'u'ú;* the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamákava;* the Paiute, *paiutia;* and, by my recollection, the Ute, *yúta* and the Pima, *palnyá.*[2]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[3] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[4] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[5]; in 1869 there were 300[6]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[7], and Coues, 214[8];

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[a] Tom Kate, (a), 300, gives Kuchaikwe or Kuchainakwe (pĭñon-nut people ?) as the Zuñi name. This might be etymologized as dpá, man, and hapápa, black, or hapá, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black man.

[b] See p. 359 for the composition of population.

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Ives, 108.

[3] *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 838.

[4] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology,* 1884, XVIII.

[5] Coues, 345.

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in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172. 161 174

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll. 163

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6] 144 [141] [142]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May. 221 [342]

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from [512]

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 104; 1902, 163; 1903, 300, 1905, I, 164, 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child-bearing years (see p. 200). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their death).
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the wheels of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 340; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

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22 [648] [439] the middle of June until September. When the harvest is abundant, invitations are sent to the neighboring Walapai, Navaho, and Hopi to join in the annual dance, a week of festivity. In the course of gambling and trading, another link is fixed in the trade route that runs from Oraibi and the Navaho settlements, through the Havasupai and Walapai, to the Mohave in the west.

The harvest in, mesquite and local seeds gathered, there is no further attraction in the canyon. In the middle of October the exodus to the plateau begins. By single families, or in groups of two and three, they go off to establish snug camps in the denser cedar thickets. These are semi-permanent, for they move from time to time as piñon nuts are reported growing thickly in one glade, wild seeds abundant in another locality, or hunting good near the mountains. When the snow falls, rabbits, deer, and antelopes are easier to track. During this season they live in part on corn which they have carried up from the canyon, and from time to time replenish from the granaries there. As spring comes they drift back, perhaps along the ledges of the Grand Canyon, to resume life in the village.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture

The Havasupai are largely agriculturalists. Their interest centers so 241
firmly in their fields, and comparatively so little attention is given to wild products, that the loss of a crop may mean a famine year. In fact, although the quantity of wild seeds and plants that is gathered is considerable, it is used chiefly during the winter to eke out the field products. The Havasupai are inordinately proud of their abundant harvests and their superiority in this regard to the Walapai, Navaho, and Paiute. Harvest is a time for jollification, when their neighbors come to share their bounty. So great is their interest in their fields that even today, when remunerative employment is to be had on the plateau, so Mr. C. H. Gensler, the former agent, informs me, men will leave their work, with its ready money, to tend their crops.

The fields[1] about the village are as extensive as irrigation will permit, [311]
so that, depending on the location of the erratic creek, all of the one hundred tillable acres are farmed. A new field is cleared of brush by grubbing and burning it. Trees are felled by burning their bases; the charcoal is not chopped away, nor are trees ever girdled. The fields are fenced.

At present there are two dams supplying water to the irrigating 312
ditches; the first is located well above the village, whence the main ditch follows the east canyon wall as far as Camp 29 (see map, Fig. 50); The second is at the bend below Camp 26 whence its main ditch parallels the creek in the direction of Camp 51. The dam, which extends halfway across the shallow stream is built about a heavy log set well into the bank, where it is held in place by stakes driven on the down-stream side. The bank is roughly faced with stones to prevent the log washing out. A series of poles are driven obliquely along the upstream side, their upper ends resting on the log. Fascines of willows, about 1.5 m. long and containing stones, are laid end to end along the base of this slanting face, with a second set laid in front on the bed of the creek breaking joints with these. A second tier of fascines might be built above these. Willow brush, placed transverse to the stream, is then piled thickly on the face of the dam to the top. The rapidity of the stream is such as to drive considerable water behind this scoop into the main ditch. Changes of water level produced by every little storm necessitate frequent renewals of the dam. Constant attention is also necessary for the irriga-

[1] There seems to be no word for cornfield; one speaks of going to his corn, even if the field contains a mixed crop.

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]

mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[114] [1]Coues, 346. A later statement (433), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.

[2]Cushing, (a), 390, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[171] [3]The Hwdlid also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 175–179).

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with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

243
221
243
243
[412]

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyáljlpa"*, with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n„msavlghuwálá*), white and blue (*n„msá'vlgvasú*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n„úlá*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea arnylacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[177]
[439]
[177]

[1] Mr. Gensler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

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251
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[252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Such ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little smudges of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency
[731] of flood, etc.

Sinyella has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 212) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by West, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jess, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

244 In former days two kinds of beans (*mddigd*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10–12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus
[251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hamiẽ''*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Sinyella's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a
251 knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtekwi'lîva*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*dk'ŏta*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [372] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úva*, and *kâθŏ'dn„ïu'va* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*lŏp'ŏ''l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*âgwidja*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] 252 [412]

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thirty or forty plants is carried home. A pit (*maipâma"a; âmdt*, ground) 1.5 m. in diameter, but of a lesser depth, is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel, else the steam would escape. Green or dry brush of any description is piled into the hole to the height of a meter above the ground; the uppermost brush must be dry. Stones the size of one's fist are spread over this to a depth of 10 cm. The pile is fired early in the morning, before sunrise. After three or four hours, when the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot, several men (not women, because of danger from the flames) pound on the pile to reduce it level with the surface of the ground (?). Meanwhile women pile the mescal all around the pit to have it conveniently at hand. The pit is apportioned in sectors among several people; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are stood on edge to mark these divisions, the others are then packed indiscriminatingly in between. Long green grass, gathered by the women at the time the fire was started, is first carefully arranged over the plants, and then piled in to a depth of 5 cm. This is then covered with a layer of dirt, 15 cm. deep. It is now 8 or 9 a.m., depending on the quantity of plants. Forty-eight hours later the pit is opened, and grass spread over a convenient space to receive the roasted mescal.

Mescal paint (p. 197) is made from the dried juice which coats the stones. (The plants of the lowest layer have been burned black.) These stones are boiled for a few minutes to remove the sediment: the liquor is poured off and boiled until it thickens; then red paint is stirred in to thicken it further. After boiling longer the paint is reduced to a doughy consistency; the small quantity obtained is rolled into a ball.

The leaves of the roasted mescal may either be chewed at once to obtain the pulp and juice, or they may be mashed and spread in a thin layer on an arrow reed mat to dry. When half dried the fibrous layer is turned over to dry further. While it is still flexible, one edge is folded back and the opposite edge folded over to meet the crease. This preparation (*via'l*) will keep indefinitely; it is soaked in cold water for an hour to make a sweet drink.

Arrow reed mats (*âtakwivd; âtâ"*, arrow reed) measure 110 by 80 cm. and 75 by 60 cm., the first dimension being the length of the reeds. Thongs or sinews are twined through the reeds at half a dozen points. Mescal and yucca products, peaches and figs, are spread to dry on such mats.

The leaves of the young plantain (*'ok'i'ad*) are boiled and served as we do cabbage.

The fruit (*hatâ'a*) of the prickly pear cactus (*âlâved*) ripens at the same time as peaches (September). The spiny fruits are broken off

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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits opened and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and squeezed to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [272]

Mesquite pods (*iyd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dmõnõ'l*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*sdtdo'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dgwdol*); goosefoot (*Ucıyddddj*); *sllł''ɛ, gõld, i'ɛld* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*ddjwqd*), and piñon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sllł''ɛ grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she raps the seeds with a seed beater (*sllɛ'ɑrid; drid*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 285 4/12

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285 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop
412 to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1]
222 Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without
252 removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285]
[412]

Fig. 3 (50.2–1575). A Seed Beater.

263
[222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them,
[917] and collect the honey. Rock salt (*tō'i*) is collected from a cave in the cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particu-
[262] larly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Coues, 344.

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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guwiilil*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

224 [868]

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

224 787

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

224 782 539

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

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224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

nyí·ẽn, ákídjà Sun, my relative	pá'ámáhágà look at us	tyúdjẽ that is why I am here
pá'ámáwíwa'kà you should give us	djipaimẽ'ah ítovà your domestic animals	má'dva'kà let us see them quickly
ínná'ᵘdja'ᵘákà we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer,

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*ámauldjuwóvigà*, *ákwagádjuwóvigà*, *ámudjuwóvigà*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

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The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Hayulia) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime.

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

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224 and wanted to run, but we were rooted to the spot. Then the bear ran right by us and I shot him in the side. He went on and the other man a little way behind me shot him again, but he went a little further before he tumbled over. We took his hide and told B—— who bought it for $5.00.

The third time I was down near Black Tank (near Seligman) about the time *ńk'i*'s seeds were ripe. There were a lot of people gathering them. These people said that they would like to go hunting antelope. Quite a number went out to the south of the mesa (toward Seligman). A long way off they saw three bears: one was digging the ground, while the others were sitting by, watching. I said to the others, "I have the only good running horse; I will go alone to shoot them." I wanted the others to tie their horses to the trees and I told them to climb tall trees to watch me shoot. Then I went off. The others did as I told them, while I went by myself. I circled around back of a hill. I tied my horse to a tree and went toward the bears. They did not see me, although I was only fifty meters away. I sat down behind something and shot the biggest one, hitting him in the ribs. He growled and grabbed the little bear and threw it to one side; then he did the same to the other seated on the other side. I went right back and mounted and showed myself to the bear. When the bear saw me, he rushed at me. I whipped my horse and ran with the bear running after me. The bear nearly caught me: I thought my horse was a pretty good runner, but the bear was only a little way behind all the time. So we ran for a long way, when the bear began to tire, so that I drew a little further ahead. When I was quite a long way off, the bear stopped; so I stopped too, and turned my horse and sat there watching him. Soon the bear walked slowly to a big cedar tree and lay down in the shade. Then the other men came toward me, but I shouted to them. "You stop and wait there: the bear is lying down." The others all came and stopped; came on again a short way and stopped again, until they got to me. Then we all went toward the bear; I was a little ahead. "If, when I get close to the bear, it is not dead, but gets up and chases me, I will come back to you," I told them. I went close and found that the bear had been dead a long time. The bullet had gone right into his ribs. We merely looked at him, but we did not touch him. Then we went home.

This month (October) there is no snow: next month when the moon is half full, it will snow. It was like this month when I and Jess were over at *Djóqidaxá'gi'ma* (Apache Spring, near Ash Fork). It was snowing a little. We were hunting deer, when I found mountain lion tracks, which I followed until I saw the lion. I was riding my horse. I chased him; he circled around to the spot I first saw him. I killed and skinned him, and packed the skin and meat to camp. That day we killed two. Next morning Jess brought his lion hide over to my camp. We took them to town and sold them.

Squirrels, raccoons, and wildcats are hunted for their flesh. Mountain lions are also eaten by the older people.

Rabbit drives are attended by all the available men and boys. There is no special hunt leader. They drive in a straight course, not by drawing in a circle, for they say that there are too few individuals for a surround. The animals are shot; never clubbed.[1] The hunt has no esoteric significance.

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[1] While the Hopi curved rabbitstick (*kaló'wuti*, rabbit—) and the Walapai drive nets (*stashlá*) are known, they are not used.

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Rabbits are also tracked in the snow to their refuges in hollow logs, etc., whence they are drawn with a straight poker (*kalaalwáda*) corresponding to the crooked stick of other tribes. This is a thin pointed stick more than a meter long, nicked for a distance of 10 cm. at its tip. When thrust into the log, it is twisted about until these barbs catch in the rabbit's fur. When the rabbit is drawn out, the hunter locates the heart, pinches it, and with a sharp yank ruptures it. [411]

Traps are placed on the rodent trails in the fields and near storehouses to catch the squirrels and rats which root up the corn, tear their way into the storehouses, etc. Snakes and birds are sometimes found in these devices, but no attempt is made to trap or snare larger game. A stick rests in the fork of an upright stick, 25 cm. long, with one end propping up the deadfall weight, a large flat stone (Fig. 4). A cord tied

Fig. 4 (50.2-1225). A Rodent Trap.

to its other end has a short stick attached to it. The cord is carried half around the upright, so that one end of the short stick rests against it. The trigger stick is propped between the stone and the other end of the short stick; the tension of the cord holding it in unstable equilibrium. The trap (*gueen'ánia*, something ——) is placed on the trail, with wings of brush arranged so that the rodent must pass under the deadfall. It is baited with dried peaches or mescal pulp tied firmly to the trigger.

Turkeys, found on the plateau, especially near Pine Spring, doves, and quail, as well as the eggs of the last are taken for food. Other birds and their eggs are not eaten.[1] Fish are not eaten. [223]

Dogs are sometimes used in hunting, for driving rabbits into hollow logs whence they could be chopped out, or for following wounded deer over hard ground. The dog is loosed on the trail, to pursue and hold the

[1] Unlike the White Mountain Apache, the Havasupai do not build fires under trees in which doves and quail roost in order to stun the closed birds.

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224 animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1]
[252] Dogs are called by name; such as wahwadad, labia minora (a male dog),
gi'n,ithéwaid, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *ldéa*,
552 painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyá*, *ságá*, *ságá*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *as'*, *adwáyá*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than
252 they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are
4/12 ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but
[324] nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*ra'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of
252 the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depres-
4/12 sion and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*[3]wiguetu'tid*; *[3]wi*, stone, *gise*, something, *tátid*, to
[252] pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*ra'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[231] [1]Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten as far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2]Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (h), Plate 108.

1/A [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

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Seeds of all descriptions are parched not only to roast them, but to dehydrate them somewhat, rendering grinding easier. The kernels of corn, etc., are tumbled about with live coals in the parching tray by a swinging, sinuous, rotary movement. Finally, the lighter charcoal is separated from the grains with the same motion, throwing it up from the far edge of the tray and blowing it away. Any charcoal that remains is picked out.

Cooking is usually done in the clay vessels (*hamdîagwetadlid; hamdî*, clay pot) but boiling (*tulâmîgd*) in baskets is carried on at the same time. Small stones, heated red, are dropped, with the aid of a tongs, into a basket filled with water. These are replaced by others when cool. The food is stirred in when the water is boiling; the remaining stones are picked out when it is cooked.[1]

Green willow tongs are used on hot stones, but better wood, such as ash, may be used in tongs for handling hot or prickly objects, stirring stews, etc. Tongs (*atîda'*) are simply green branches, flattened on one side, with a kerf at the midpoint, so that they can be bent double, and bound until dry. They measure 40 to 50 cm. long; a smaller specimen is 20 cm. Crooked sticks and convenient twigs are also used for stirring, as forks, etc. Horn ladles are used in cooking as well as in eating.

A cooking vessel (*mâltîdigwîtâlâmîa*, cactus, something, boil) is sometimes improvised from the barrel cactus (*mâltît*, possibly *Echinocereus*) when on hunting expeditions. Occasionally the same device is used at home. The spines are burned off, one end cut away, and the pulp removed, so that it can be used for stone-boiling. "Wild cabbage" (*ak'tas*), cornmeal, meat, etc. is cooked in this.

Green corn is usually cut or shelled from the cob and ground to a pulp on the grinding slab. Water is brought nearly to a boil before the corn is slowly added, stirring it into the water with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside. Corn is not boiled on the cob as a rule.

Green corn is cut from the cob, mashed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut into small chunks.

Squash flowers are boiled until the mass cannot be reduced further,[2] they are then fished out with a twig and mashed to a pulp on the grinding slab. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is boiling in the liquor. The pulp is then added and the whole is boiled to make a sweet dish.

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[1] Food is never cooked in a skin or a pannch.
[2] Cf. Lumholtz, (c), II, 190.

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Ears of green corn in their green husks are laid to roast on a small bed of coals, or buried in hot ashes, until the outer husks are thoroughly charred. The husks are stripped back, the ends of the cob trimmed clean, and the ears are tied in pairs by their husks to be hung up until some casual visitor comes by. Green corn is less commonly roasted in underground pits. The characteristic mode of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. When the hand is full, these are poured off the side of the hand into the mouth.

Bread is made of green corn cut from the cob and ground. This pulp is moulded into cylindrical masses, wrapped in green cornhusks and baked in the ashes. When husks are removed the solid cakes may be eaten as bread.

For dumplings, cornmeal (*teydídjildva*, corn, ground?) is kneaded into a stiff paste with hot salted water. The dough is rolled between the palms into cylinders, bits pinched off, and rolled into balls, 3 cm. in diameter. These are dropped into hot water and occasionally stirred while they boil a few minutes.

Wafer bread (*bigá*, from Hopi *piki*) of cornmeal is baked in the characteristic Pueblo fashion on a flat slab (*tčevahaiyddid*), a meter long and half as wide, supported over a fire. It is made either of white or blue corn, but never by mixing varieties.

Beans (*mádigá*) are parched before they are ground. Bean flour mush (*mádigídva*, beans, ground) is made by slowly stirring the flour, into water that has been brought nearly to the boiling point. When the mush boils, it is removed from the fire.

Sunflower seeds are parched and ground, when they may be eaten with the sweet mescal drink or a decoction of dried peaches. Sometimes they are parched, mixed with parched corn, and ground fine; then it is eaten dry by the pinch.

Squash is boiled. The dried strips (*hamiltápá*) are broken into bits and boiled until soft (*hamiltádá*); this is sweet. The rind is sometimes hacked off fresh squash, and the fruit cut into small pieces, discarding the seeds, before it is boiled; this is not sweet.

Squash, melons, peaches, figs, and even corn are eaten as soon as they show the first signs of ripeness, so glad are the natives at the appearance of an edible green. Unripe fruits cut off before they reach maturity, as by a flood, are not discarded, but furnish at least something succulent to chew on.

Meat is sliced and cured by drying. It is usually necessary to pound it between two stones before it is cooked, and then it is commonly

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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten. 252 262

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned. [226]

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal. [252] 264

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail. 171 241

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.

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171 241 In northern Mexico cultivation has been recorded among several modern tribes: Huichol, Cora, Tepehuane, Tarahumare, Tepecano, and Opata.[1] There are records of the Jumanos in eastern Chihuahua in 1582, the Guaymas, a southern Piman group near the Seri ("land-tillers on a very low scale"), and the Sobaypuris, Pimans on the Rio San Pedro.[2] Intensive agriculture is characteristic of the Pueblos.[3] It would be interesting to know the extent it was followed in such outlying communities as Taos and Picuris. Pima, Maricopa, Yuma, Cocopa, and two groups near the last, Talliguamayque and Cajuenches, Mohave, and Navaho raised crops in abundance.[4] The Havasupai and Papago are agriculturalists to a lesser extent, both subsisting in some degree on wild seeds. But cultivation is greater among them than among the Jicarilla, and Western Apache, Apache-Yuma, Chemehuevi, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, and Walapai.[5] These tribes mark the limits of agriculture in the west. It is known not to have extended into California, the Basin, or into the southwestern Plains. In fact for certain tribes in the immediate vicinity of those practising the art we have specific information that it is lacking; to wit, Mimbreños and Tonto Apache, Moapa Paiute, Akwa'ala and Halyikwama of Baja California, and the Seri.[6]

Perhaps irrigation was in all these cases part of the agricultural technique, but it is not recorded. It is the practice of all the Pueblos, the Navaho, Havasupai, Shivwits, Kaibab (?), Pima, Maricopa, and Cora. The Mohave utilization of the overflow of the Colorado corresponds to the planting of other tribes in dry washes or creek bottoms.

171 412 The planting sticks and hoes offer some comparative points. Planting sticks are of two types; one a straight stick having a wedge-shaped point, the other similar but provided with a projecting footrest near the lower end. The first type is that of the Havasupai, Hopi, Pima, and probably Shivwits. The Zuñi use the form with the footrest, while the Navaho use both. The Havasupai hoe is one form of a general type: a flat stick with its blade and handle in one plane, approximating a weaving sword in shape, although there is considerable variation. This type is also used by the Pima, Mohave, Hopi, Navaho, and Zuñi. The last two also use a hoe like our own, a wooden blade or elk scapula set

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[1] Lumholtz, (a), 4; Bandelier, (a), 60, 93, 99; Bartlett, I, 444; Mason, J. A., (d), 185.
[2] Bandelier, (a), 58, 76, 101.
[3] Cushing, (d); Hough, (c), 235, 236, Pl. 19.
[4] Bartlett, II, 173, 180, 214, 232, 263; Pattie, 121, 131-2, 144; Russell, (d), 88-92; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 809; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 122; Kroeber, (a), 270; Lotherman, 288; Franciscan Fathers, 204; Lippa, 58; Stephen, 354; Bandelier, (a), 104, 170.
[5] Hilliard, 283; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 632; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 120; Carbonell, 226; Lowie, (b), 235; Beals, 67, 68, 74, 76; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 32, report agriculture as the main pursuit of the Chemehuevi, but this does not seem likely.
[6] Bartlett, I, 227; Whipple, Ewbank and Turner, 14; Kroeber, (b), 476; McGee, 180.

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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Picuris and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2]

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Mohave, Chemehuevi, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5]

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *ûva*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *up* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *ô"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pûukur*, and possibly Pima *vûopal'ûsâ*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*).

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai,

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. III, 204; Russell, (d), 68, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 253-6. Mohave specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.

[2] Spier, (f), 89.

[3] Mitchell: Curtis (XII, 209) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Cushing, 228; Russell, (d), 119; Spier, (e), 348; Bandelier, (a), 68; Goddard, (c), 203.

[4] Lowie (b), 218; Kroeber, (c), 388.

[5] Goddard, (a), 27.

[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo names from Dorsey-Lowie, 1926.

[7] Goddard, (c), 149-149; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 447; Corbusier, 227; Russell, (d), 70; Barrows, Lumholtz, (a), 13.

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White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 1295; Coville, 233; Lowie, (b), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 198; (c), 212; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 120, 145; Bourke, (d), 131; Corbusier, 328.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 40, 41; Sparkman, 199; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (c), 302, 304; (e), 476.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 128; Bolton.

[4] Hodge, 257; Franciscan Fathers, 475; Matthews, (d), 239; Corbusier, 328; Dixon, (a), 193; Chamberlin, (b), 335.

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Yavapai, Luiseño, Salinan, Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi,[1] Kombo (Yana or Yahi), Paviotso, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Chopunish (a group at the eastern edge of the Nez Percé reservation), and Crow.[2] There are doubtless others. 171 224

Communal rabbit drives are probably very common in the Southeast and the Basin, but records of the fact elude a search. They are recorded as the practice of the Navaho, Acoma, Zuñi Hopi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Shivwits, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern and Southern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi, and probably Walapai, Mohave, Uintah, and Salinan.[3] There is some variation in the procedure: the Paviotso, Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hopi hunters form in a line and drive in a straight course; the Shivwits, Navaho, Pima, and again the Hopi form a circle. The Washo, Paviotso, and Shivwits have a special director of the hunt; the Havasupai do not.

The rabbits are frequently driven into nets: Walapai, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Salinan, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi. This distribution omits the Southwestern tribes, except for those on its western fringe.

The characteristic curved rabbit club was not in universal use. It is the weapon of the Hopi, Zuñi, Navaho, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. The Zuñi, at least, also use straight billets of wood. Several others are known to use clubs of some sort (Yavapai, Pima, Western (?) Apache, Achomawi, and Atsugewi) but the Shivwits and Havasupai use none at all.[4] 171 411 224

Many tribes in this area use a stick provided with a crook to draw rabbits and other rodents from their hiding places. But it is recorded only for the Yavapai, Tonto Apache, and Shivwits Paiute. I have also a recollection of seeing this tool among the Navaho, but a Havasupai informant referred to the use of a straight stick provided with little barbs like their own. The same straight stick is used by the Zuñi and probably as a second type by the Shivwits.[5]

The Navaho use a trap identical with that of the Havasupai, and this is true of the Hopi, if I correctly interpret the description given by Mason based on information from Hough.[6] 171 224

[1]Cremony, 29; Franciscan Fathers, 275; Matthews, (d), 217; Stevenson, M. C., 19th, 439-441; Hough, (e), 285; Corbusier, 328; Sparkman, 197; Mason, J. A., (a), 124; Dixon, (a), 192 . . 212.
[2]Powers, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 185; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 40; Lowie, (i), 200.
[3]Franciscan Fathers, 324, 470; Sedgwick, ch. II; Bourke, (c), 345; Hough, (e), 174, Cushing, 328; Russell, (d), 59; Spier, (d), 337; Sparkman, 198; Lowie, (i), 198-199; Powell, 127; Chamberlin, (b), 336; Barrett, (b), 11-12; Dixon, (a), 195; Faye, 38; Dixon, (e), 213; Whipple, 115; Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Mason, O. T., (e), 208.
[4]Hough, (e), 283, 287; Mohave specimen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Barrows, 50; Bourke, (b), 60.
[5]Corbusier, 328; Smart, 418; Powell, 123; Cushing, (d), 501; Lowie, (i), 198.
[6]Franciscan Fathers, 322; Mason, O. T., (j), 472.

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412 The grinding slab or metate of the Pueblos is also found in Southern California and the Basin. Among the non-Pueblo peoples it is used to some extent by the Pima, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave,

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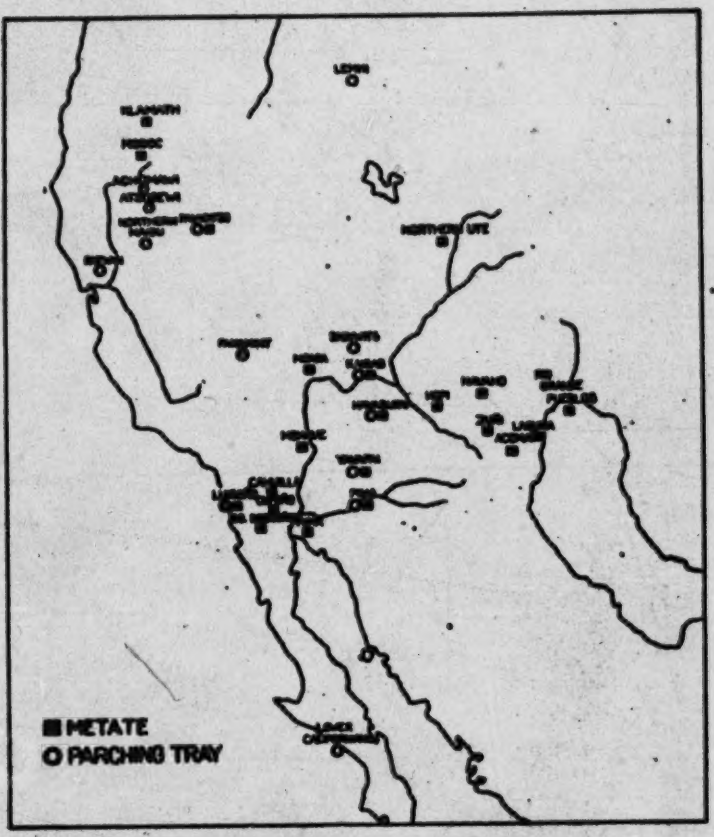

Fig. 8. Distribution of the Metate and Parching Tray.

Kaibab, Moapa, Northern Ute, Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, Yuma, and undoubtedly by others in their vicinity.[1] Most of these people, if not all, use stone or wooden

[1] Russell, (d), 99, 108; Hrdlička, (a), 44; Franciscan Fathers, 63, 219; Carbonier, 328; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921; Powell, 127; Lewis, (i), 204; Barrett (a), 288; Kroeber, (g), 46, 51, 58; Sparkman, 208; Spier, (e), 324; Trippel, 370.

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mortars as well. Mortars are the characteristic utensil of the central Californian tribes and those of the northern Basin.[1] As might have been anticipated from their geographic position some of the western groups apparently favor the use of mortars rather than metates: Pima, Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. (Fig. 5.) 171 4/12

Parching seeds by tumbling them about with live coals in a shallow basket is a method widely used among Californian, Basin, and the western rancheria peoples of the Southwest. It is recorded for the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Lemhi Shoshoni, Lower Californians, Luiseño, Patwin, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. (Fig. 5.) The Pima also cook in this fashion using a shallow pottery vessel. The Lower Californians sometimes substituted a turtle shell. Doubtless many others shared the practice: the Salinan, at least, did not.[2] 171 252

Wafer bread is a familiar Pueblo product, probably in use in all the towns, but certainly among the Hopi, Zuñi, and Acoma. It is also prepared by the Havasupai and Navaho but is not known to the Pima.[3]

Fish is not an article of diet of many of the Southwestern rancheria people. This is not altogether a matter of the absence of fish, for they must be at least as abundant as in the Basin where they are eaten. There is a definite taboo ranging from the horror of the Navaho to the mild sentiment of the Havasupai. These tribes include all the Athapascans, (except the Lipan), the Caddoan Taovayoses, the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Zuñi. Outside of this restricted area fish are eaten: Cochiti, Lipan, Hasinai, Pima, Cora, Tepecano, Seri, Southern Diegueño, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Washo, and all the Basin Shoshoneans.[4] 171 262

With regard to other tabooed animals little can be said because of the fragmentary nature of our information. Lizards are not eaten by the Havasupai, Mohave, Pima, Salinans of San Miguel, the Shoshoneans of Kern River, and the southern Yokuts. But the neighboring Yavapai, Walapai, and Paiute did not despise them, while in California, the northern Yokuts and the Miwok eat most reptiles.[5]

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[1]Cocopa (Chittenden, 203); Mohave (Whipple, 115); Salinan and Yokuts [Mason, J. A., (a), 127–128]; Washakie Shoshoni and Fort Hall Bannock [Lowie, (a), 174].

[2]Corbusier, 320; Powell, 129f; Lowie, (i), 234; (k), 136; Coville, 353; Lowie, (a), 178, 188; Baggert, 366; Sparkman, 193; Powers, 220; Dixon, (a), 189; (e), 212; Kissell, 194; Russell, (d), 98; Mason, J. A., (a), 120.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (b), 361; Cushing, (d), 333; Sedgwick, Ch. II; Franciscan Fathers, 205, 207; Russell, (d), 68.

[4]Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 139; Matthews, (c), 106, 107, 110; Kroeber, (a), 276–277; Dumarest, 146; Corbusier, 320; Russell, (a), 83; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Whittemore, 58; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 348; Mason, J. A., (c), 340; McGee, 183; Spier, (d), 338; Trigger, 574; Chittenden, 201; Lowie, (i), 230; Mooney, (b), 1030, 1032; Lippa, 42; Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 214, 507; Matthews, (d), 239; Bolton.

[5]Kroeber, (a), 277; Russell, (d), 83; Mason, J. A., (a), 122; Corbusier, 320.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

4/5 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the 476 long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women [462] gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

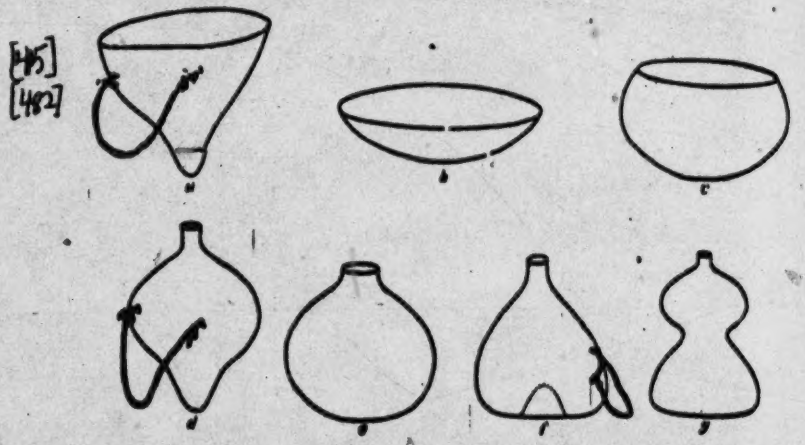

Fig. 6 *a* (50.2–1634), *b* (50.2–1651), *c* (50.2–1280), *d* (50.2–1237), *f* (50.2–1643), *g* (50.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p.127]

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Fig. 7 (50.2-1634, 1235). Burden Baskets.

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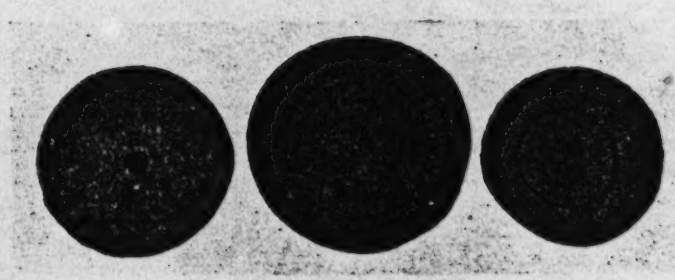

Fig. 8 (50.2–1247, 1648, 1654). Basketry Trays.

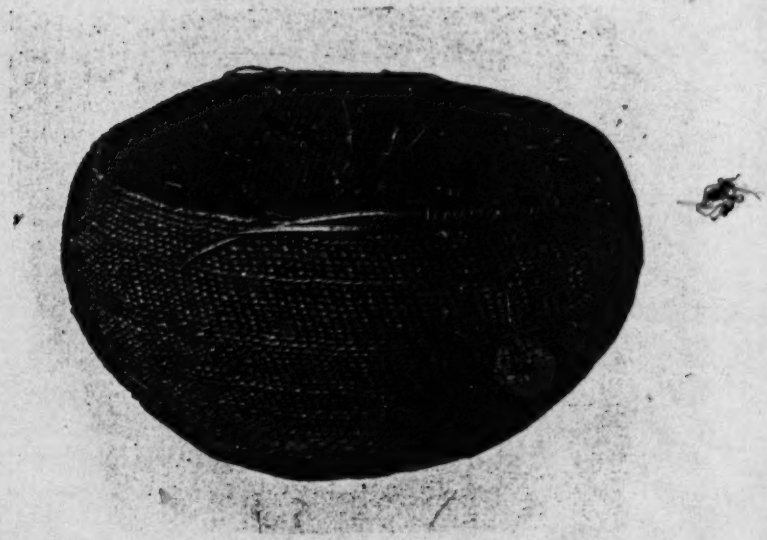

Fig. 9 (50.2–1250). A Boiling Basket.

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Six types (Fig. 6) are recognised: burden baskets (*gdθθ'k*), water bottles (*adwd*), shallow bowls or trays in twine (*gdθd'á"*) and coil (*gd'á"*), stone-boiling bowls (*ha'upuθtdl'q'mia*, water, something, boil) in both techniques, and parching trays (*gdθdu'ulafd*, lit. old twined tray). Burden baskets, water bottles, and parching trays are made with twine weave. 285 415

While the weaving is quite coarse and uneven, with the exception of a few coiled pieces, many of the baskets are surprisingly water-tight. However, most baskets for liquids are rendered tight with some sort of coating, mescal juice or cornmeal mush. Trays in which mush is placed soon become impervious; the mess is sometimes rubbed into the interstices with that end in view. Small water-tight trays are used as pannikins to drink from. Water bottles receive a heavy coating of piñon pitch as well as soapweed paste.

Burden baskets are conical; some have a slight reverse curve near the apex which produces a nipple effect (Fig. 7). Two loops to receive the carrying band are inserted in the side of the basket somewhat more than a third of the distance from the rim. After the basket is completed pressure is applied to make this side flat so that the basket will not roll from side to side on the back. These baskets are generally made in three sizes: that used by the women measures about 60 cm. in diameter at the mouth, and 45 cm. in height; a smaller size used by half-grown girls is about 50 cm. by 45 cm.; that of small girls about 35 cm. by 32 cm. 482 415 285

Trays are used to hold seeds, meal, fruit, mush, and a host of other foodstuffs (Fig. 8). Twined trays are roughly of two sizes, although the variation is considerable; 40 cm. in diameter by 9 cm. in depth, and a smaller size 30 cm. by 6 cm. Occasionally these are quite conical. Fewer coiled trays are made: these are about the same size. They are somewhat flatter on the bottom than the twined ware. Parching trays are simply old twined trays, as their name implies, which are given a protective facing. Only the larger size of tray is used for this purpose. 285 415

Stone-boiling disappeared years ago so that descriptions of the baskets used for this process are somewhat vague. Apparently they were the same size as trays but quite deep, really bowls. One basket said to resemble them is 38 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep, quite globular, with a mouth slightly smaller than the body (Fig. 9). Smaller coiled bowls, such as those now sold to tourists, may have been used for stone-boiling. Cushing figures a coiled boiling basket, bottle-shaped, with rounded base and wide mouth.[1] [252]

[1] (b), Fig. 262. This shows the bundle foundation which my informants denied was ever used.

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285 415 Water bottles are biconic with gentle reversed curves giving a nipple effect to the pointed base and narrow mouth (Fig. 10). These are about 35 cm. in diameter and 25 cm. in height. Two thongs are inserted just above the maximum diameter to take the burden band. Bottles (*schwgatagólkwé*) are also made without the lower cone, that is, with a flat or rounded base.[1] Occasionally this flat base is pushed inward. A third type was used when traveling afoot. It has an hourglass shape, with a flat bottom, and the upper part brought to a narrow mouth. This was

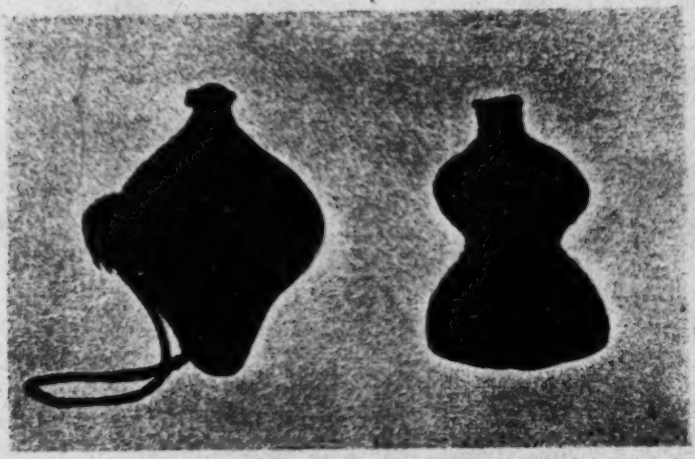

Fig. 10 (50.2-1237, 1645). Two Types of Basketry Water Bottle.

carried at the small of the back by a thong encircling both the wearer's waist and the constricted part of the bottle.[2] A bottle is stoppered with leaves or a corncob.

285 The best material for twined baskets is acacia twigs (*ka'djil'ad, Acacia greggii* Gray) which are gathered when green. If picked dry, or if dried in storage, they are soaked two or three nights before using. Cottonwood and willow twigs are inferior. These, too, are gathered green. They may be used for either warp or weft, or in combination with acacia. Mesquite is never used.

(171)

[1] Two figured by Mason, O. T., as Havasupai have the coil technique and shape of neck of Navaho specimens, [(b), Plate 22, Figs. 4 and 5, see p. 230.]

[2] Similar bottles occur among San Carlos Apache (20-8722) and Pueblo (Peabody Museum, Salem). The Zuñi are also accustomed to carry small objects at the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist. The Hualpai have a similar double water gourd [Lumholtz, (c), II, 236].

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The acacia twigs are stripped of leaves by drawing them through the hand protected by a cloth. They are roughly sorted and the butt ends trimmed off giving two sizes, sixty cm. and one meter long. The butts of those in the short bundle are mashed soft between two stones. The long twigs are split in three beginning at the tip, using the teeth and each hand (Fig. 11). Only the outside strips are used, the inside third being discarded. These strips are scraped to a uniform thickness by drawing them a few times across a knife held in the hand. To start

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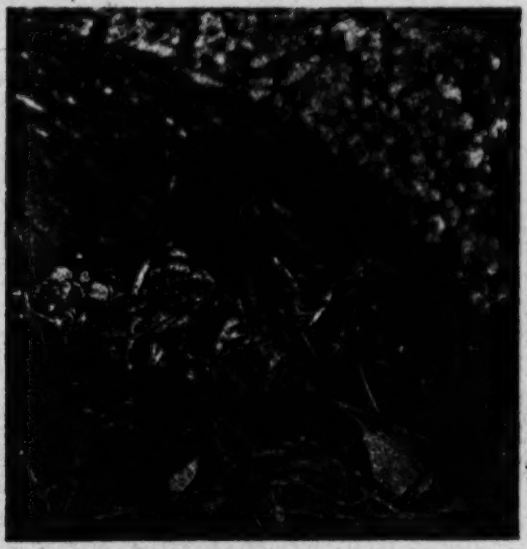

Fig. 11. Splitting Basketry Twigs in Three.

weaving, two pairs of long twigs are held so that they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound twice across the junction and the ends then woven alternately over and under the ribs (Fig. 12–14a). The direction of weaving is clockwise with the face or inside of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around these four ribs, another rib (*sidjó'k'id*) is inserted, being caught into the twine stitch (*tcipdsd*, twine or coil stitch). The mashed end of this short twig is first softened still further in the mouth, permitting it to be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt end protrudes on the under side of the basket

[text continues on p. 131]

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Fig. 12. Beginning of Twined Tray and Burden Basket Weave.

Fig. 13. Weaving the Burden Basket or Water Bottle.

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beyond the stitch by which it is held. New warps are successively inserted in this manner, care being taken to keep them regularly spaced. The wefts are constantly wetted so that they will remain pliable. Most baskets begin with diagonal twining (*gwigwi*), the weft crossing two warps at a time. A few begin with simple twining (*gwiwigwi*), weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. In fact, one of the most characteristic decorative effects is due to frequent change from simple to diagonal weaves on the same basket. Diagonal twining is, of course, more rapid. In all cases the warps are inserted one at a time. While weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly. The butt of the new strip is inserted between the old weft and the rib, and is caught tight by the next stitch formed by the opposite element. The white, inner side of the weft strip is on the face of the basket, i.e., the inside of a tray or the outside of the burden basket. The warps of trays are invariably pulled backward in weaving, i.e., to the weaver's left. 285

The burden basket or water bottle is begun in the manner described for the twined tray. When the woven area is about five cm. in diameter the warps are sprung up from a flat plane to a conical position. The tension of the weaving makes this very easy. The basket is now held apex down in front of the weaver, who continues twining from left to right on the near side of the basket (Fig. 13) From the weaver's point of view this is weaving as before, right hand in front of left, but if the basket is viewed from the top or inside, the direction of weaving will be seen to have changed from clockwise to anti-clockwise. After the ribs are sprung up, the warps are turned back on themselves to twine in the opposite direction. At the time they are reversed so that the white inside of the weft strip will be on the outside or finished face of the basket. New wefts and warps are inserted in the same way as in the trays: rows of warps are added at regular intervals. A tray is forced down between the warps to hold them in a conical position. The apex of many burden baskets and most water bottles protrudes in a nipple effect, that is, the sides have a reverse curve near the bottom. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the pressure of the tray causes the loose warps to flare out in trumpet shape: later, the warps are drawn together near their upper extremities to counteract this flare. Hence the sides first curve out and then in. While the shape clearly results from the technique, there can be no doubt that the effect is at the same time intentional, for it is an almost invariable feature in water bottles. The warps of the water bottle are bent inward to the neck without other guide. This portion is given a reverse curve to match the bottom. As the diameter lessens

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285 some warps become superfluous: these are cut off short. A cap of rawhide, soaked in water and stretched into shape before it sets, is sewed on the apex of the burden basket with a through and through stitch.

285 531 Three strand twining[1] is commonly introduced on all types of baskets for decorative purposes. The strand usually crosses two warps, giving a much closer stitch than diagonal twine. Three strands crossing three and sometimes four warps are also used decoratively. There is no great regularity in inserting these stitches; crossing threes often lapsing into crossing fours, and vice versa. The majority of water bottles are made in three strand twine over two warps; the beginning seems to be always diagonal twine. Why water bottles are usually decorated with contrast twine stitches is a mystery, because the surface cannot be seen under the liberal coating of pitch! The last row in both trays and burden baskets is almost invariably three strand twining; this often extends to the last two rows, and occasionally to the last three or four rows of trays alone (possibly because their peripheries are much less than those of burden baskets).

285 To finish the edge of the water bottle, burden basket or tray, the ends of the warps protruding beyond the woven fabric are first thinned *by splitting*, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a coil stitch running around the rim. Split acacia or mesquite is used for this. The free ends of the two weft elements are included in this bundle of warps. A hoop of hard *sawed'd* wood (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) about one cm. in diameter is bound on top of this rim in trays and burden basket with a coil stitch. Occasionally this extra hoop is omitted. Gaps are left in the binding of this hoop in some baskets: this has a certain degree of decorative effect.

Two loops to which the burden band is fastened are inserted in the burden basket and bottle. Each loop is fashioned of a thong which passes through the basket three, four, or five times. The loops on bottles are invariably horsehair, braided of two strands or bunches; those on baskets are said to have formerly been of the same material. The burden band was formerly made of soapweed. The longest leaves of this plant were dried until yellow, mashed between rocks, and soaked in water to remove the connective tissue. Three of these were braided into a band.

Trays intended to hold very fine seeds and parching trays are coated on the interior with the sticky connective tissue of mescal (or soapweed?) leaves. The leaves are crushed in the hands and rubbed over the basket.

[1] Warps of this ware are three strand braiding.

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Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*dnaid*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2–1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gutuk*"[4] (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pima.[5] When desired for use they are soaked in water. All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[6] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*djimtá*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285 [171]

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (a), 550. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake in natural since the ball of mineral tincto which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai case, has been widely quoted. (b), 484–493. [114]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Russell, Fig. 65.

[5] Bundle, single, or two-rod foundations are never used.

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285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (30.2-1682, 1884). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. a, Beginning of twine stitch; b, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined ware are made 285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's 531 claw (*hulā'k'*). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 mm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 mm. long, [177] was introduced by Paguiljahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her elder sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[114]

[1] Shown schematically in Plate 208, 2), also (37: the unfinished face is not the interior.

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are ripe in October. It is not necessary to pick them before the first frost.[1] Unlike the Pima and Papago only the hook-like appendages of the pod are used: these are broken off before the black fiber is split from them. When dry they may be soaked in hot water. Two strips of the black coat are split off with the teeth, beginning at the tip; the remaining interior third is discarded. To reduce the strips to a uniform width, they are held between teeth and hand while a knife is scraped along their edges. 285

In decorating twined baskets the black strip is substituted for one or both white wefts, the latter being cut off short. One end of the black

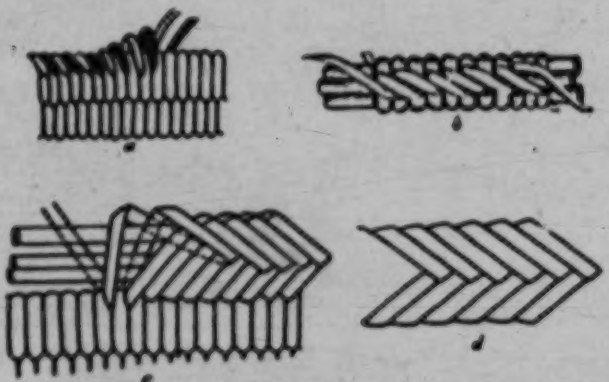

Fig. 15 *a* (50.1-4221, *b* (50.2-1242), *c-d* (50.1-4224). Coiled Basketry Edges. *a*, Two-strand edge of coiled basket; *b*, Three-strand edge of coiled basket; *c-d*, Edge of a coiled basket having the appearance of braiding (*c*, side view; *d*, view of the rim from above).

strand is caught between the two lower foundation rods of the coiled basket, sewing then proceeding as with the white strand. The ends of the introduced strands protrude somewhat on the unfinished face in both types of basket.

The rim of the coiled basket is finished by cutting off the three rods successively so that the coil will taper to an end. The rim is usually left without any further finish, but in a few specimens borders in other styles are added. The simplest consists of a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands (Fig. 15*a*). Apparently the binding is from left to right, working from the outside of the basket; that is, contrary to the

[1] Pima and Papago pick the pods before the frost turns them gray (Russell, 202).

[171]

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285 direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the
531 top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c–d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

285 While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direction of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes. [191] [114] These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

285 531 The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[171] [1] This stitch is used on a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one for in the Aztec ruin and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, O. T., 01, 378, Fig. 67. Compare Matthews, 04, 206.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Wissler, 05, 600–601; Kroeber, 05, 60–61.

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plain twining alternate with wider bands of diagonal twining. Contrast is also obtained on the same baskets with three strand twining, since rows of this stitching are raised above the surface of the basket. The bands of three strand twine are uniformly very narrow; usually only one or two rows. Water bottles are commonly decorated in contrast twining, although they are subsequently pitch-coated to an extent which obliterates the decoration. I can see no other reason for this display of unfruitful energy than exuberant interest in utilising a controlled technique and producing a pleasing effect for the moment. Only a very few are ever kept or traded without the pitch coating.

285
531

Designs (*Unyádiga*, as to tattoo marks, face painting) are woven in twine and coil baskets with black martynia. These do not represent objects, and in fact, the women repudiated the idea that any meaning might be read into them.[1] There are no recognised design units nor design names: the women did not seem inclined to speculate about them. All the designs are extremely simple.

Twine trays are decorated with a single circular line, one row wide, or with the same line with short spurs, usually oblique, either on the inside or outside, resembling a cog-wheel with oblique teeth. The same series of teeth are used without the base line. Other decorations are a central circular area, filled solid; a horizontal zigzag line; or simple combinations of any of these. Burden baskets have one to three decorative bands around the upper third; using the same units (except the solid circle) and in addition a band of equilateral triangles, usually filled solid, and with basal angles in contact, or with bases or vertices touching a narrow line running around the basket. A band of two opposed dentate lines is frequent. Water bottles do not have design decorations.

One curious feature is a disinclination to decorate that part of the burden basket which will rest against the back and so will not be seen. The first, i.e., the lowest, band is usually carried around this portion as well, but subsequent bands are progressively executed with increasing carelessness or omitted entirely at this point. (Fig. 7.) This, of course, is contrary to the spirit which accounts for the decoration of water bottles in contrast twining.

A few baskets have the spurs of the dentate bands vertical, that is, following the warps. In all other cases observed, with one exception, the spur lies obliquely in the direction of twining, that is, with its lower end nearer the weaver's left hand and inclining upward to the right. Nearly all such designs are in diagonal twine. I think we have here a clear case of the influence of technique on design. In the first place, the

[1] This does not prevent them from providing interpretations for the lowest bands

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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 415 [177] [171] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdi*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] Fig. T. Mason's diagrams, (b), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but . . . cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

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323 Pots are made by women alone. The best clay, the color of adobe,
317 occurs in a deposit located at Pine Spring west of Cataract Canyon.
[462] As this is very hard, chunks must be pried off with a deer antler pick, and are then reduced to a powder by crushing between two stones. Fine stones, procured from an ant hill, are added, the whole being kneaded with water into a stiff dough. Cylinders, 2 cm. in diameter, are rolled
323 out between the palms and coiled in a clockwise direction on a tray basket, patted on top the while with a small, flat, smooth stick to make

[H15]

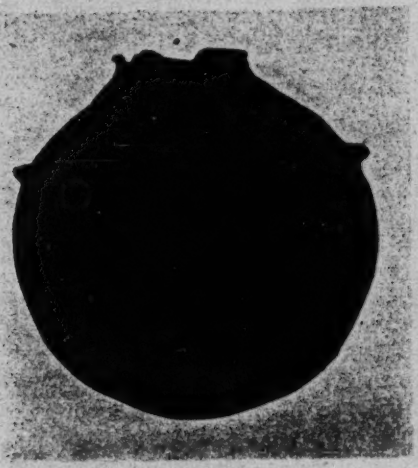

Fig. 16 (50.2-1668). A Coarse Undecorated Vessel of Clay.

them adhere. Both basket and stick are kept wet with a concoction of boiled antler, weed roots, and other ingredients. When the flat coil reaches a diameter of 20 cm. the sides are built up by coiling in the same manner; the potter supporting them with a smooth, round pebble inside while the exterior is paddled. When the vessel is complete, this same pebble is used to smear the concoction over the inner and outer surfaces, rubbing vigorously, in order to render the clay hard and prevent cracking. The vessel walls are of a uniform thickness, 0.7 to 1 cm.; the lip is no thinner. The completed vessel is set in the sun for two days or until it has thoroughly dried. A pile of dry wood of any sort, 70 cm. or more in height, is prepared and set alight early in the morning. After it

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A [252] ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, [356] although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for [439] cooking.

Clay pipes (*dmdl'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek [276] bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamákwi'dígd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. 281 [462] It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's [439] work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

---

[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins [(a), 553]. [114] I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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281 The hide is hung over a smooth pole, 5 cm. diameter, which rests slanting against a tree. The hide is caught between pole and tree. The hair and pigmented layer are removed with the beaming tool, grasped in both hands and drawn down the pole toward the body. The hair is frequently left on the legs, though it is just as convenient to dehair them or cut them off at once. Loose tissue is also removed from the flesh side. The [412] beaming tool is a deer cannon-bone or hip-bone broken lengthwise and sharpened. Now a horse rib, naturally sharp on its concave edge, is

[417]
[291]

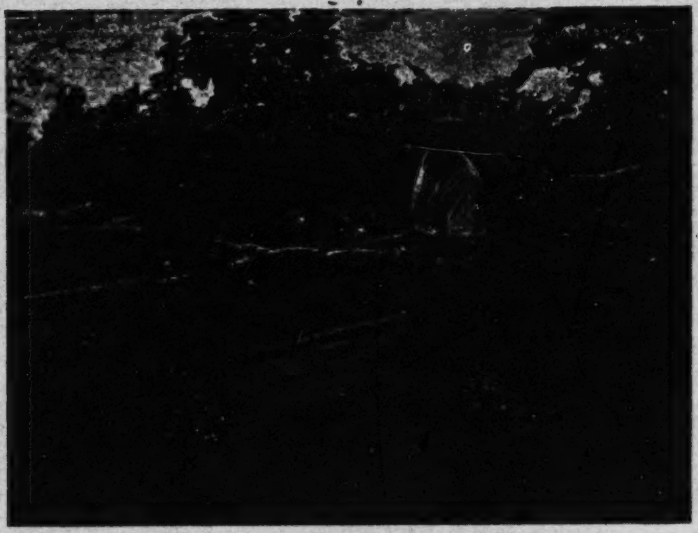

Fig. 47. Wringing a Deer Hide.

substituted. Dehairing takes about two hours. The hide is hung on a pole to dry in the sun for a day or so.

When ready for tanning, the stiff skin is soaked in the creek over night, but no longer. It is then rubbed thoroughly pliable in the hands, wetting it with warm water. Folded lengthwise flesh side out, the neck is looped about a post, the legs around a stick, and both are folded back inside the skin. Twisting the stick wrings the skin dry. (Fig. 17.) It is now stretched by pulling at the edges and rubbing it together everywhere [412] until entirely freed of wrinkles. A skewer threaded in little slits which

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539]

Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj	ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name)	he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado),
ya'i'vu'i'wîθa'	

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing, presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171]

[1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 308).

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side, it is rolled up, set aside, and later worked as described above. As the skin contains considerable fat, it must be dried in the shade. A second tanning is then given, using the spinal canal marrow. As 281

Tools

Fire Tools. Inasmuch as cooking is a day-long process there is usually a fire within easy reach. But fire may be readily obtained with palm drill or strike-a-light. 372

The firedrill (*o'ogdâid: o'o*, fire) consists of hearth and drill. The hearth (*hatu'yavâg*) is a section of the dry flower stalk of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa* S. Wats., *ôk'inyûdâ*), which grows on the talus slopes. This is flattened on opposite sides and provided on one face with pits (*ma'dîig*) adjacent to notches in one edge (Fig. 18). The drill (*gaid*) of dry mesquite root is straightened, trimmed, and rubbed down to a diameter of one centimeter. Beargrass and mesquite root are the best materials; others may be used, the only requisite being that they are

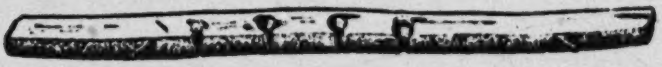

Fig. 18 (50.2-1224). A Firedrill Hearth.

thoroughly dry. Hearth and drill are made in two sizes. For ordinary uses about the camp, the hearth measured 25 cm. in length, the drill 60 cm. When traveling the drill is carried in the quiver, with the hearth in its own case tied to the outside. But by preference shorter sticks, each 15 cm. long, are carried together in a special case. The short drill is then substituted for the foreshaft of an arrow in order to lengthen it for use. The operator is usually seated with knees drawn up, holding the hearth on a flat stone beneath his feet. A pinch of sand is placed in the drill pan. The drill is rotated between the palms in the familiar manner, exerting considerable downward pressure; when the hands reach the lower end of the drill they are quickly returned to the top. The wood dust falls through the adjacent notch on to the stone; rubbed, dry cedarbark serves as tinder. A demonstration with a somewhat green drill took about a minute to produce a glowing coal. Obviously two men drilling together can reduce this time materially. The pumpdrill is not used.

The strike-a-light has a native form. A white stone (*otôgl'skwid*, pyrites ?) is held, together with the tinder, in one hand, and struck with a flint knife. The only tinder used is cotton (*hêdjâwi*) grown from seeds

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372 obtained from the Hopi. It is braided into a thick cord (*hădjáwăcĕnavă*) 30 cm. long, and drawn through a tube (the hind leg bone of a wildcat) of half its length. When wanted the charred end is pulled out of the tube which protects it from dampness. The tinder and stones are wrapped together in their own case.[1]

It is quite as convenient to carry a slow-match (*ohokwidd*) when traveling (Fig. 19). This is a rope of rubbed cedarbark, 2 cm. diameter

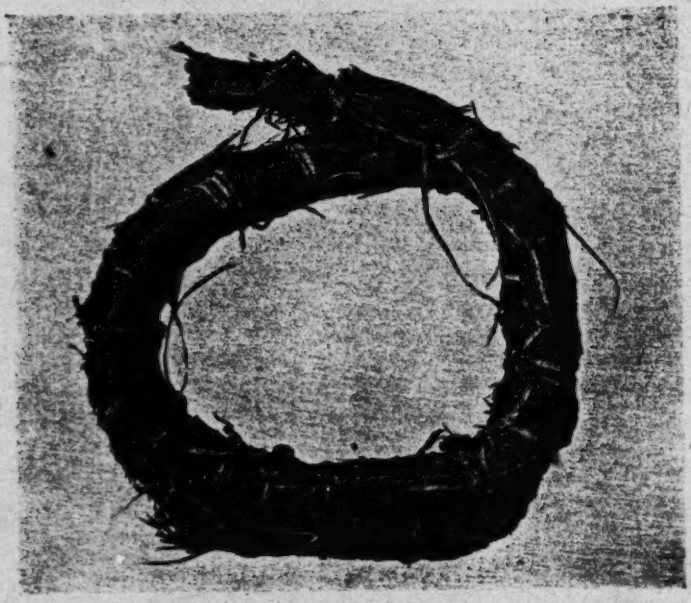

Fig. 19 (50.2–1580). A Slow Match of Cedarbark Rope.

and nearly 2 m. long, tied at short intervals with yucca leaves. It is carried in a coil, the smouldering end being blown on from time to time.

There is no great discrimination among fuels in the canyon for all the available materials are inferior (cottonwood, willow, sagebrush, corn-
[221] cobs, etc.). In fact, this is assigned as one reason for leaving the canyon in the winter; it is certainly too laborious to pack firewood from the
[412] plateau. Fallen trees and dead limbs are broken with heavy stones.

[1] Compare a reed containing charred cotton found by Fewkes near the Verde Valley, (a), 573.

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Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*mukudsiil*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*mukwa'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

Fig. 20 a (50.2-1585), b (50.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*d'ndle*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, (a), 850.
Such ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (e), 278); Paiute example in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (h), 309.)
[2] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimen in Museum of Anthropology, University of California). [171]

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415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate, 324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with 412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcëkedidkwi'ed*) are made of strips of cedar or 285 juniper bark (*tcëkedid*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These [422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used. 283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1]Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hdpú'*) is called *kdp'ûylma' a*, or *kdp'â*, or *puima'â*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 143–198.

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322 411 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The [412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 322 237 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mĕsmᵃ*, sinewed?): it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally, [412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly [439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back [531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The 411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by 237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

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though the string is loosened somewhat when not in use. New bow-strings are a necessity, because a worn string might snap and the tension of the sinew backing is such as to reverse the arc, break the wood, and "perhaps drive a broken end into a man's side, killing him." The bow is kept in a buckskin case; a tube with a single seam. Specimens of such

Fig. 23 (30.2-1601, 1899). Quiver and Self-Bow.

bows are not extant. No trussed or compound bow of any other description was used, but the trussed bow is credited to the Navaho.

The bowstring (*ĭmĭcmə hăpudjĭndgid*) is always sinew (*ĭmĭcma'*); leather and yucca fibers are never used. The best sinew is that from the hind leg of a deer or mountain sheep. (Tendons are pulled from the hind legs from knee to hock. Others are stripped from both sides of the deer's backbone beginning at the withers, leaving them attached to each

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411 other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is
237 soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This
[536] is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a
411 half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: hapdagwiṡà (Let this be strong; let this not break).

[788]

Fig. 24 (30.2-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldwá*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

411 Reed arrows (*dp'a"dt'a'* or *dt'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most
322 common. Arrow reeds (*dt'd'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*dosáud*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'd'a'i'i'i*; *i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dmaadid*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*máhwapadjid mádámidid*) is
[321] a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have
[412] been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not cut with the tongues at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9 to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife—which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamdlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaûigd*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdrd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vllal'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows; those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the arms of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

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Young

231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

237 Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane dis-
411 carded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
531 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 23) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 23 (30.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

411 marks, for a man could always recognize his own arrows. Glue is applied at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

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several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers. 411

The best quiver (*n,tpáwi*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hides of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 26. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the 281 411 [556]

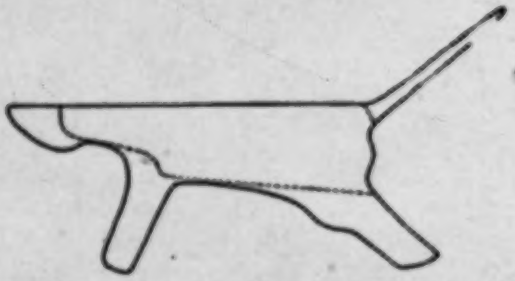

Fig. 26 (30.2-1601). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 23.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle. 171 285

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is in demand for quivers (Bourke, (c), 426.)

[2] An identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, (c) T., (1), Pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal. [171]

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285 among the Klamath, Modoc, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Maidu, Pomo, Lassik, and Chemehuevi.[1] Kroeber states that the Yumans of the lower Colorado do not make basketry and his paper on Mission basket decoration does not figure conical carrying baskets.[2] Furthermore, we know

[102]

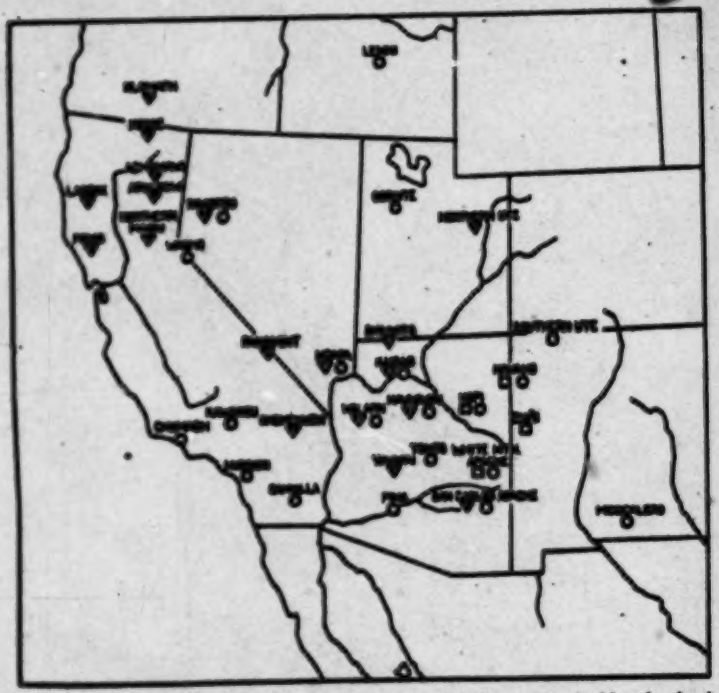

Fig. 27. Distribution of Basket Types. Triangle, denotes conical burden basket; square, rectangular burden basket; circle, biconate water bottle.

that the carrying net is used in southern California;[3] hence, we should presumably exclude all groups south of the Chemehuevi. Eastward this type is in use among the Paviotso, Ute, Kaibab, Shivwits, Moapa, and Panamint, and in Arizona among the Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, and San Carlos Apache.[4] East of this the carrying basket is different.

[1] Barrett, (a), 288; Dixon, (a), 314; (a), 189; Mason, O. T., (a), 437–439; Kroeber, (a), 41.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 54; (m).
[3] Spier, (a), 340.
[4] Lowie, (f), 222–227; Powell, 129; Donohue, 279; Curtis, II, 99; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 196; Carbonell, 228; Matthews, (d), 484–488.

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The Hopi, Zuñi, and Navaho are credited with a type that is square, flat-bottomed, and built up on a framework of two bent sticks. The Western Apache have an analogous form, but without the sticks. The Pima and Papago have an unusual carrying device of netting on a frame.[1] Its conical form suggests the conical basket under consideration; its general structure the carrying net of southern California. North of California the burden baskets are not conical, I believe. The data cited above suggest a continuous area of distribution of this type. There are obvious local differences, however. For example, open twined weaving is not used in this connection in Arizona though it occurs in the Great Basin and perhaps in California.

The water jug is commonly biconate and with a small mouth like that of the Havasupai. It is in all cases, except the Washo, coated with pitch and provided with two loops of hair on the sides to take the carrying band. This type of basket is in use among the Northern Shoshoni, Gosiute, Southern Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Kaibab, Kawaiisu, Chumash, Mission, Cahuilla, Walapai, Havasupai, Tonto, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Mescalero, Pima, Hopi, and Navaho.[2] It does not occur on the lower Colorado River, among the Salinan,[3] nor, I think, elsewhere in southern California. Hough reports that the Hopi obtain these baskets from the Apache, Ute, and Havasupai; Hrdlička that the Navaho get theirs from the Ute. There is some question whether the Cahuilla make such baskets. For the Gosiute and Washo these are seed baskets.

There are local differences in the technique and the shape of the neck and base. Southern Ute, Navaho (?), Hopi, and some Moapa specimens are in coil technique; Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Cahuilla, Walapai (?), and Havasupai are in twine. The twined vessels have conical bases, as a rule, even with the reverse curve which produces a nipple-shaped point, so that this feature seems really to be a function of manufacture by twining. Some vessels have funnel-shaped necks with wider mouths (Northern Shoshoni, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache). The Ute and Navaho examples are coiled, which is also the case with the Moapa pieces of this shape.

The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite re-

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 662–663; Pressburger Patbers, 205; Kissell, 228.
[2] Lowie, (a), 179; Chamberlin, (b), 241, 248, 274; Lowie, (c), 227, 241. Washo, Kawaiisu, Chumash, and Mission specimens in Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Kroeber, (a), 63; Rogers, 419; Curtis, I, 21; Dodge, 188; Dorsey, H. A., (b), 51, 1901. Hough, (a), 263, 266; Mason O. T., (c), 669; (b), 114; Hrdlička, (a), 862; Shoemaker and Wootton, 33.
[3] Mason, J. A., (a), 146.

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171 285 semblances to those of the Havasupai. Martynia as a decorative material is used by the Pima, Papago, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yuma Apache,[1] Yavapai, Havasupai, and Shivwits.

171 323 Pottery has an extensive distribution among the historic peoples of the Southwest. It extends throughout southern California and through the center of the Great Basin as far as the Salmon River in Idaho. In addition to the Pueblos, it has been found among the Northern Shoshoni, Uintah and Southern Ute, Navaho, Jicarilla, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Pima, Maricopa, Kwohatk, Papago, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chemehuevi,[2] Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, and the southern Sierra Yokuts and Mono.[3] Whether it was manufactured by the Serrano and Salinan is doubtful. There is positive evidence that within this area it was not made by the Wind River Shoshoni on the one hand and the Paviotso on the west, nor by the Tonto Apache, Gabrielino, and Chumash.[4]

The pottery of this whole group is scanty and crude in comparison to that of the Pueblos. It is generally a rough brown unslipped ware, commonly undecorated. The Mohave and Pima form an exception, for they have the ware not only in quantity, but with considerable finish.[5] In general the pottery of the lower Colorado tribes and those adjacent on the Gila and in southern California is a somewhat specialized product. The body color is reddish, decorated with darker red, black, or yellow lines. Pima and Maricopa ware is cream colored, but in general of the same sort. Ornamentation is by angular figures, parallel lines, triangles, etc., always in the same general style. This is common to the Mohave, Cahuilla, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Papago, and probably some of their neighbors. Pima decoration is sometimes more involved, being in part in imitation of the prehistoric wares of the Gila Valley. But the character of line at least is quite like that of their western neighbors. Navaho pottery is decorated by incising and painting; the style is unknown to me.

The shape of the larger vessels is much the same among all the rancheria groups; globular ollas with either slightly restricted mouths or with wide necks tapering directly up from the greatest diameter of the

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Uhrmen, (c), 188.

[1]Kroeber, (g), 841. Yet in another place it is implied that the Chemehuevi did not make pottery [Kroeber, (i), 242].

[2]Lowie, (c), 177; (h), 239 f; Steedom, 250; Providence Fathers, 218, 226, 228; Curtis, I, 20, 84, 88; Hodgkiss, (d), 687; Corbusier, 324; Hodgkiss, (c), 43–44; Kennedy, (c), 130–131; Gabrielino, 294; Hodgkiss, (d), 687; Corbusier, 324; Hodgkiss, (c), 43–44; Kennedy, (c), 130–131; Gabrielino, 294; Hanna, U. A., (b), 199; Hamilton, (a), 238, 242, 250; Mollhausen, 182; Hopis, (c), 223; Pattie, 199; Mollhausen, 44; Trippel, 276–277; Kroeber, (c), 277; Spier, (c), 342; Sparkman, 202.

[3]Kroeber, (g), 40, 84; Mason, J. A., (c), 142; Steere, 419.

[4]Their pottery may be shaped like that of the Pueblos, but I can find no reference to this in the literature and doubt it.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom. 171 323

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking corn-meal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*. [252]

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4] 171 276

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Moapa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains. 171 281

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes. 171 281 462

[1] Field notes of E. H. Lewis.
[2] Spier, (a), 340; Hope, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 20.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 267, 268; Matthews, (f), 314; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 67; Russell, (a), 207; Henshaw, 289, 290; Washo data from Dorter H. [illegible]; Dixon, (e), 314; J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yokutsehi used reeds, not clay for stems, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipes" (a), 142, 1922.
[4] Grinnell, (b), I, 259.
[5] Gatschet, (b); Lewis, (l), 2267; Mason, O. T., (e), 573.
[6] Curtis, 268; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 271; Dutcher, 149; Hough, (d), 70, 71.

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171 372 Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their New Fire ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2-1224) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

285 171 Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

171 411 237 As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

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[1] Hough, (a), 225; Perkins, (d), pl. 3; Lewis, (l), 222; (a), 188; (b), 214; Hough, (a), 226-243; Barrett, (a), 227; Hrdlička and Oldshue, 13. Washo information from Dorsey & H. H. Lewis, 1903.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 66.
[3] Hough, (a), 77, 20; Lewis, (l), 222; (a), 189; Chamberlin, (a), 35; Barrett, (a), 227; Teit, (a), 297; Hrdlička and Oldshue, 13.
[4] Franciscan Fathers, 607.
[5] Powell, (d), 134; Sparkman, 210; Dixon, (a), 145; Lewis, (a), 154.
[6] Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (a), 120.
[7] Pettis, 144; Goddard, (b), 221; Hough, (a), 227; Lutheraman, 222; Mason, O. T., (f), 640, 666, Pl. 79, Fig. 2; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 189; Bourke, (b), 87.

[Text continues on p. 160]

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Fig. 28. Distribution of the Sinew-Backed Bow in North America (omitting Eskimo types).

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of Anthropology, University of California (2-3342). The Tonto have a bow "strengthened at points by a wrapping of sinew," and that of the Yuma is also wrapped with sinew.[1] In California and the adjacent part of the Basin the sinew-backed bow is used by the Chemehuevi, Panamint, Kitanemuk (Tejon), Salinan, Yokuts, Wükchumni, Washo, Paviotso, Northern Maidu, Yana (?), Northern Wintun, Eastern Pomo, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Rogue River peoples, Modoc and Klamath.[2] According to Kroeber this occurs generally in California south to the Tehachapi Range, including the Panamint and Yokuts and a single specimen attributed to the Chumash. The Cahuilla, the Northern and Southern Diegueño did not have the sinew-backed bow, nor did the Hopi, and perhaps Shivwits and Uintah.[3]

To the north and east this form is recorded for the Northern Ute, Lemhi, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Cheyenne, the Sioux of Montana, Hidatsa, Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, the natives of Port Discovery on Puget Sound, Middle Columbia Salish, Shuswap (?), Chilcotin, Carrier, Sekanai, Ts'ets'aut, Kenai, and the Tinneh of the lower Yukon River.[4] Mackenzie observed the bow in what is probably Bella Coola territory.[5] Another type, consisting of joined pieces of horn and backed with sinew is known from the Kaibab, Wind River[6] and Lemhi Shoshoni, Cheyenne, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Nez Percé. Some of those referred to above may be of horn rather than of wood. The data used here are not sufficient to distinguish between the wide bows of the Pacific slope and the slender variety of the Basin and Plains, as O. T. Mason does.

The Eskimo have still another form of the sinew-backed bow, which commonly has a cable of sinews extending along the back. This is known from Baffin Land to East Cape, Siberia. The trussed bow is also credited to the Navaho by the Havasupai. Compound bows are widely distributed in Siberia and other parts of the Old World.

There is some suggestion that the length of self bows increases in the direction of Baja California. The relevant data (chiefly approxima-

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[1] Smart, 418; Trippel, 878.

[2] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 32; credited to the Chemehuevi by the Southern Diegueño (Spier, 9); Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 32; credited to the Chemehuevi by the Southern Diegueño (Spier, (d), 2405; Coville, 369; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 62, Figs. 2, 3, 4; Pl. 82; 675; Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Powers, 273; Barrett, (b), 16; Lowie, (i), 245; Snyder, 327; Dixon, (a), 202; Pope, 330, 341, Pl. 85, Fig. 2; Pl. 48, Fig. 15; 337, Pl. 47, Fig. 8. Pomo data from Dr. Edwin Loeb; Wükchumni from Miss Ann Gayton. Dixon, (e), 213; Barrett, (a), 246; Quarterly Oregon Historical Society, 7, 1906, 170.

[3] Kroeber, (g), 88; Spier, (a), 330; Lowie, (i), 245.

[4] Cullin, (a), 96; Lowie, (a), 176, 191; Thwaites, III, 19-20; Lowie, (g), 220; Wissler, (a), 185, 139; Kroeber, (b), 150; Skinner, 82; Grinnell, (b), I, 174. Pope, Pl. 48, Fig. 14, 340; Sapir, (a), 272; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 62, Figs. 2, 3; 676, 677; Teit, (c), 818, 782; ms. on Middle Columbia Salish; Morice, (b), 32, 59; Boas, (b), 889; Wasco specimens, Field Museum no. 60491.

[5] Mackenzie, II, 311.

[6] Powell, 126; Lowie, (i), 246.

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tions) at hand are: Maidu, 1 m., Salinan, 91 cm., Havasupai, 91 to 112, Western Apache, 162, Yavapai, 137, Mohave, 122 to 182, Pima, 135, Cahuilla, 122 to 137, Luiseño, 152, Southern Diegueño, 100 to 120, Cocopa, 182 to 243, Pipi[1] and Lower California Indians, 182, and Pericues, "long."[2] The exception here is the Southern Diegueño. 411 171

Mohave, Navaho, and Southern Diegueño bows at least are cut from the wood in the same way as the Havasupai. That is, the rounded back of the bow is the exterior of the tree limb, the interior is cut flat giving a trapezoidal cross-section. This may not be general.[3] [322]

The Navaho use the same bowstring hitches as the Havasupai and also attach a length of buckskin to the string. The bowguard or wrist protector is widely used. In this area it is recorded for the Yavapai, Tonto, Havasupai, Navaho, Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Paviotso, and Northern Shoshoni.[4]

The arrow wrench may be quite widely used. O. T. Mason ascribes it to the Plains Indians, the West Coast tribes, and the Eskimo. I have found it recorded among the Navaho, Ute, and Cheyenne,[5] as well as the Havasupai. This is a mountain sheep horn. The Hopi use antelope or goat horn[6]; the Cheyenne bone also. 171 412 321

Reed arrows are apparently restricted in the Southwest and California to the tribes in the direction of the lower Colorado River. The Yavapai, Tonto, Pima, Cocopa, Pipi, Seri, and the Indians of Baja California seem to use only reed arrows[7]; wooden ones are also used by the Navaho, Havasupai, Western and Mescalero Apache, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Panamint, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, and Maidu.[8] All other tribes mentioned in the second paragraph below apparently have wooden arrows only. The Havasupai and Luiseño favor the reed, the Cahuilla the wooden arrow. It is interesting that the Paviotso make a wooden arrow with a separate foreshaft in the manner of a reed arrow.[9] 411 171

There is also a suggestion that arrows from the lower Colorado and Baja California are longer than elsewhere. This might be expected from

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[1]A group one hundred miles below the mouth of the Gila and below the Cocopa (Pattie, 201).
[2]Dixon, (a), 202; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Bourke, (b), 57; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 50; Russell, (d), 95; Kroeber, (g), 58; Sparkman, 205; Spier, (e), 350; Chittenden, 204; Borgert, 382; North, 238.
[3]Pope, 335, Pl. 46, Fig. 2; 337, Pl. 47, Fig. 7; Spier, (e), 350.
[4]Corbusier, 283; Smart, 418; Shufeldt, (a), 744; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (e), 240, 288; Whipple, 114; Russell, (d), 103; Spier, (d), 353; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 192.
[5]Franciscan Fathers, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 600; Grinnell, (b), I, 179.
[6]Hough, (e), 278.
[7]Whipple, 98; Smart, 418; Russell, (d), 90; Heintzelman, 43; Pattie, 201; McGee, 197, Borgert, 382; North, 238.
[8]Franciscan Fathers, 182, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 599, 601; Pattie, 184; Trippel, 576; Kroeber, (z), 58; Coville, 360; Sparkman, 204, 206; Spier, (e), 351; Dixon, (a), 202.
[9]Lowie, (i), 246.

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the fact that their bows are longer, but the correlation is not close. Approximate lengths follow—:

	Wood	*Reed*
Maidu	82–87 cm.	
Havasupai	70–73	75 cm.
Western Apache		60
Mohave		very long
Pima		78–85
Luiseño		90
Southern Diegueño	60	74–80
Seri		65
Baja California		95–120
Pericues		90+

Wooden arrows sometimes have shallow longitudinal grooves running along the shaft; these are usually wavy or zigzag. O. T. Mason states that "the Eskimo do not make them, neither do the Northwest Coast Indians. Athapascan, Shoshonean, Siouan, Kiowan tribes are especially given to this practice."[1] The distribution of this feature is wide, but more restricted to a definite area than Mason's generalisation would imply. Such grooves are generally used in the Southwest, in the Basin and northern California, and throughout the Plains, but I have found them nowhere else with the exception of the Western Déné. In addition to the literature, I have examined the collections in the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, with some care, and somewhat more casually those in the Field Museum, United States National Museum, Museum of the American Indian, Washington State Museum, and the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B. C. It occurs among the following tribes: Yuma, Mohave, Havasupai, Hopi,[2] Zuñi, Western Apache,[3] Navaho,[4] San Ildefonso, Taos, Picuris, Mescalero, Southern Ute and those of Utah, Wind River (?) Shoshoni, Snake of Idaho, Maidu,[5] Wintun, Achomawi, McCloud River, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Klamath,[6] Wasco,[7] Rock Creek Sahaptins,[8] Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Western Déné,[9] Crow,[10] Cheyenne

[1] Mason, O. T., (f), 660.
[2] Hough, (a), 288.
[3] Mason, O. T. (f), 664.
[4] Franciscan Fathers, 318.
[5] Dixon, (a), 262.
[6] Mason, (f), 676.
[7] Field Museum, no. 69491.
[8] Washington State Museum specimens 8783 and 8789.
[9] Morice, (b), 55.
[10] Lowie, (b), 230.

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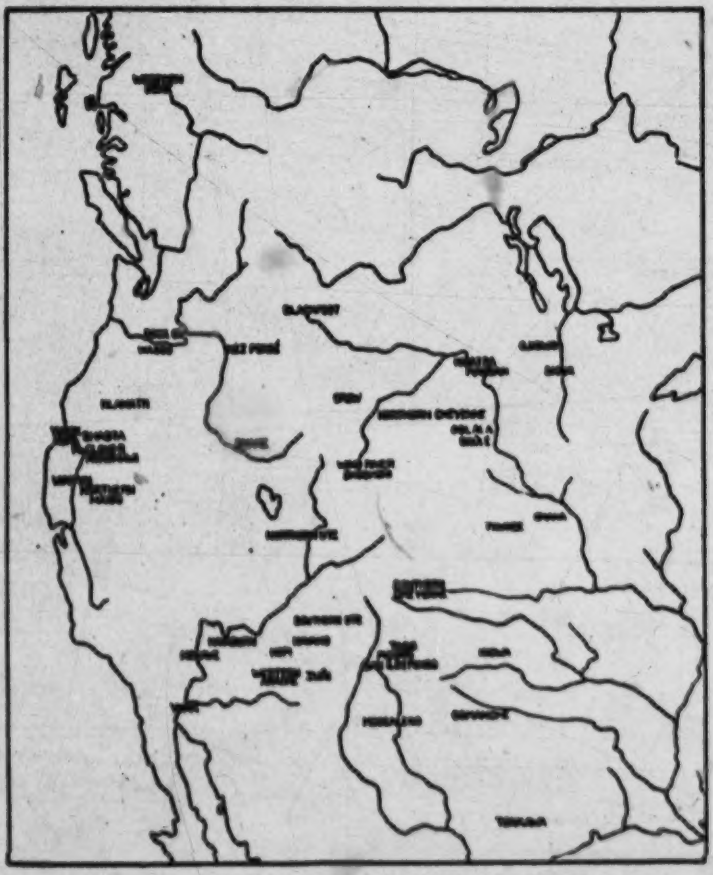

Fig. 29. The Distribution of the Grooved Arrowshaft.

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(both northern and southern groups),[1] Hidatsa, Mandan,[2] Oglala, Brûlé, and other western Sioux, the Sioux of Devil's Lake (Minnesota?), Ojibway of Dakota, Omaha,[3] Pawnee,[4] Kiowa, Comanche, and Tonkawa[5] (Fig. 29).

These grooves range from zigzag to straight lines. While my notes are not sufficiently complete for certainty, there is a suggestion of regional specialization of this feature. That is, Tonkawa, Comanche, and Kiowa examples are straight or nearly so; the others, where we have information, are wavy (Nez Percé, Wasco, Snake, Maidu, Ute, Havasupai, Navaho, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Ojibway). Cheyenne arrows have a straight groove on one side, a zigzag on the other. That from the Sioux of Devil's Lake is straight, but others from the Sioux figured by Mason are wavy or zigzag.

Several explanations are offered: they represent lightning to the Navaho, Havasupai, and Mandan;[6] blood channels to the Western Apache and Pawnee. The last also say that the grooves cause the arrow to adhere to the wound. Those of the Western Déné and Klamath are also styled blood gutters, but I am not sure that the Indians call them that. The Omaha explain them as a device to prevent the arrow from returning to its natural bent, an explanation accepted by Grinnell in connection with the Cheyenne, but the grooves are so shallow, the merest traces, that it is difficult to see how they could function, if a longitudinal groove would serve at all. This seems nothing but a rationalization, not different from the blood-channel explanation.

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[1] Grinnell, (b), I, 128.
[2] Mason, O. T. (f), 644.
[3] Fletcher and La Flesche, 431.
[4] Mason, O. T. (f), 634.
[5] Mason, O. T. (f), Figs. XLI, 3; XLII, 1, 3; XLIII, 1, 5, 6; XLIV, 6; XLV, 2, 4, 5; XLVI, 5, 6; XLVII, 2, 6; LXXIX, 9; LXXXI, 2; LXXXII; LXXXIX; XC.
In these museum collections are arrows from other localities having the grooves; Bella Bella, Chilcotin, Kwakiutl, Clayoquot, Klamath, Columbia, Fuca, Tolowa, and Shoshone. To which Antigonish may be added, according to Mr. Eugene Gilmore[sic].
[6] This may be Maximilian's explanation, not that of the Mandan.

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MEASUREMENTS, TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND COLORS

A number of measurements are in use. These have no names. The finger span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, and the hand length, from the tip of the middle finger along the palm to the wrist, are used in measuring arrow foreshafts, for example. Finger width, that is of the first two fingers, gives the width of a bow. The arm length, from the tip of the middle finger along the inside of the arm to the shoulder joint, gives that of the arrowshaft. The span of the arms, i.e., between the outstretched hands, is used to measure buckskins, the excess being measured in finger spans. The half arm span, from the sternum to the finger tips, is half the length of a bow. Steps are used in measuring houses, etc. Formerly the foot length was not in use. The Hopi use the forearm to measure the length of ears of corn when trading, but the Havasupai make no use of this measurement. 804 [171]

By way of a device for laying out lines, for example, in making a woman's dress, the bow is used: the back furnishes curved lines, the string straight ones. [294]

I have not observed that the fingers or other objects are used in counting. Of course counters are used in certain games, but not because they cannot reckon without them. Beside the numerals given below,[1] fractions (at least a half) are named. 802

1 ɬal'tà
2 xuwáɣà
3 hūmúɣà
4 hop'á
5 ɓɬ'ʌpà
6 tacpō'
7 xuwaɣacpi'k
8 humuɣɓcpō'k
9 ʌaʌɓɓdia
10 viwa"ava
20 wavâhuáɣà or xuáɣàvuwáɣà

[1] See also Harrington, (a), 324.

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22 wavàhuágà xuágàtoššálš or xu'agávuavà xu'agà toššálš
23 wavàhu'agà hûmugà toššálš or xu'agávow'avà hûmugà toššálš
30 wavahumugà or humûgávuwávà
40 wavàhopa" or hopadjšvuwávà
41 wavàhopa" sl'tigtoššálš or hopadjšvuwáva sltigtoššálš
50 wavàšet'apà or ššt'apávuwávà
60 wavàtšepš' or tšopaivuwávà
70 wavàxuagàcpš' or xuagàcpaivuwávà
74 wavàxuagàcpš'hopaktoššálš or xuagàcpaivuwavà hopak toša'lš
77 wavàxuagàcpš'xuwagàcpš"toššálš or xuagàcpaivuwavà xuwagàcpš"toššálš

One to five, nine, and ten are independent stems: six is presumably based on one, seven on two, and eight on three.[1] Twenty is either ten-two or two-ten: twenty-two is compounded of ten-two and two, and so on.

805 Four seasons of the year are named, although it is doubtful that these are thought of as definite divisions: *dicúdigd*, winter; *inyddiúyd*, summer; *n„inuwémimd*, spring (March and April); and *matmúnimd*, fall (October and November).

Years are said to be counted by snows (*hundpaicd*); a myth gives a duration of ten winters (*tcúdin„dvuwdsd*).[2] Shorter periods are designated in months, i.e., moons[3] (as *hdldhop'dgd*, four months) or in sleeps (as *hopa'djdsmd'g*, four sleeps).

The calendar presents the confusion commonly observed where twelve named periods are intended to correspond to the thirteen lunar months, and because some of them begin with the appearance of certain constellations there is further confusion. In addition, my information is not clear.

The year begins in the middle of November when the Hoop constellation rises. The following list of months was obtained in August, 1918 from Sinyella.

1. sšldjis'lá, hand + to come.
Cottonwood leaves fall.

[821] Begins with the rising of Tavádjádá, the hoop of the hoop-and-pole game, at dawn in the southeast. One of the culture heroes fixed this as indicating the first month. (Rose November 4, 1919.)

2. hálá'„agia yuwéva, moon + [man] staying at a house.[4]
Cool; a little snow on the plateau.

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[1] I neglected to record in my notes the numbers from eleven to nineteen, but as I recall eleven is vuwávádá, and so on.
[2] There are no calendar records of the Pimans type [Russell, (r), 78–82.]
[3] A San Carlos man kept track of a child's age by moons (Hrdlička (d), 490). For the division of the day and year among the Yuma, see Trippel, 878.
[4] This may refer to the winter solstice.

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3. i'podja'dila, the name of a constellation rendered ip'ɛ̃ha in a myth, (from i'i, wood, pik, to carry.) 805 821

Very cold; snow nine to twelve inches deep on the plateau.

Begins with the appearance in the southeast of a constellation representing Coyote carrying a pole of smaller stars on his shoulder. Mountain Lion came to his camp and ate his food. Coyote was angry. They told him to get a long pole and build a fire. He did not want to burn his pole, so they told him to go to the west and come back from the east. (Rose December 12 or 13, 1919.) [773]

This is called the second month in a letter from Jess Cheekapanyega giving the date on which the group arose. As this is only a month later than the first fixed date (Nov. 4, 1919) this information is probably correct. The month listed as second is perhaps the third, for the fixed date for the fourth month (Feb. 6, 1920) is two months later, leaving one lunation unnamed.

4. hõmàsfkà'dàdila, star+very cold

Bitter cold; snow thigh deep.

Begins with the appearance of a constellation (Fig. 3bl) in the east. (Rose about February 6, 1920.) This group may represent a portion of the constellation Perseus including the star alpha which would be visible in the northeast in December, January, and February in the early evening.[1]

5. màdigimafà, bean dance.

A little warm; snow a foot deep now melts a little.

The Hopi plant beans in a bucket and build a fire near it. They boil the sprouts and have a dance for joy, I was told. This is the Hopi Powamu ceremony which occurs early in February.[2] My informant said this month is not counted, hence its name may be an alternative for the fourth month.

6. màwafipũk, warmed.

Warmer; snow melts lower [March.]

7. màwaiàt'ũviagà, warm+half-way

Some begin to plant when the last crescent of the moon shows.

[Leaving out the fifth month, this is April: planting begins in mid-April.]

8. màwaifkàtãvàóvà, warm+gone. (The moon is gone by the end of this month.)

Planting during this month [May].

9. inyãtápũ'k, sun+to make [warm?]

Hot; planting ended; alfalfa high and cottonwood in full leaf [June.]

10. inyãkàtuyumiyã'kà

A little rain [July.]

"We do not count this month."

11. gàfastàsàpo'gà, thunder storm

Summer storms begin when this moon is half gone [August.]

The current month was given as gafω'pahuà on August 31, 1921.

12. gàfωpũ'kteriwũ'k.

Many storms with floods [September.]

[1] Dr. C. H. Hitchcock was kind enough to suggest identifications of these star clusters on the basis of my informant's fragmentary data.

[2] Voth, 73, 83.

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The list is apparently incomplete and garbled, yet I have attempted to give the approximately corresponding months in our calendar on the basis of the dating of the constellations and the descriptions of the seasons.

It is obvious that twelve names cannot do duty for not quite thirteen lunations and it is manifest that the Havasupai do not attempt the impossible. I was told that these are not intended to coincide with the lunar months and that the days are not counted. It seems that what I found true of the Southern Diegueño applies here: that these Indians are interested only in designating a series of periods without attempting to fix their limits, and these periods are roughly the lunations, the names of which are variable and frequently in doubt. The only certain months are those fixed by the appearance of the several star clusters, and these all occur at the beginning of the Havasupai year. There can be no question here of intercalation of the thirteenth lunation in a twelve name series.

There is some suggestion that the months begin with the full moon.

Month	*Began*	*Full Moon*
1st–1917	Middle of November	Nov. 28, 1917
1st–1919	Nov. 4, 1919	Nov. 7, 1919
3rd (or 2nd)– 1919	Dec. 12 or 13, 1919	Dec. 7, 1919
4th–1920	Feb. 6, 1920	Feb. 4, 1920

The solstices are recognized. Sinyella has a definite place where he stands to observe both solstices at sunrise. Presumably the other fixed points are pinnacles, etc., on the canyon walls. (Normally the canyon is deserted in mid-winter.) The winter solstice (*n„avákiɣ*, coming back) occurs when the moon is half full. Sinyella fixed this as December 30, 1919. The summer solstice is *tuyáhin„an„ntuvaha*, the sun is home. I did not learn of any rituals connected with these dates.

Time is indicated chiefly by the position of the sun.

n„imíθa'vumà	day time
tuya''dji'dliɣtgà	sun barely risen
tuyá'tapóvigtgà	sun risen half way
tuyá'viluwivigà	noon (sun in the middle[1])
tuyádtepévigà	sun halfway down
tuyátè'penigà	sun fallen out of sight
natàk'épigà	night
natàk'épvíluwivigà	midnight
dju'va„mθavàn ɣpafim	before the dawn
halává'pigigà	dawn.

The moon (*halá*) is a man or a man's head. A myth also describes it as a disk chipped out of ice.

[1]Or the sun making no progress; compare *a'luvíluwivigà*, horses racing neck to neck.

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A knotted cord or quipu (*dätsuudjïgà*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 26, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

805 211 648

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

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Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

823

north	màtávigà
west	nyatópovi (sun's setting place)
south	kàwé'vigà
east	nyádjà'dlovē (sun's rising place)
zenith	amiávigà or hulatóvigà (middle of the sky)
nadir	matvidlà or àmötávigà (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (àmötátu"waiyū'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

822 151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágà or hyádj	black
hyaa'gà	brown
àhwō'tigà	red
gwalaa'gà	pink
àgwá'g	yellow
ₙlmā'và	white
vaaàwà	blue-green
vahaadgà (?)	blue
vahaadlávigà	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 85; Stephen, 94, 360;) that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Fewkes, (a), 33). That of the Pima in lighting a bonfire/ pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache ritual is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 7.)

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822 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course
151 recognize and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (*n,ûdlgd*) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the
171 Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains,
805 and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North
x American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

Some suggested identities among the constellations recognized by
171 tribes in this area follow[4].
821

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand+to come)
		Begins year November or September				Begins year November
		Buzzard (in third month) January or November				
		Cîûk (in fourth month) December?				Coyote (in second (month) December Cold star (Perseus?) February

[1] Cope, map 5.
[2] Matthews, Navaho, 86.
[3] Curtis, 208; Spier, (a), 327. Cope classes the Yavapai corn (called Tonto), marked by seed-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but seed-gathering follows with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño corn is classed with the autumnal type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] De Soto, (a), 165, 181; Waterman, footnote 98; Spier, (b), 319, 327; Trippel, 378; Curtis, 208.

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Hulaish or hula'-chum (3 stars) (Orion)	Mu er ama, mountain sheep (Orion)	Amu, mountain sheep (3 stars)	A-mau (3 stars) (Great Bear)	Amo, mountain sheep (3 stars) (Orion)	Mn-'u, mountain sheep (Orion's belt)

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821

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand+to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest [805]

Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cllák (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I [114] think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-ma, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavish, buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cllák* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure [805]

[1] *Handbook*, 397.

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171 only in the early months of both calendars is presumptive evidence of
821 historic connection.
[805] There are some data on the identity of another group in this region. The Havasupai may know the cluster, but I did not record it. This appears to be the three stars of Orion's Belt, called *Mountain Sheep* by Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and *Hulaiah* or *Hule'chum* by Luiseño. I think Trippel is mistaken in identifying *A-mau* (presumably mountain sheep) with the Great Bear; there is no obvious triad in that constellation. Waterman doubtfully questions the identification of the Northern Diegueño group with Orion. Southern Diegueño *Mountain Sheep* is probably the same group, which makes it impossible for *Cliák* to be the Belt.

In our area the quipu or knotted string record is a formal accompani-
211 ment of an invitation to a gathering; one knot is cut off or untied for
805 each day that elapses until the event. Beside the Havasupai, Walapai,
171 and Navaho, this must have been in general use among the Pueblos for it figured in the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.[1] There is also a mythical reference to the device among the Zuñi.[2] The Miwok and the Northern and Southern Maidu have invitation strings identical with these.[3] The Huichol knot strings to keep count of days, untying a knot for each day elapsed. They also enumerate lovers by knotting cords.[4] As a mnemonic device the knotted string is also known to some Mission Indians, the Palonios (a subdivision of the Chemehuevi), the Klallam, Yakima, the Interior Salish of Nicola Valley, B.C., the Zuñi[5], and in a variety of forms in Peru. It is conceivable that this has a continuous distribution from Peru to Canada.

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[1] Bandelier, [illegible] 18; Hodge, 1910.
[2] Cushing, [illegible] 371; Parsons, 44; Parsons, 1918.
[3] Powers, [illegible] 271; Parsons, 44; Parsons, 1918.
[4] Lumholtz, [illegible] 1, 180-181.
[5] Stevenson, in Rept. 23. Further information from Ruth Gruber, Leadbeater and Hodge[illegible].

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HOUSES

Most Havasupai families have two residences (*kdwa"a*): the group of structures in the canyon occupied during the summer, and a house on the plateau for winter living. The winter house is located in a clearing, just big enough for the house alone, in the midst of a dense cedar or pifion thicket, because these are warmest. The site should be a sandy, gently sloping hillside with a southern exposure. The typical year-round house is a dome-shaped affair, thatched and, depending on the season, dirt-covered. This serves against the rain during the summer. The second type in the summer camp is rectangular, with dirt-covered roof and thatched sides. Besides these the summer camp contains shade structures in a great variety of forms. Two other types are used, both in the canyon and on the plateau, which are considered of foreign origin: a gable roof structure and a polygonal log house built in imitation of the Navaho.

The dome-shaped house may be circular or somewhat elliptical in plan. (Fig. 31 ab.) It is quite conical, for, though the main posts are somewhat crooked, they are not sufficiently so to produce a hemispherical structure like that of the White Mountain Apache. The house is built on a four post foundation: two heavy posts (about 25 cm. in diameter) are set into the ground on opposite sides with their forks interlocking: two lighter posts are set four-square with these with their forks locking into those of the first pair. The space between these primary posts is filled in with an indefinite number of poles, leaving a gap for the entrance. These secondary poles are set in the ground separately,[1] with their upper extremities locked into the forks. Those which do not stand solid are tied at the apex. Flexible poles are tied horizontally around the framework with sumpweed leaves, spaced 15 to 30 cm. apart near the bottom and somewhat closer at the top. These ribs do not cross the entrance, which is left free to about the height of a man. In the tightest winter houses, additional short poles are set upright close together all around the circumference, being tied to the horizontal ribs. The frame is now ready for the thatch, which is about 10 cm. thick. Brush of any kind may be used, but in the canyon "white" willow (*dmutsama"*) is the best, and next in preference a long-leaved weed growing by the creek (*hdmuatkwi*). The first tier of thatch is tied on with the butts of the bundles resting on the ground; subsequent overlapping tiers are placed butt end up. The space above the entrance is often left open for a smoke-vent, but it

[1] The White Mountain Apache dig a trench in which to stand them and to receive the first row of thatch.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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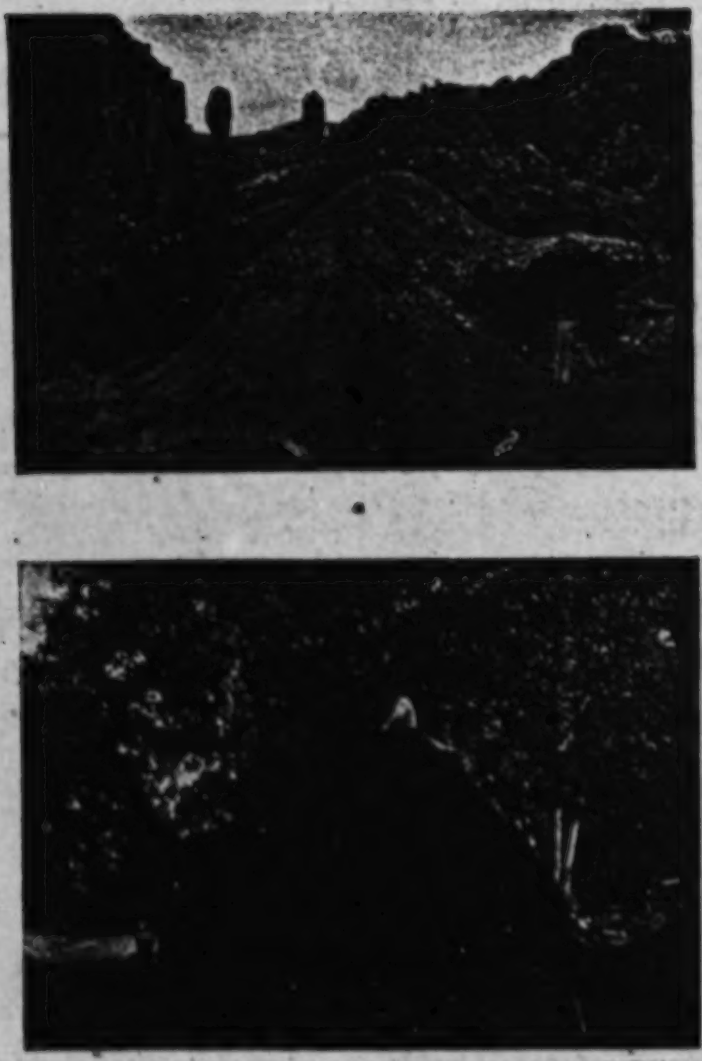

Fig. 81. Typical Dome-Shaped Houses. a, With dirt cover; b, Without dirt cover.

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Fig. 22. A Gable-Roofed House of the Mohave Type.

Fig. 23. A Log House of the Navaho Type with a Shade constructed in Front.

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342 is sometimes thatched as well and no orifice is left. (Most cooking is done out-of-doors, however.) Flexible poles are tied over the thatch to hold it in place. Dirt is heaped up around the circumference to a height of about 60 cm. Some houses have an entrance-way added. Two stout posts, about two meters tall, are set up at the toe of the two slanting poles which form the entrance. A lintel is set across the posts, and corresponding beams tied to the slanting poles at the same height. Sticks are laid longitudinally between these, and covered with brush and dirt. Sticks are also tied horizontally between the upright posts and the slanting poles so as to form the sides of the entry: long brush is stood against these, and dirt heaped against the base. The door in all types of house is a blanket (never a bookskin) hanging loose from the top of the opening but devoid of a stiffening stick in the bottom. The house is usually heaped over with dirt, especially that for winter living, but the summer rains wash this cover from the steep pitched roof so easily that frequent renewal is necessary. Usually the apex was so poorly protected that smoke had no difficulty in finding its way out. Neither the groundplan nor height of these structures are laid out by measurement (one typical fair sized house measures 4.6 m. by 4 m. in plan and 3 m. to the apex). The summer house is placed with its entrance facing in any convenient direction: the winter house faces somewhat south of east, i.e., where the sun rises.

[177] The ridged house resembles a gable set on the ground. This is thought of as a foreign type. It is nearly square in groundplan, with the corners somewhat rounded (Fig. 32). Two heavy posts are set upright (in one house 2.75 m. apart), supporting a heavy ridge pole in their forks at a man's height from the ground. Poles are laid slanting against the ridge from both sides, leaving a space for the entrance, if that is to be on the side. Others are similarly laid slanting at each end, with the line of their bases 50 cm. from the base of the main post and their upper ends resting in its fork. Slanting poles also fill in the corners, the lower ends arranged around a quarter circle. Slender poles are tied horizontally around the structure about 30 cm. apart. The frame is thatched and covered with dirt in the same manner as the dome-shaped house. A stick is fastened part way up the slanting entrance poles to which a blanket is hung for a door. The space above the door is open for a smoke hole. Some of these houses have the entrance in the gable end, and the summer house even stands with one or both ends open as Shufeldt's and Jamer's photographs show. The whole structure has usually such a low pitch and is so sand-drifted and brush-covered as to be amorphous. A typical house measures 4.5 m. square and 2 m. to the ridge pole.

[Text continues on p. 178]

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Fig. 84. A Shade or Open-Sided House.

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Fig. 85. A Rectangular Shade House.

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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horizontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the midpoints of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 33). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horizontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

[462] Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most 359 in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*sêâwa*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel. 352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedar-bark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed. 513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*upd"d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (*Fig. 36*). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[313] [291]

Fig. 38. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointem*, Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172] [1] A small stone mule stands on a point of the cliff (A Fig. 38). Most of the walls have roughly hemispherical or hemiconical (or hemicylindrical) foundations. Mostly are plastered, some unplastered, mostly no sticks, mostly no roof, and Havasupai pottery.

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Ute, and it was found by Stansbury west of Great Salt Lake.[1] The Yuma use it for their summer residence. The Navaho hogan is the same structure, perhaps a little more substantially built, but bark roofed like the Southern Ute house and dirt covered like the Havasupai. This brush lodge is used by the Mescalero and Jicarilla, but both groups prefer the tipi. The Lipan do not build this form at all. The San Carlos Apache house is hemispherical, but the poles are arched rather than locked together. To the south the Seri construct a rough elongated hemisphere of a series of arches, brush covered. This is a tiny affair more like the Havasupai sweatlodge than the dwelling, but inasmuch as it is dome-shaped and the other tribes of northern Mexico make use of rectangular structures of another sort, it may questionably be included with our group above. The Luiseño house, conical and brush covered, should probably be included as well, but Sparkman's description leaves room for doubt. The Pima and Maricopa have a composite type: a thatched and dirt covered hemisphere of arched poles is raised over a rectangular foundation.[2]

The covered entrance-way of the Havasupai is also found in the Navaho hogan.

This form of lodge is typical then of an area principally west of the Pueblos and in the Basin. It has marked analogies in the north in the mat-covered, hemispherical lodges sometimes used by the Wishram, Wasco, Nez Percé, Klamath, and some of the interior Salish, and in the Plains tipi to the east. Some of the eastern Basin peoples, in fact (Northern and Wind River Shoshoni, and Ouray Ute) build tipis which are covered with brush or grass in place of skins.[3] It has been conjectured that the tipi of the Plains and the wickiup to the west in the Basin are related forms. But it is not clear whether these Shoshonean structures are to be regarded as adaptations of the Plains tipi or whether the latter is a specialized form of an earlier type represented by these and the bark covered tipi of Canada. The relations with Californian types are not clear.[4]

One further comparative point should be observed here. The Havasupai erect the lodge on a four-pole foundation. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and it is true of the tipis of the same people and

[1] Clemmer, fol. 186, 188, 200; Cushman, 200; Goddard, 91, 2nd ed., 116; Gottfried, 200; Parsons I, 162; Powell, Pl. 13; Tschudi-Sayous, 177; Lewis, 69, 218-220; Stansbury, fol. 30; Mumey, 91; Steed

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171 342 the Wind River. Lowie has pointed out their resemblance in this regard to the Blackfoot and Crow, and, to complete the list from Wissler's notes, the Sarsi, Hidatsa, Salteaux, Comanche, and possibly the Kiowa Apache.[1] It is important to know the foundation pattern for the other tribes of this area. For if they all use four poles then Lowie's suggestion might be reversed; the four-pole tipi of the Blackfoot, Crow, and others being derived from the Basin peoples. The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analogous to the usual Plains tipi. We should know what the Jicarilla and Mescalero use to solve this puzzle.

The gable house is typical of the Mohave, but is used by the Havasupai and White Mountain Apache. It is characteristic of this form that the walls closing the gable ends slant as well as the sides and that the corners are rounded. The Southern Diegueño house is presumably a related type, although it lacks these features. We should probably look to other southern and central Californian tribes for similar forms.[2]

The Navaho log cabin of polygonal groundplan is copied by the Havasupai. It has been suggested that this structure is related to the log roofing of some prehistoric subterranean kivas.

The flat-roofed, rectangular shade is very widely used but it is not 171 usually walled in. When three or four sides are closed it forms a definite 343 type of house, which furthermore seems to have only a local distribution. This includes the Havasupai, Moapa and Tointeme[3] Paiute, and Mohave. These Paiute houses are said to have sloping roofs, but I take this to be only a minor difference. The rectangular, gable-roofed house of the Cahuilla and of the modern Southern Diegueño may belong to the same type. The walled-in shade seems to be related to a type of structure used to the south by the Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and Yuma; that is, a similar rectangular house of which the walls are vertical poles wattled with brush and mud. This in turn bears resemblance to the houses of the Opata and Jumanos in northern Mexico.[4]

The matter of house types is further complicated by the reports of communal dwellings in southern California. We know little about these.

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[1] Wissler, Vol. 138.
Lowie, Vol. 277. Goddard, Gr. Bad of., 168. The Mescal house referred to by Lowie [Vol. 244, 245] is not of Mohave form in any characteristic of that tribe, although it is used by them [Kroeber, Handbook of American Indians, F. Bull. 30, Vol. II, 30].

[2] Kroeber, Vol. 88, 89.

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechcloth, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives.

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechcloth is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses is in the hands of the men.

The man's shirt (*nkpuxtá*) seems to have been based on the pueblo type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[2]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1] Coues, 488.
[2] Compare the Western Apache (Hrdlička, 140, 139). Cushing, 341, 346.

[Text continues on p. 185]

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Fig. 57 (20.9-1207). A European Variation of the Plains Type of Man's Shirt. (The small flap is lifted to show its decoration).

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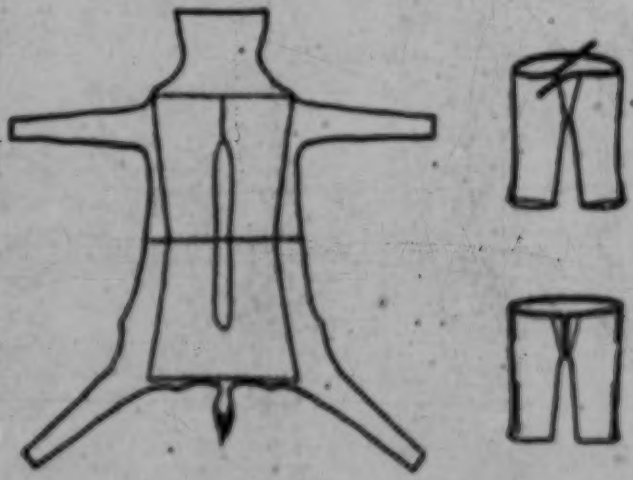

Fig. 58. Diagram Illustrating the Cutting and Construction of a Man's Trousers.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All 291
seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent 294
parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces
to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve.
The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*matkityéva*, collar
tail). Some of these are beaded (*supoála*, beads), the design having no [531]
significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted
around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even
more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the
head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and
worn with the hair side out.

The breechcloth is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from [439]
the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the
belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechcloths
are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*tqáll mikíál*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately [177]
on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the
knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the
duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The
seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered
somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment
hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short
distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet
at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechcloth. A
second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then
split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and
silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with ???
woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded 291
wristlet, rings, and the turquoise and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and 301
Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching 291
from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are 294
belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's [439]
apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong
holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[286]

[1] Whether the cotton originally grown by the mesquite and cocopahs along coast and sent [illegible]
[2] The Havasupai state that the Walapai use long flaps.
[3] Lumholtz, Vol. Arch.

[Text continues on p. 187]

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[p. 124]

Fig. 39 (80.2-1296ab). A Woman's Dress of Buckskin. a, The front apron; b, The back apron.

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing these for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or deerclaws are hung as rattles (*atwě*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The sewed line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the forelegs of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 331 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A beadskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294 291

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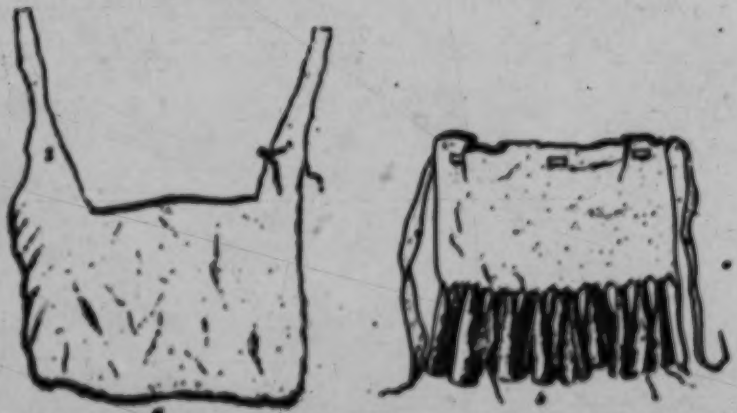
291 (almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

291 237 301 Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

291 The undershirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes



[237] [301]

Fig. 40 a (20.3-1882), b (20.3-1882). A Woman's Undershirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

[294] through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).[a]

291 Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also 291 [291] furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*Apâld*) and cotton-tail (*Ahâ'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together [283] on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[a] Clothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins. [Text continues on p. 181]

291
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Fig. 41 (33.5-1888a). A Man's Hard-Soled Moccasin with Upper and a Diagram showing the Method of Construction.

Fig. 42 (33.5-1870). A Man's Moccasin with Single Piece Upper cut to Form a Short Tongue.

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281 this warp at intervals of 8 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; speci-
286 mens measuring 75 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 60 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls,
[291] at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as
[171] at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes
291 wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women,
294 with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin

a b

Fig. 42 *a* (30.3-1278a), *b* (30.3-1277a). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*wakdagé*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho
[439] silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The medium shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Oklahoma River tribes. It is formed of four handkerchiefs sewed together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The corners drawn to other tribes that of the river people. An embroidered is occasionally worn.

[2] Glazed moccasins, moccasins, sandals, and basketry shoes are made.

[3] This is the type shown by Wheeler, Ill. Fig. 97, for the Hopi.

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woman's moccasin. This differs from the woman's type only in that the ankle piece is short. Two sets of tie strings are furnished in the older style of fastening as shown in Fig. 42; a short thong ties into a corresponding hole, a long thong is wrapped several times around the ankle before tying. The tops of moccasins were sometimes turned down inside to present a finished edge. Porcupine quill decoration (*guewa tapi'*) was then added in a band encircling the top about 1 cm. from the edge. The band was 1 to 2 cms. wide, the quills standing vertical, black, red, and green alternating. The quill (*gallčhapdsild*: *gallčlu*, porcupine) was

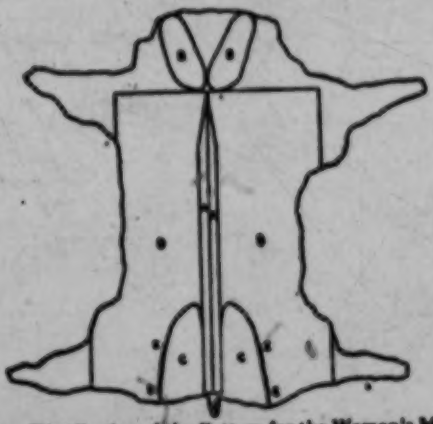

Fig. 44. Distribution of the Pattern for the Woman's Moccasin.

flattened before it was applied.[1] Men's moccasins were usually painted red, but there was no other decoration, appendages, etc.

The woman's moccasin (*pak'emahdapš'*) has a two piece upper, a toe piece and tongue in one, and a long ankle flap.[2] This flap is worn wound around the ankle, not the calf as Pueblo women wear it. The single tie-string is wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. The pattern is distributed as shown in Fig. 44. The deer hide is folded lengthwise and split from tail to neck. Tie-strings (A), 2 to 3 cm. wide, are cut. The contour of the sole (B) is marked on the folded, thick neck skin but each sole is cut out separately. The toe and tongue piece (C) are marked on the next thickest part of the skin, the withers, using an old upper as a pattern. A leaf of narrow-leaf yucca is chewed into the edge of the sole,

[1] The method of coloring them is forgotten.
[2] This is in general the Hopi pattern described by Winsor, (a), 146.

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so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reinforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

Fig. 43 (30.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*makaxpúkwaba*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 44) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which wind about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is brushed back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gúdshdes*) is bound around with a fillet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of buckskin. The last is broad enough (8 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Mythical snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 846.

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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2-126) is made of a strip of deer hopskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the skin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2-1025) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2-1041). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with buckskin.

The hairbrush (ket'i, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is reused by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache. Goddard, Ind. Life, 240.

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302 rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with
[515] yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds
[825] cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not
304 [1439] made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the
[1751] neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2-1621), modern in
[171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such
[439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a
304 relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to
[1751] soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent *deafness*—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants
304 are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads
[439] hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or bended cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons
[304] are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside these of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat
301 spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and fore-
306 finger, a strand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*ahhá-tátkĕ*; *ahl*, finger, hand; *átkĕ*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

White face painting (*ápaihpa*) is indulged in by both sexes and all
302 ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] Not not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 1898, Cushing, (a), 1896).

[Text continues on p. 196]

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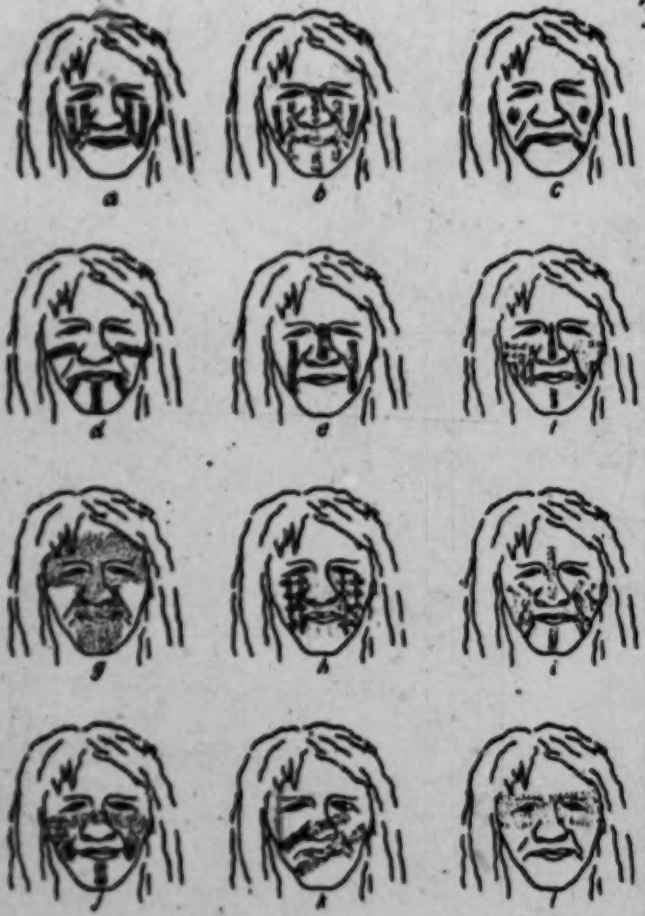

Fig. 47. Styles of Facial Painting.

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302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *h*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red ochre, *h* red or vermeil, and *l* idus. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

386 Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a
387 mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scraped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*mattupdáji*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept
390 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong looped about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the
[302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*mattihi's*

[171] [1] The Walapai use solid sometimes to paint their faces in this manner instead of red.

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (nishóttivi, mesnal—) is the dried juice of roasted mesnal (p. 196). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (dáspkíkpó') is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

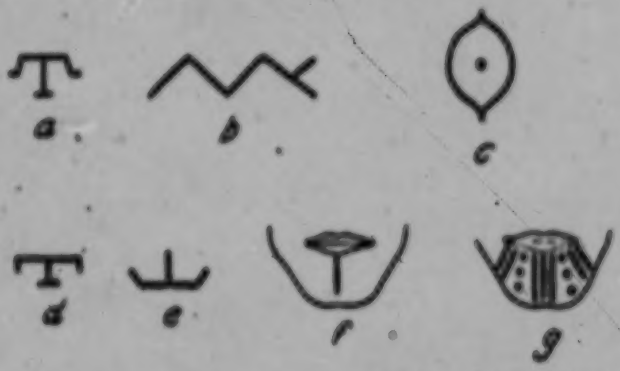

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. a-c, Center of man's forehead; f, g, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides these figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children, with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[Also signifying writing: pukí-kpukkí means both photograph and coupon (kpú, mark).]

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177 29 by the Pueblo and Navaho, suggest a fascinating problem which ought to be open to analysis, but will not be attempted here.

171 29 We are dealing here with an area in which two styles of clothing prevail. For men, these are either sandals, kilt or apron, and cloth poncho, or else moccasins, leggings, breechcloth, and the Plains shirt, which is essentially a skin poncho. For women, the types that correspond are sandals with either aprons or the dress of the Pueblo women, an uncut square of cloth, or again moccasins and the Plains woman's dress.

The characteristic Californian man's garment is the apron of fiber or skin. For example, on the borders of our area the Ashumawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño men wear a single apron in front and never affect the breechcloth. The Mohave use either breechcloth or apron. The apron is presumably related to the traditional garment of the Pueblo, a woven kilt, persisting today only in ceremonial dress. The Navaho make one of a broad fringed belt which to the Franciscan Fathers suggests a kilt.[1]

All the other Southwestern tribes and their neighbors wear breechcloths. This is recorded for the Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma, Cocopa, Mariopa, Pima, Navaho, and the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. It is implied in the Plains dress of the Northern Shoshoni and Jicarilla, and undoubtedly was used by Mescalero and Western Apache and by the Paiute.[2] Even where trousers of Spanish or later patterns have displaced the Pueblo [177] kilt, the breechcloth is worn, as at Zuñi, beneath the trousers.

The breechcloth is then characteristic of the whole area westward to the Californian border, excepting only the Pueblo of the prehistoric period. There is some variation even in this simple garment. The typical Plains form having long flaps pendent front and back is that of the northern Pueblos, Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. Other Pueblos and the Havasupai, Mariopa, and Cocopa wear it with short flaps. On the other hand that of the Mohave is long again, while that of the adjacent Yavapai has a long flap in the rear.

171 177 29 The Pueblo trousers are ultimately derived from Spanish sources; short-waisted, knee length, and open at the knee. The Havasupai form with the outer seams open at intervals is identical with the Navaho, from which it is probably derived. Kaibab Paiute are also shown in one

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[1] Pilling, 1st, 222-223; Bair, 1st, 249; Wilgus, 114; Franciscan Fathers, 128; Lowie, 1st, 210; Wissler, Richards, and Lowie, 2d, Cheyenne, 201-202; Stewart, 122; Tilton, 2nd, Shoshonean, 4a; Handbook of American Indians, 1st, 110-111; Handbook, 1st, 140, 220; Russell, 1st, 147; Lumholtz, 2nd; Goddard, 1st, 2nd ed., 40, 191; Lowie, 1st, 190-191.

[2]

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of Powell's illustrations wearing trousers, or perhaps only long fringed leggings. One curious feature about the Havasupai and Zuñi garments is that they are made from two straight pieces which fail to meet at the belt in front, leaving a space to be covered by the breechcloth. This suggests an origin of the pattern in two long leggings attached to the belt, but the case is inconclusive.[1]

The Plains man's shirt is found throughout this area, though it is probably not so commonly worn as on the Plains. It is essentially a poncho of skin, as Wissler has demonstrated, yet always with a well-defined pattern. It is precisely the Plains form which we encounter everywhere. It is recorded for the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Jemez, Mescalero, and Western Apache, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, other Rio Grande Pueblos, Zuñi, Hopi,[2] Piros, Mohave,[3] Yavapai,[4] Havasupai, Paiute,[5] Uintah Ute, Arikarawi, Atsugewi, and Klamath.

Wissler has made a case for the origin of the Plains shirt pattern in the cloth poncho.[6] The older Havasupai type and that of the Yavapai lend corroboration; both are folded skins slit to pass over the head. The woven poncho is at least characteristic of the Pueblos in our area, as well as in use throughout Mexico and the northern region to the south. The Navaho also have the typical form; a blanket so woven that a slit remains in the fabric. The Southern Diegueño prepare a rabbitskin blanket similarly. Yet, both the Hopi and Navaho[7] make a cloth poncho which, by the addition of short lengths of cloth to cover the arms, approximates the Plains type of shirt. It is more likely that this is in imitation of the Plains garment, which was patterned on the original simple cloth poncho, than the reverse.

The triangular flaps attached front and back to the Plains shirt at the neck hole have been tentatively explained by Wissler as possibly originating in a knife sheath hung in front of the throat.[8] It is difficult to account for two appendages in this manner. I think rather we have here confirmation of his general theory, for the Mexican ponchos in the collection of the American Museum are decorated with large lozenges woven at their centers, so arranged that when the cloth is folded, a triangular area extends downward from the neck hole in front and in back.

[1] Powell, Fig. 44; Stevenson, M. C., 64, 888.
[2] Matthews, Stevenson, and Fewkes, 21; Mindeleff, 241, 242-243.
[3] A fairly complete series of a buckskin fringed garment "over the shoulders." (Whipple, 134).
[4] A deerskin fringed garment, slit for the head, and used as the other (Stevenson, 888).
[5] Handbook of American Indians, II, 106, 10.
[6] Wissler, 107.
[7] Matthews, 21, Fig. 140; Stevenson Pueblos, 647, 687, 688.
[8] Wissler, 64, 108.

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Women's dresses present an even more interesting case of mergings of patterns. East of our area the Plains women's dress is a long garment reaching to the shins, comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part turned down to form decorative flaps over the chest and shoulder blades. To the west women wear a short apron or skirt of cords, etc., pendent from the belt or made of skins. Among the Havasupai, Yavapai, Navaho, and possibly the Kaibab, these patterns coalesce but in different ways.

The Plains dress is used within this area by the Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Paviotso, Jicarilla[1] and probably Mimbreño[2] Apache, Navaho at times, Kaibab Paiute and possibly others near them, although Paiute women had scanty attire as a rule.[3]

On the other hand the Achomawi and Atsugewi, like typical Californians, wear a fringe or apron of deerskin or a deerskin skirt, the Southern Diegueño two aprons of pendent twigs, the Potiowa a skirt or long girdle of fiber or deerskins, and other Lower Californians two aprons, usually of reeds strung together,[4] the Chemehuevi a bark petticoat, the Cocopa an apron of cords, the Yuma two aprons of willow (that in front reaching to the knee and the other made like a bustle and extending to the bottom of the calf), the Mohave a fore skirt of cords and a back skirt of strips of the inner bark of the cottonwood, the Apache-Yuma sometimes a kilt of strips of bark hung over the belt,[5] the Mariopa and Pima skirts of cotton cloth, buckskin, or willow bark.[6] The Mescalero and Western Apache garment, a skirt from waist to knees and "generously provided with fringes of buckskin," is presumably the same as these.[7]

The Havasupai woman's dress is clearly a modification of the two-apron type in the direction of the Plains dress. The front apron has been lengthened to hang from breast to shins and the upper part turned back to form a flap in the manner of the Plains yoke. There is a distinction however in that the neck part of the skin is at the top, not at the bottom as in the Plains dress. That it is hung by a band around the neck is unessential, for unless there is a corresponding back part to which it might be sewed it must be hung in some such fashion. No such change has occurred in the back apron; I do not fathom the reason for the horn-shaped additions. One curious feature is that an abbreviated

[1] Lowie, Ethnol. and Tanoan, pp. 61; Carlsmith, 1905.
[2] Bourke, loc. cit.
[3] Goddard, loc.

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apron is always worn under the long garment. It seems probable that this is the original form of front apron perpetuated by the strong force of habit after the longer form was evolved. And it may be that the long garment was only infrequently worn, perhaps only in cold weather. An ornamental fringe worn in front as a belt looks like a further repetition of the apron idea. [71 291]

Yavapai dress is identical. Two aprons are worn; a buckskin hung in front of the belt and another behind, and in winter

a third one suspended from the neck by strings, and bound at the waist by a belt to protect the chest.

Even the decorations are alike; in both jingles are put on the fringes, including bone tubes on the tabs of the neck straps.[1] [304 591]

Powell illustrates a Kaibab woman's dress which is of the Plains variety, a long skin affair with a fringed yoke. Yet there appears to be a short fringed apron over this.[2]

The older Navaho dress is a more direct imitation of Plains costume in cloth. Two blankets, which hang well below the knees, are sewed together over the shoulders, sewn from the bottom to the waist, and belted with a woven girdle.[3] This may be taken to be an adaptation of the Pueblo woman's cloth dress to the Plains pattern.

The Mescalero and Western Apache women are credited with an upper garment which may be an approximation to the Plains dress or perhaps to the man's shirt. It "had an opening for the head and two large square portions which fell in front and behind to the hips." This may also be true of the Ashonawi, Ateugewi, and Southern Hesquaki, who wear a poncho garment like that of the men; the first two a skin slit for the head and sewn under the arms, the last a rabbitskin blanket.[4] The Klamath have both the long dress and the skirt of bark strings.

In addition to these two general types, there is the dress of the Pueblo women. This is a garment formed of a square of cloth folded lengthwise and sewed into a tube. This hangs under the left arm with two corners fastened over the right shoulder.[5]

A woven belt similar to that worn by Pueblo women is used by the Havasupai (who derive them from the Hopi) and by the Navaho, Pima, and Mohave.

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[1] Curtis, [illegible].
[2] Powell, Fig. 44.
[3] Stephen, [illegible]; Lockwood, [illegible]; Matthews, [illegible], Pl. 34 and 36; Lippe, Indian p. 46; Jones, [illegible], Fig. 180.
[4] Lumholtz, [illegible], 101; Tilton, [illegible], 310-319; Spier, [illegible].
[5] Hough, [illegible].

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Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apaches and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

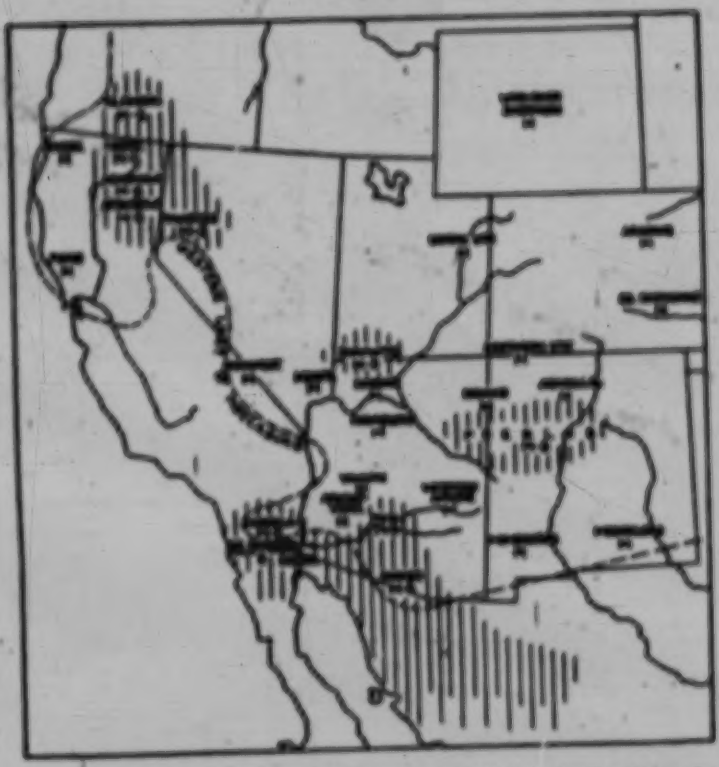

Fig. 48. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and California Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Kroeber, Gil, 180; St. Clair and Lowie, 278.

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(said to have formerly had the one-piece type, the hard-soled affair being introduced from the Arapaho), Uintah and Southern Ute, the Jicarilla (by implication), Mescalero, Mimbreños, the Pueblos, Navaho, Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai, Apache-Yuma, Pima, Papago, Cahuilla, Kaibab, Shivwits, and Moapa Paiute (used by the rich among the last), Panamint, Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi,[1] Yurok, and Modoc. Yurok, Klamath, and Pomo have a one-piece moccasin, with a seam up the toe, which has a considerable distribution in California. It is not clear that moccasins are usually men's footgear alone. On the contrary, the implication is frequently that they were used by both sexes. But there is usually some difference in pattern. Pueblo women customarily go barefoot, in which the Havasupai women resemble them. Moccasins are for them articles of gala dress or for journeys.[2] This is also true of the usual Papago and Pima usage, and indeed may be general in the Basin.

It is difficult to make comparisons with neither specimens nor specific descriptions at hand. Yet there seem to be two prevailing general types; low moccasins covering the ankles and high forms in which the upper is wrapped around the calf. The latter is generally confined to women. The low types are used by Havasupai, Zuñi, Hopi, Cochiti, Navaho, Apache-Yuma, and Cahuilla, and usually by men. Boot-like affairs are also ascribed to the Tonto (men), Mimbreños (men), and Pueblos. The wrapped-around type is used by Yavapai of both sexes and by women among Havasupai, Navaho, and the Pueblos.

Winder's pattern Number[3]	Havasupai	Navaho	Hopi	Zuñi	Cochiti
17—First Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women		?	×	
——Second Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women				
14—(but with short upper)	Men	Men	×		×
14—Third Havasupai type	Women	Women			
15			×		
18			×		

[1] Lowie, (1), 218; Pettit, 101; Barbeau, I, 247-249; Hough, (1), 231; Dunagan, 146; Beard, 118; Curtiss, 242; Whipple, 66; Goddard, (a), 2nd ed., 187; Kroeber, (a), 91; Dorsey, 209; Barrett, (a), 214.

[2] Hopi women wear the wrapped moccasin only at marriage ceremonies (Hough, (4), 72).

[3] Winder, (a), 140-141. Boots also reputedly Mexican, (a), 131, 133; Mason, (1) T., 19, 307; Dunagan, Fig. 19.

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171 291 These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently [53] colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south[1] through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[2]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Ponca, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the putter-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[3]

171 291 286 291 Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus, and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[4]

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[1] E. g., Hrdlička (Lumholtz, [a], IV, [, 11]; Means, [a], 344 [; Kroeber, [2], 61; Means, O. T., [g], 202; Tripp[d, 202; Barrett, [a], 202; Chamberlain, 264.

[2] Forstemann Peabody, 67, 200; Stephen, [a]; 189; Means, O. T., [g], 202.

[3] The wearing of a rectangular blanket is illustrated by Jacobs, [a], Pl. 2, but according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Paiute and Walapai, [2], 277.

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provide comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp three upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos hang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have produced our lucks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Shufeldt, M. C., ibid., 276; Hough, ut. 862; Francisco Palóu, 141; Curtis, II, 90; Russell, 40, 100; Spier, ut. 344; Kroeber, 840; Yates, 275; Stearns, J. S., ut. 127; Powers, 404, 244; Fages, 80; Ellison, ut. 140 (where the blankets are used more in the Moreno than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (1), 196, 210, 217, 220; Hollenbeck, 130; Chamberlain, ibid. 109; Lowie, (2), 170.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art, or with the almost feature of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai.

Shufeldt, 276; Francisco Palóu, 266; Hough, ut. 845; Goddard, ut. 2nd ed., 40.

[3] "Long knitted rolls of false hair behind." (Culmann, 1776); Bourke, 40, 111.

"Gathered "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ives, and Turner, 59).

Stolze, ut. 246.

[4] Hodge, 60; Trippel, 805; Russell, 40, 100; Cremony, 90; Bourke, ut. 111; Gerber, I, 182, II, 217, 220; Whipple, Ives, and Turner, 59. The Chemehuevi, a tribe found by Ives at the mouth of the Gila in 1857-8, had a similar hairdress (Bourke, ut. 111). Mohave, 227, see also Latrobe, ut. 6; Curtis, II, 90.

Stewart, 414; Hodge, 60, cite.

[5] [illegible]

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171 302 Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in these pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Arbonawi and Ateugowi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

171 [302] A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

[302] A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

[301] Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Petrie, 166; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 94; Lowie, (l), 216, 217; (c), 188; Franciscan Fathers, 99. For a western group see Dixon, (c), 240.
[2] Handbook of American Indians, I, 606; Barbeau, II, 233.
[3] Handbook of American Indians, I, 606, 930; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371.
[4] Corbusier, 385.
[5] Lumholtz, (d), 114; Kissell, 141; Lumholtz, (c), II, 233.
[6] Corbusier, 385, 388.

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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1]

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 261) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1860 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Mono state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Similarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7]

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[1] Cushman, 251.

[2] Lowie, (1), 207. Not all the Mandans painted red in token of enmity, according to Pierce (1837). Powers, (2), 261, 307. Powers mentions a war-like significance for red paint, but Miss Gayton tells me that this was an error of the local informant, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (2), 161; Kroeber, (2), 66; Russell, (2), 161; Spier, (2), 241; Mason, J. A., Yokuts thought. Lowie, (2), 161; Kroeber, (2), 66; Russell, (2), 161; Spier, (2), 241; Mason, J. A., (2), 139.

[3] Kroeber, (2), 256; Whipple, [1]; Whipple, Eatough, and Turner, 33; Henshaw, 71; Tyrrell, 264; Robertson, 49; Spier, (2), 241; Kroeber, [1], 256; Hodge, (2), 65; Russell, (2), 161; Cushman, 260 f.

[4] Dorsey, G. A., (2), 158.

[5] Lowie, (2), 161. For Walapai see Rhodes, 200; Fitzpatrick Vickers, 74, 208.

[6] According to Hodge (2), 65, the older men Cochise are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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Tattooing also occurs elsewhere in California. I do not know how closely this resembles the style of the lower Colorado tribes. But the Maidu women, who alone as a rule bear the decoration, have three to seven vertical lines on the chin. There are regional differences among these people. Among Achomawi and Atsugewi, who tattoo but little, the women also have three lines on chin or cheek, the men a line of dots on the temple. This is somewhat like the Klamath custom. Yokuts and Costanoan also tattooed.[1]

[1] Dixon, bb, 307; bb, 310; Merriam, f, A., bb, 188.

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman rank. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Cushing found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause has in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

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[1] Cushing, Ms.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Dublin found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (G), 39-41. The Havasupai sex ratio is 1210 males to 100 females; in 1900 it was 143, in 1905, 161. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	38	1	2
2	4	1	39	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	5	2
5	3	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	5	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	57	2	1
18	..	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	82	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	96	79

There are forty-two oampa, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.8 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 1900, [illegible]).
[2] Kroeber, (1), 130–131.

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The family with which I lived in 1918 is typical. It consisted of Tukaveridja, aged seventy-five, her daughter Susie, fifty-five, both widows of long standing, and her two sons, Mark and Henry. Mark is a widower of thirty-four; Henry is thirty, his wife Nina is twenty-three, and his two sons are seven and three. They live in two houses standing side by side: Tukaveridja, Susie, and Mark in one, Henry's family in the other. Both the mother and daughter cook in their own half open house, and eat there with the two men and the boys. Nina sometimes joins them, but light hurting her failing eyes, she usually remains within her own brush house. To make the picture complete, there must be added the continual stream of visitors, mostly unattached men, relatives and otherwise, who share the ever ready meal. All five adults labor in their fields, which are their joint property, although more emphatically Mark's and Henry's. Nina also planted in a field allotted her by her father's elder brother for the sustenance of her two boys. The men give more attention to irrigation and their horses, and now that alfalfa is grown, to those fields too; the women have more concern in caring for the harvest.

Groups of closely related families living and working together form still larger informal units. A typical one is the group of which Manakadja is the head. With him live his wife and two adult unmarried sons. The adjacent house belongs to his eldest son, Jasper, his wife and two daughters, the next house to his youngest daughter, Esther, her husband and infant. A short distance opposite, sufficiently far to be something of a separate camp, is the house of his eldest daughter Te'ek'idje, her husband and six children. All the women cook together in the open space about which the houses are grouped, although Te'ek'idje's family leads rather a separate existence and Jasper's also does to some extent. All of them work their fields in common, or rather Manakadja's, whose inherited holdings are extensive. Esther's husband has some interest in his father's fields, and Te'ek'idje's husband may own some land.

Watahomidja's family group comprises his wife, her aged Walapai stepmother, his eldest son and wife, his second son with his wife and two infants, and his third unmarried son. All these occupy one house and eat together. In 1918 his daughter, Callie, her husband and three children lived in an adjacent house, with the husband's aged mother living in a shelter alongside. This family led a somewhat independent existence, and in 1919 broke with them to live some distance off. This year Watahomidja was joined by his daughter's orphaned boy.

592 [123]

[574]

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592 Rock Jones shares a house with his wife and his eldest son, a widower with two girls. A nearby structure houses his second son with a wife and three daughters, together with Watahomidja's youngest son, Claude, who in 1919 became the husband of the oldest daughter. In 1918 Rock Jones's youngest son lived close by with his wife, Kitty, and three children, but the following year this family spent most of their time with the wife's family in order to support them when her father Bert went blind.

Bert's family consists of his wife and her illegitimate son, his eldest son and his new wife, and his three young daughters. These together form an economic group. In 1919 it also included Kitty's family. Not far away lives Bert's younger brother, Richard. With him are a wife and three children, and his mother occupies an adjacent hut.

Captain Burro and his wife were rejoined by their son, his two half-grown sons and their stepmother, Lilly, in 1919. All these share a common existence. In 1919 Lilly's father, having lost a son, came to live nearby with his wife and two young daughters, but they maintain an entirely distinct establishment.

Sinyella's group centers around his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo. With him in his own house are his adult sons, Lanoman, a widower, Melvin, and Louis (see the genealogical chart, p. 392). His second son, Dean, lives in a nearby house with four of his children. A nearer house shelters his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo, her husband, Teikapaniga, her daughter Helen, and Dean's infant son whom she is raising. For a brief period Helen lived elsewhere with her husband until he died, then she returned to her father's home. In 1919 Jess brought his family, consisting of wife and two children to live alongside his father, Teikapaniga. The hearth around which the whole group centers is Djerdwaimo's; she is assisted in her culinary preparations by her daughter-in-law, while Sinyella and his sons often prepare their own meals. On occasion his granddaughter Katie will come to cook for him, in which event she brings her husband and children. When all the families eat from the common pot they contribute their share of its contents. Sinyella, his sons, and Dean's children form an economic unit in which his younger brother's son West, whose family lives elsewhere, is included. All work together in their undivided fields, which Sinyella and his deceased younger brother inherited from their father. The harvest is stored in their common storage houses. Teikapaniga plants his fields with the aid of his wife, daughter, son, and daughter-in-law: his son Jess also owns a plot of land. These together also form an economic unit.

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group 592
of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' house, together with
the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share
a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with
their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father
until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence
and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and
the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the
shortage of native women has intensified the situation, but I doubt
that it has created a new condition.[1]

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*ólaiá*, also an infre- 592
quent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their near- 736
est blood relatives. Orphans (*Adwadaiá*, boy; *wéiáiá*, girl; terms
not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent,
preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the
child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Pálgar has
lived for several years with Watahumilja, his maternal grandfather, at
the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother.

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. 621
This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent
that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group,
those from the north end in a second, and families from the central
portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was suffi-
ciently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear
in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result
of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and
neighborly interest and cohesion.

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. 602
His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant
relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe.

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, 602
blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary 621
limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably
the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during
the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages [648]
with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions
everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a similar system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognised as blood rela-
621 tives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Cheekapanyega, his nephew, recognised 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognised and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
601 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with
602 relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for greatgrandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognised, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601

nǎpoʃigà	father's father
móʃigà	father's mother
nágwadigà	mother's father
nágoʃ igà	mother's mother
djñaʃ igà, djñá	father
djidjʃ igà, djidjʃ	mother
nowigà	father's older brother
nidjaʃigà	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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náβi'gà	mother's older sister
náməβgà, θuməβgà	mother's younger sister
nágwə'gà	mother's brother
náiβgà	father's sister
ayé 'gà	older brother or sister, father's brother's or mother's sister's child, older than self
gi'nigà	younger brother or sister, the corresponding parallel-cousin, younger than self
djéxá vigà	a man's male cross-cousin, and his female cross-cousin's son
paigà	a woman's female cross-cousin, and her male cross-cousin's daughter
'hamó', homó gà	"boy," a man's son
ávtdjégà, ávtdjévtdj	a man's daughter
n_3a"áβu'á, θu'igà	"my offspring," (lit. issue), a woman's child (n_3a'áβúxá, plural)
nó 'hijgà	a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's son
nó'higà, nétigà	a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's daughter, his female cross-cousin or her daughter (nó'higà in indirect reference, nétí in direct address)
wí'igà	a man's younger brother's or male parallel-cousin's child
wénigà	a man's sister's or female parallel-cousin's child (possibly his older brother's or male parallel-cousin's daughter's child)
βigà	a woman's brother's child, probably her male parallel-cousin's child also. (This may be the same as náiβigà, father's sister, although this was denied.)
noigà	a woman's older sister's child, probably her female parallel-cousin's child as well
wí'nigà	a woman's younger sister's child, possibly her female cross-cousin's child, but the most competent informant did not know what to call such a child
nówigà	son's child, a man's (and possibly a woman's) son's son's child, (possibly a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's son's child), a man's younger brother's or male parallel-cousin's grandchild, a woman's brother's son's child, possibly her male parallel-cousin's son's child, her older sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) son's child, her younger sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) grandchild
hoβigà	daughter's child, a man's (and possibly a woman's) daughter's grandchild, a man's (and possibly a woman's) son's daughter's child, a woman's brother's (and possibly her male parallel-cousin's) daughter's child, her older sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) daughter's child. (Compare nágui'gà, mother's mother.)
gidjigà	a man's sister's (and probably his female parallel-cousin's) grandchild, his male cross-cousin's child
$n_3$ábami'i, nyabamigà	my husband (my boy?)
n_3á'aluwí, huwígà	my wife
ginyéga	daughter's husband, wife's parent

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601 **whyéga** son's wife, wife of all relatives except as noted elsewhere
paham'liga husband of all relatives except as noted, wife's brother or her grandparents[1]

I am doubtful regarding the application of some terms. Sinyella did not know what a woman's female cross-cousin's children should be called, nor the terms for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's children. He said the latter would just be recognised as relatives. Djerdwaimo gave *noliga* for a woman's male parallel-cousin's child, *bliga* for the son, and *poliga* for the daughter of her female parallel-cousin; but I think she is mistaken. Probably she did not understand the question. She did not know what her daughter Helen would call Pete's grandchildren if he had any, i.e., Helen's father's younger half-brother's grandchildren (see the genealogical chart).

There are no terms for a husband's brother or sister, nor their spouses, nor for a wife's sister or her husband, nor a wife's brother's wife, nor for a husband's parents, nor a child's parents-in-law. There are no terms for step-parents; they are not called by parent terms, because "we are afraid, for the father and mother are dead." Half-brothers and sisters are called brothers and sisters.

References to dead relatives are by the relationships they bear to
[551] the living, as Manakadja's father. The form *panya'atalelidj*, my father now dead, was recorded.

The reciprocal of *koliga* is said to be *nagoliga*, but other terms are given for the reciprocal relationships. The word *gdidjiga* may mean relative in general, as *Inydnyan,lkddjādj*, Sun, my relative, occurring in a prayer.[2] In a myth, "Wolf, my father" was recorded as *hatdgwil n,anákóta*, said to be an obsolete term; son-in-law, *ginyéga*, was also recorded as *ginyiyd*.

601 These meanings were checked at the hand of genealogical data given
124 by Mark Hanna, his sister Susie, his nephew Jess Checkapanyega, and
[115] Jess's mother, Djerdwaimo. A record was made of the terms used by Mark and Jess for every living relative, and the reciprocal terms, on the basis of the agency census, before any genealogical charts were drawn, so that the names did not occur in logical order. The accompanying chart
601 gives Jess's relatives in full. For convenience I have separated his

[1] The following possessive forms were recorded in myths:—

nyán,ágwaá'lidj	my mother's father	nyan,ákljad lidj	my father's younger brother
n,amdélidj	my mother's mother	nya'kelkáva	my male cross-cousin (man speaking)
nyánhdjatwidj n,la,áwlwá	my mother's brother	nyaddjvidj	my older brother's son (man speaking)
		n,anákóta	my father

[2] However the more general word would be *n,atcyddjlo*, my relative (*inyánjo djiyáni lauthul*, he marries a relative; literally, relative, he knows it, to take a wife).

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father's from his mother's relatives. The figure after each name gives the approximate age. Where more than one figure follows it means that several individuals stand in exactly the same relation to Jess; in order to avoid duplication I have indicated only their ages. Thus Jess has two daughters, aged six and one respectively, so the chart reads "Rosie 6, 1." A name set in italics means the person is dead: a line in the name place means that it was not obtained. Several individuals are related to Jess in more than one way: I have repeated their names in the appropriate places. A few names of unrelated persons are added in order to fill out the families and define the limits of kinship.[1] The first word given under the name is the term Jess uses to designate that person, the second the term used reciprocally. Thus Jess calls his wife *luwigá* and she calls him *nyahamigá*. Where there is no term given it means that that man is not related; a line in the second place means that there is no reciprocal term used.

Most of the usages conform to those given above. The most interesting point is the extension of terms for lineal relatives to collateral lines. Thus Jess's father's father's half-brother's son is equated with his father's brothers, his mother's mother's sister's children are equated with his mother's brothers and sisters, and the terms used for their descendants logically follow. The significant fact is that all these initial relations in the parents' generation are uncles or aunts, with the appropriate term according as they are older or younger than the parents. The relative ages of those in the grandparental generations do not figure at all. This is consonant with the classification of parallel-cousins as older and younger siblings as their ages compare with one's own, no matter whether their parents were older or younger than one's own father and mother. These observed extensions follow:—

mátigá	Tokaoridja, father's mother's co-wife
nidjaligá	Barney, father's father's half-brother's son: used by Flynn and Callie for father's mother's half-sister's son
námligá	Tadantedje, mother's mother's sister's daughter
nágwétigá	Spoonhead, mother's mother's sister's son
nlyétigá	Lillie and Carl, mother's mother's sister's daughter's children, and the reciprocal extension is exactly the same
djikávigá	Grace and her brother, mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's
nó'tigá	children. Note however that their older half-sister Katie is more closely related and therefore called gi'ntgá. Willie and his sister are mother's mother's sister's son's children
sdwigá	Used by Tokaoridja for her co-wife's son's son

[1] A word of caution against using this chart to determine the number of children here to a couple: it represents only those surviving at the time it was drawn up and those dead persons who have surviving descendants.

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601 There are a few exceptions to the usages given in the list of terms. Teakam'lauwa, Jess' father's father's half-sister is called *nâθi''lgâ*, that is mother's sister, whereas it would be more reasonable to expect *nâbîlgâ*, father's sister. I presume that Jess thinks of her merely as an old woman relative and accordingly classes her with his mother's real sisters. Similarly we might expect *nidjatîlgâ*, father's younger brother, for her sister's son Frank, but *djîkdvîgâ*, as he is called, would naturally follow from the relationship assumed toward her. All this is strange because Barney, her brother's son, is evidently correctly termed.

Loren, mother's half-sister's son's son's son, is called *wdnîgâ*, so are Edgar and Caleb who are mother's half-sister's son's daughters' sons. Harriet and Fay are called *nô,îgâ;* they are mother's half-sister's sons' daughters' daughters. Apparently this conflicts with the doubtful terminology given above, whereby Loren and his sister, if he had one, would be called *aûwîgâ* and Edgar, Caleb, Harriet, and Fay would be *wdnîgâ*. There is indirect evidence for the correctness of the terms in the genealogical table, however: Mark calls Jess's daughter Rosie, i.e., his older half-brother's son's daughter, *nô''îgâ*. Presumably the correct term for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's grandson is *wdnîgâ* and for the granddaughter *nô''îgâ*. The reciprocal terminology is not very easy to fathom. It is conceivable that Edgar, Caleb, Harriet, and Fay should call their mothers' fathers' mother's half-sister's son, *nâgwêîgâ*, although he is in their grandparents' generation. But it is not reasonable that Loren should use the same term, usually applied to mother's brother, because he is related to Jess through his father, Joseph. Either Jess has given this term in analogy with the other children, or what is more probable, he has thought that the reciprocal of *wdnîgâ*, usually a man's sister's son, is always *nâgwêîgâ*. Of course, if he had used the same reasoning in the case of the other children the reciprocal terms used by the girls would have been *nidjatîlgâ* or *djîkdvîgâ*. Jess had great difficulty in giving all these terms, for they are evidently not used, Sinyella was little help, and his parents took days to thrash the points out.

Jess calls Roy *gdtdjîgâ*, properly enough, but Roy uses the reciprocal *nyîgdtdjîgâ* instead of *nîdjatîlgâ*, father's younger brother, as we might expect for a father's father's half-sister's son by analogy with Flynn's case.

Some other illuminating extensions in the use of terms were obtained while tracing the inheritance of chieftainships. Sinyella would have called Pa'hlégà'mî'l by the term he used for his paternal grandfather, *nâpoî lgâ*, and expected the regular term for son's child, *aûwîgâ* in reply (see

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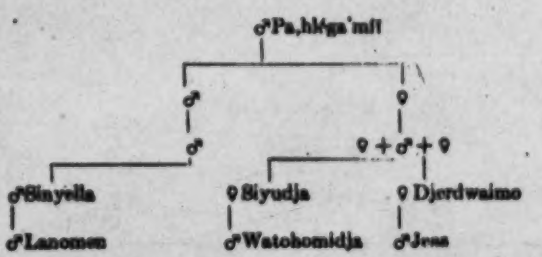
genealogy below). Watahomidja would have called the same man *nágwaélgá*, expecting *koí lgá* reciprocally, as if he had been his maternal grandfather. That is, relatives beyond the grandparental generation are reduced to the appropriate grandparent status according as the connection is through the father or through the mother. Sinyella calls Watahomidja *wánlgá* as though the latter was his father's brother's daughter's child. Lanomen and Watahomidja call each other *djíkdélgá* as though Siyudja and Sinyella were father's sister and mother's brother respectively. This conforms exactly with the practice in Jess's case: relatives in collateral lines are equated in the parents' generation.



Terms were also obtained from Mark and his sister Susie, Jess's uncle and aunt, for a fair range of their relatives. There are only three unusual usages. Mark calls Lillie, his mother's brother's son's daughter, *nó'lgá*, she replying *nidjalígá*. Susie calls Lillie and her brother Carl, *bígá;* and they reciprocate with *nábílgá*. According to other informants Mark should have said *gátdjígá*, and Susie *nidjalígá* for Carl and *palígá* for Lillie. As it is, they both refer to them as if they were their brother's children, yet neither of them refer to Prince, their father, as brother, but by the proper cross-cousin terms. Mark might also be thinking of Lillie as a cross-cousin. It is also possible that Lillie and Carl may be related to them through their mother in some way unknown to me, but it would have to be through the mother's parents. Mark also calls Gathawinga, his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, *wánlgá* (*nágwélgá* reciprocally) as if she was his sister's daughter. He should say *nó'lgá*. Susie is Nina's stepmother as well as husband's sister, but, according to the regular usage, she calls her *wínyígá*, with no reciprocal, term; that is, they ignore the pseudo-lineal relation.

Jess uses terms for very few relatives by marriage, in fact the few instances recorded were given by way of illustration rather than a statement of use. Where men such as Bela and Claude are also related to him

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by blood, he prefers to use the blood designation. This applies of course to their wives as well. In all other cases he prefers to use names.

Mark's attitude is different: he noted the reciprocal use of the term *pahaml'ligd* for every male relative by marriage. While Panamida's wife was still alive Mark called him *pahaml'ligd:* now he does not use the word. It is interesting to note that while *pahaml'ligd* is reciprocal, *winyaga*, a woman relative by marriage, is not, nor is there any correlative expression. Nevertheless the mutual nature of the bond of affinity is recognised. For example, Mark and his brother's wife, Nina, live in the same camp, and both are fully aware that the ties which connect them operate on both alike, yet Mark may address Nina as *winyaga* whereas she must reply by name. Mark has twelve relatives he calls *winyaga*, yet not one can use a term expressing her relationship to him.

The genealogical data clearly indicate the limits including kinsmen. Jess does not recognise as blood relatives any whose connections lie back of his grandparents' generation. The same seems to be true of Mark, but I am not so certain of this genealogy. Jess's case is particularly instructive because it eventuated while tracing the inheritance of chieftainship (see the chart, p. 242) that he was related to Sinyella through his great-grandmother. But he was not even aware of any relationship, although Sinyella is a member of his family group and assumes a grandfatherly attitude toward him. He might readily have assumed a number of close relationships, for Sinyella calls Jess's mother *gi'nigd* and is reciprocally addressed as *nyé ligd*. At the same time Sinyella is Djerdwaimo's stepfather so that he might have been called father by her and grandfather by Jess. For although step-relatives are not classed as actual relatives, Djerdwaimo often does call her stepbrothers, Melvin and Louis, *ginigd* as well as her half-brothers Lanomen and Dean. Her extension is rather unusual because recognition of kinship generally stops where blood connection ceases. Jess is also related to Big Jim, but neither he nor his father knows what the connection is. The bond must lie back of his grandparents' generation. To cite another instance, Spoonhead and his brothers are half-brothers by their father to Manakadja and Captain Jim, that is, definitely brothers from their point of view, but while Jess recognizes a connection with Spoonhead through the latter's mother, Manakadja is most emphatically not a relative. Similarly James is not a relative, for he is the illegitimate son of Mary, born after she married Bert. Furthermore, Jess's shrewd guess as to the identity of the boy's father did not include any of his own relatives. Nevertheless it must be noted that Bert treats the boy as if he were his son.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sûldjîgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvîgd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

591 The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we [581] want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pinon nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1] 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ēkám'ladwă, was the widow of his elder brother, Kūfó. The levirate (*sa'yógd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahauvigīgd*, having two wives, *huvógd*, two; *tahamúgīgd*, having three wives, *hamúgd*, three.) One 595

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is countered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies
[768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives
428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is
[587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

In one plural marriage for which there is definite information
595 Manakadja had already married Gwegweθgwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegweθgwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of
586 arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Teikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Teikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of
684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 584]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'iglδdaldj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1](a). 881.
[2]Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

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582 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father,
648 wanted to go hunting: I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near ahögätävčidjâ (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language; "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with soapweeds. She coiled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how
582 many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had
586 come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on
648

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go. 582 586 648

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjia*, your mother, *mamádjitatka*, your father, or *huwágatum*, your parents (*huwágá*, two). A man uses *gínyégá* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wínyégá* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gínyégá* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships. 606 601 [551]

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors; this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a 58 [591] [115] [591] 582

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582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In 591 almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

The sign >means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her
591 relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing
589 camps are there underscored.
551 7. Dean, Sinyella's son>Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

9. Lenoman, Sinyella's son>Supai Charley's daughter 68. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Teikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djerdwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Daadjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagodja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8>Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Teikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tohawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 65, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tohawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 33, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, >Amu, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought Kasoda's daughter home from her father's house near 50; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16)>Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Tatamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 25>Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 15: she died. Then he>Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 15; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 20. Akaba lived 71>Tsahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 40. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1919. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1[see category 102, p.]

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30. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Supai Charley's daughter at 60; she died. His wife Teyava has married three times. First to Arthur's older brother, who lived with his father at 6, took Teyava from her father's house at 30 to a garden near 31; he died. Sterling took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 30. 591 583 531

31. Richard lived with his older brother, Watahomidja, at 68>Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 32.

32. Bert, his older brother, took Putcilvoiya's sister from 57 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he>Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house site, 33. His son, Bela, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 38, to 33.

33a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1>Stella, at her father's house, 34; then to his father's house site, 33a.

34. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4>Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 50. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 34.

35. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 65, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 60, to 35; she died. He went>Kuniev, at her brother, Putcilvoiya's house, 57; then to 35.

36. Pakadagova, who lived at 64>Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 36.

37. Martin Navajo, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 37, near brother at 38.

38. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 38>Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 25; she died. Then he>Sutaluidja at her father's house, 63; then to 38.

41. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land)>Katie at her father's house, near 24; then to 41.

42. Billy, who lived with father at 63>Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 42; she died. Then he>Lillie at her father's house, 24; then to 42.

43. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 63>Dasuteva at her father's house at 39. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14>Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manakadja, at 47>Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 69; then to 45.

46. Lemuel, who lived with father at 35>Esther at her father, Manakadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manakadja, who lived at 60>Gwegwaogwaia at her (and Tobowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he discarded her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Gwegwaogwaia lived at 47 with both wives.

48. Pete, who lived with older brother at 1>Tekeedja, Manakadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 48.

49. West lived with his father's older brother, Sinyella, at 49; took Walapai wife.

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591 *51.* Shorty lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house,
583 63. Teyedjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house,
6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's
551 land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (297); she died. Took Meoca from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 577)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.
423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the
311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the
133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its
423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,
311 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desir-
423 ing additional fields.

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [796]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (d), 132] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 354].

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428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaŋada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaŋada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 55 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 89) which Kaŋada and his older brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaŋada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 55 lay abandoned for years. Kaŋada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1919, he cleared it.

[139]

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

423

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

423 465 The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

423 Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush may not be cut without his consent. Austin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

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1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamita used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship.
423 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to
342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him.
[462] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The
[768] house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have
422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them
[462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding
[175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles
[768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either
[593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little
422 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as
432 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a
858 small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses-
428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather pre-
[769] determined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

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[1] Coues, 1900, vol. xxx, p. 241.
[2] Cushing, (a), 1901.

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognised by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. 624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gamûlwi* or *kahá'i*,[1] but he is also known as *kandídwá*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *mûlovagídjigdídá*. Jess differentiated between them by *mûlvik'adja* and *pagamûlvikdvaídéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahwis* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwahóki*. [171]
[2] The Cocopa headman is also called *guul-maa* (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *kun-ak-khal* (Tréppel, 566).

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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 626 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*skwiqwaulq*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 557 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwivámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs; at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman.

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions.

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organiser of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I

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756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wanákwivámă was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wanákwivámă big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wanákwivámă died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wanákwivámă's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tsyadjáva (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

624 648 Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1886] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwíwá canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Súdjă, súdjă,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwívámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For *su'ldjíga*, a man's older brother's son.

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159 624 same time. Waakwivámă lived for a long time after this. I was a lad at the time [about 1880–88].

Captain Navajo took quite a few men with him to Oraibi. The night they got 648 there, while they slept in a Hopi house, some Navajo raided and took away all their 159 horses. The other Havasupai stayed in the Hopi house, but Captain Navajo and a 624 Hopi friend, who gave him a horse to ride, followed the horse tracks. They went on toward the east until when it was nearly sunset they reached the top of a high mesa. They looked down into the bottom land, where they saw a lot of Navaho houses, with a great many horses nearby. They waited on top of the hill until it was a little dark; then they descended the trail toward the houses. The Hopi man said, "The Navaho do not turn their horses loose. They keep them close to the houses at all times. They keep their saddle horses tied to the house and continually ride out to watch the herd. I think that they will see us, and perhaps they will kill us. I think I am afraid to go down there with you. I will stay here, while you go alone and try to cut some out of the herd. I will wait here." So Captain Navajo went down alone. He went near, tied the horse he was riding, and walked close to the houses to look at the horses. He walked among the houses, where a few horses were tied to each one, until he came to a house where the greatest number was. A few were hobbled; he took the hobbles off, and walked away, driving the herd slowly before him. He got back to where he had tied his horse, and then drove them fast up the trail. Just as he got to the top of the mesa, he heard the Navaho shouting below. Then he whipped his horse and came back as fast as he could. The Hopi man had already gone. "Perhaps he was afraid," Captain Navajo said. When Captain Navajo was halfway back two colts began to nicker: they kept this up, so he shot both with his arrows. He brought the horses into Oraibi just as the sun was rising. The Hopi said they were glad. The other Havasupai had all gone home while he was away; some walked, others bought horses to ride. The Hopi said, "Hurry and eat, and then go right along." While he was eating, they prepared provisions for him to carry. The Hopi said, "Maybe the Navaho are following you and are nearly here. You had better hurry." One of the Hopi men helped him drive the horses. They drove them fast down from Oraibi mesa and on along the road. After they had gone only a little way from Oraibi, the Navaho came into the pueblo. The Hopi said to them, "He brought the horses in before dawn; he ate a little and then left before it was daylight. He has been gone a pretty long time. We think he is now on the other side of the Little Colorado River." The Navaho said they wanted to follow at once. But the Hopi said, "When he went over and took your horses, the other Havasupai who were here had half their herd left and they went back. Perhaps if you follow him you will run into them and they will kill you." Thus they lied to the Navaho. The Hopi wanted to hold the Navaho at Oraibi. So the Navaho turned back. The two men drove the horses along as fast as they could. When the horses they were riding began to slow up, they changed to other horses; they did this all the way. They followed the tracks of the other Havasupai who had gone before. They crossed the Little Colorado just above the present bridge and when they were a little way beyond on this side, at Háñy átovok,óvà (black water precipice), they caught up with the others. Everyone felt glad. Captain Navajo did this by himself; he went alone to the Navaho camps and stole horses, so the Havasupai called him a big chief. All the other tribes around heard about him and when they saw him, called him big chief too. He was a big chief all his life long and died [about 1900] when he was an old man.

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The Walapai knew Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Cave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivámá's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Nava'o, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognize him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the eldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hléga'mf'l. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hléga'mf'l. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[text continues on p. 243]

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INHERITANCE OF CHIEFTAINSHIP

(The names of big chiefs are underlined with a heavy rule; those of little chiefs with a light one.)

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognize that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. 623
On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . ." Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . ."; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . ." Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adalgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded. the

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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about
648 fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai
171 in 1776.

623 On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*amθiŋ*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 225–226. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, that is, in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 553.

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the direct route across the head of Cataract Canyon. He found the Havasupai well supplied with red cloth, iron tools, cows, and horses from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico obtained through the Hopi, for in fact the Havasupai camps on Moenkopie Wash provided a readily accessible trading station. On the return journey, he was accompanied by Havasupai going to the Mohave to trade mantas, leggings, and pieces of cowhide for "shells—only for white sea-shells, for no others do they receive in exchange."[1] 439

The exchange value of articles in the period 1840–65 gleaned from Sinyella's and Manakadja's reminiscences, is as follows:—

Havasupai:	Big blanket	—*Mohave:*	Young horse
	Saddle blanket	—*Paiute:*	Two skins of good-sized bucks
	Tray of shelled corn	—*Navaho:*	Saddle blanket
	Small burden basket of shelled corn	—	Big blanket
	Biggest burden basket of shelled corn	—	Horse
	Two bundles of dried squash		Big blanket
	Small tray of beans		Good-sized blanket
	Two buckskins and a little corn	—	Horse
	Big blanket	—*Ute:*	Gun
	Fair-sized buckskin Ten silver buttons	—	Ten small charges of powder Ten bullets Ten percussion caps
	Big blanket	—*Walapai:*	Three buckskins
	Decorated blanket (all-over pattern of black lozenges, each containing a dot: *dätwittcädled*)	—	Four buckskins
	Four blankets	—	Horse
	Five blankets	—	One good horse
	Large and small buckskins	—*Hopi:*	Large blanket
	Seven or eight buckskins	—	Horse
	Ten buckskins	—	Race-horse

[1] Cremony, 229, 230, 235, 234, 237, 239, 240, 245, 287, 410, 414.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

117 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŏk,óvà [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovŏk,óvà trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

484 648

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hole, and buried him.[1] Then we all went back to the camp and the next morning we went on. 484 648

At that time we did not have many horses to ride; perhaps our family had only one. We just kept walking along. I do not remember exactly where we camped. I know we camped above Dripping Springs [west of Grand Canyon Station], where we stayed two nights. Then we set off again and got to Long Jim Canyon [east of the station], where there are big caves in which we camped one night. Next day we got to Hagáʼuvíd'i [Hance's Ranch, east of Grand View] and the next day we camped at I'i'má'hwa'áhá [Deer Tank, to the north of Coconino Basin]. The next morning we went on down to the bench above Hagáʼel'há [Little Colorado River] and along it up the canyon. We stopped that night at Tatá'áhà, where we found a lot of Paiute. We stayed with them for two or three sleeps. Then one morning we continued up along the bench to its end [?] where the Navaho Bridge is now; we went up a little further and crossed the Little Colorado. We climbed up on the red bench on the other side and camped at Wihwátágil'há (red pinnacles). Next morning we went up the slope toward the east. When on top we made pretty good time traveling and got close to Oraibi. This camp was at K'eyúdlgà (gulch). Next morning we went on and reached Oraibi about midday.

All the Hopi came out to see us. They said in their language, "It is very good to bring the women and children with you. We are glad to see you." We went into Oraibi and each of our families took up quarters with friendly Hopi. The Hopi said, "It was pretty good of you people to come to see us. Do not go away soon; stay with us a long time. That is what we like." I think it was about harvest time; the Hopi were gathering their corn. The Hopi wanted the Havasupai to go with them and gather their corn; so they did so. I was a little boy and I played about with the Hopi boys. 648

We stayed at Oraibi a long time: I think, until it snowed. When it was very cold, we started back. We stopped at Wihwátágil'há for a little time. Again we moved back across the Little Colorado, but not by the same road; this time a considerable distance above. We came out to the west on top of a high mesa, Amádʰnyulnyá (antelope trail). When we were a little way to the west of this, we stayed in a big cave in another canyon, Waigátídà. We stayed at this place a pretty long time. When snow lay on the ground we hunted rabbits. We stayed nearly all winter, until there was only a little snow left on the ground; then we came right along. At each camp we stayed for two or three sleeps. At that time the trail came by the north side of Wigádáwl'sá [Red Butte]: this was the road we followed. We got to Ha'apu [Rain Tank] where we stayed a long time again. Again we moved toward home: we stopped to camp at Huwaʼádjahwʼilà [Little Red Rain Tank]. Next morning we came on and got to Huwaʼáʼáldivá. Here some said that they wanted to go down into Grand Canyon onto the red bench. So they went down Padjinyáhamõ [man's trail, i.e., Bass's trail] where their home was. My father and some other men just kept coming along the rim of Grand Canyon and along the rim of this one, to Lee Canyon where we camped for several days. Then a lot of our people came down that canyon wanting to go to the village. Some of the others wanted to go down on to the red bench in Cataract Canyon. My father and an old woman took their families along the bench. We followed down that canyon which runs westward from the 484

[1] At this time it was customary to burn the dead; they are now buried.

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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[618] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *Ucahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa, (s), 165.

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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matginyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgamund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sūwdkôwd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to 726 the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gdqōqd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*gdwcawid'g*, scalp; *gdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 560.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Fettis, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiúte victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lenâhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Owtdágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátaá [Colorado River] a little below Hudltovhk'óvá [pine precipice, Moho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

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726 of their number back to tell the main party, who then moved forward. When they found this camp, one brought the news back and the party stopped. They waited for the sun to set, and when it was very dark, they moved close to the camp. They sent two or three young men to crawl right into the camp. They hid under a wood pile, where they spied on what the Paiute were doing.

They were all dancing. They had a pole as tall as a man set upright: this was a small tree with short branches. They had tied their bows and quivers together and hung them all on the branches and had the whole tied around with a rope; there was just one heap of weapons. They were dancing a little way from this. The boys returned and told the others. They said, "The Paiute are a little more numerous than we are. They are dancing; all their arrows are hung in one place apart from where they are dancing." The Walapai chief and the Havasupai chief both said, "All right. At dawn we will rush them. You strong young men should run fast and jump right into their midst and get those arrows. We others will break into the dance and catch and club the Paiute or shoot them." At daybreak, when they could see a little, all rushed into the camp, catching the enemy unawares, and clubbed and shot them. They killed a great many. Some of the Paiute young men, who were good runners, escaped and ran off to other places round about where there were many Paiute living, and told them.

Some of the Walapai and Havasupai said, "That is the way we like to do: kill a lot of them. But we think we had better go back right away." But the Havasupai and Walapai chiefs said, "No, we do not want to go back right away. We will stop here at this camp. You people cook; we are hungry. Then we will wait to see if there are any more. Some of the Paiute young men are good runners; perhaps they have told the others. We will wait here to see if they will come to fight. We do not want to go back at once." So they cooked, using the Paiute water baskets to carry water in. When they had finished cooking and were eating, a few Paiute came. Each party shot at the other. By and by more Paiute came, a few at a time, until they numbered a few more than the Walapai and Havasupai. Then the latter felt afraid. The two chiefs said, "We are afraid of the Paiute now; we had better turn back." So they traveled back, fighting as they went, just shooting. They did this all the way back to the rim of the Grand Canyon. Two of the Havasupai wore armor, double on the front, back, and on their arms, with small buckskins twisted up and muffled around the neck; and they held other skins twisted in their left hands to protect their faces. These two men walked in the rear of the party as a guard; arrows hung from their armor everywhere. They stopped right at the rim to fight a while. There was only a narrow trail leading down the cliff there; it was difficult to descend. The Paiute continued to gather until there were a great many. Then the Havasupai and Walapai dashed down the narrow place a few at a time until all were in it. There were cliffs on both sides of this defile through which they were descending on which the Paiute perched, rolling big rocks down on them and crushing a great many. Some of the Walapai went into a deep cave; others went on right down to the Colorado River. The two who had armor crushed. The good runners who got down to the river first, plunged right in, and swam across. Some of those who were wounded and weak were carried off by the stream and drowned. Nearly all the Walapai were killed. Those who had taken refuge in the cave were difficult to kill; so the Paiute dragged logs and green trees along the plateau and threw them down by the entrance,

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage the injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Coeopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73 73).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Morgan, M. C., (a), 39; Parsons, (d), 179; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 42; Lloyd, 40; Curtis, I, 129–127; Mooney, (c), 223.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 122; II, 33, 98; Gifford, (a), 172, 196; Reid, 11.

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Fatwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1] Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 167; Curtis, II, 88; Mason, J. A., (d), 153; Lowie, (b), 278-279; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 238-241; (c), 317; Spier, (c), 345; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2] Kroeber, (j), 96; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 498; Lowie, (i), 278; Gifford, (b), 239; Bolton.

[3] Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Densmore, 1932; Russell, (d), 196.

[4] Parsons, (c), 206-208; Curtis, XII, 201; I, 55; Goddard, (a), 1st ed., 168; Lipps, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 498.

[5] Bolton.

[6] Kroeber, (a), 379; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, [but the Salinan 'chief is "selected because of his bravery"]; Powers, 174, 248, 288, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 42; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 208-209; Dixon, (c), 213; (d), 201.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointeas[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointeas[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[6] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[7] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 168, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (e), 309; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (o), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 56; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 66; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lewis, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (e), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (o), 286.
[6] Lowie, (j), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 84; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 309.

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story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

> divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialization was general in this area.

At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribution. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 116, 128.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 208, 218.
[3] Powers, 331; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly Californian tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (d), 130, 202.
[7] Whipple, Parkman, and Turner, 80; Barrows, 80; Hoffman, in Reid, 29; Trippel, 377; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 66; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 331.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 288.
[9] Goddard, (b), 89; Lowie, (i), 248.
[10] Hyder, (a), 284.
[11] Means; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 602.

[Text continues on p 258]

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Fig. 81. Distribution of Tunic, Rod, and Slat Armor in North America.

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Pima, Luiseño, Clear Lake Pomo, Trinity Wintun, Puget Sound Salish, and on southwestern Vancouver Island.[1]

It is well known that armor is used in a wide area of western North America from Bering Straits into the southern continent. The only variety we are concerned with here is a tunic formed of several thicknesses of heavy skin, commonly joined and stiffened by layers of glue and sand. Something of the sort is in use among Havasupai, Navaho, Western (?) Apache, Zuñi, Opata, Aztec, Comanche, Pawnee, Paviotso, Maidu, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Wailaki, Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, Takelma, Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Chinook, Quinault, Twana, Chimakum, Klallam, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Nootka, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, Loucheux, Hare, Nass, Taku, Chilcat and other Tlingit, and undoubtedly others.[2] The Blackfoot have a tradition of its use. The Pima evidently do not use armor.[3] To the south quilted cotton armor was used by Mexicans, Toltecs, Mayas, Isthmians, and Peruvians, according to Hough. Slat and rod armor reach no farther south than the Maidu: north from this point these types are used by Achomawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Klamath, Hupa, Takelma, Chinook, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, and Tlingit.[4]

So far as the information goes the curtain shield is used in the Southwest by the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai only. The Thompson use a large piece of stiff elkhide and the Lillooet roll marmot skins thickly around the left arm. The circular shield used in the Plains and Mexico extends into the Southwest among Comanche, Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Western Apache, and Pima. Kroeber adds Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño to this list.[5] In the Basin-Plateau it is known to the Ute, Wind River and Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Shuswap, and Thompson.[6]

The poisoning of arrows may have been more common than the collected data indicate; at any rate it is a widespread custom. One poison of a curious sort suggests that some cases at least are historically connected. This is made of a liver which a rattlesnake has been made to

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 75, 325; Pettie, 130; Bourke, (b), 50; Sparkman, 303; Powers, 215, 241; Eells, 632; Monroe, 176.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 458; Hough, (b), 628, 631, 642, 645, 646, Pl. 16, 17; Russell, (c), 75; Winship, 848; Bandelier, (a), 70; Lowie, (i), 245; Dixon, (a), 205; (c), 213; Mason, O. T., (a), 230; Kroeber, (a), 399; Gatschet, (b), 88; Lowie, (a), 192; Lewis and Clark, III, 21; Franchère, 253; Quinault information from Mr. Ronald L. Olson; Gibbs, 192; Spinden, 237; Eells, 633; Teit, (c), 335, 785; (b), 234; (a), 265; Meares, 294; Morice, (c), 217; (b), 140, 149; Krause, 209; Sapir, (a), 273; (b), 157, 255.

[3] Winsor, (a), 163; Russell, (d), 39.

[4] Hough, (b), 631, 640, Pl. 14; Farrand, (a), 647; Sapir, (a), 272.

[5] Kroeber, (c), 298.

[6] Lowie, (i), 242; Lewis and Clark, III, 19. I have not attempted to complete its distribution to the northwest.

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strike (White Mountain Apache, Seri, Northern Maidu[1]), or part of a deer struck by a snake (Shoshoni and Bannock), or a mixture of liver and venom (Paviotso, Teton), liver and the juice of the wild parsnip (Achomawi), the spleen of an animal and pulverized ants (Northern Shoshoni[2]). In several of these cases this is allowed to putrefy: the Yuma also used putrid flesh. Others prepare compounds of poisonous insects and plants (Havasupai, Yavapai,[3] and Wishram[4]). Rattlesnake venom is used by the Southern Diegueño, Blackfoot, Lillooet, and Thompson; rattlesnake blood by the Takelma.[5] In addition to these the Jovas, Opata (and the tribes of Sonora generally), Lipan, Navaho, Cahuilla, the Indians of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Gosiute,[6] and Snohomish are known to have used poisons.

Scalp taking is general in the Southwest, although it seems everywhere a matter of little concern. It is specifically attributed to Havasupai, Yavapai,[7] Tonto and Pinal Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Papago, and Opata.[8] In the Basin we may add the Paiute, Uintah (?) Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, and possibly Paviotso.[9] Kroeber states that scalps were taken in the greater part of California, possibly excepting the Yokuts, Valley Maidu, and Pomo, and surely excepting the tribes of the northwestern area. Powers also excepts the Trinity Wintun although ascribing the practice to other Wintun. I have found records for one of the Mission groups, Salinan, and the Maidu of the mountains.[10]

Removing the entire scalp in the Havasupai manner, not a small patch, is attributed to the Yavapai. This, according to Kroeber, is the general Californian practice, and, by my own information, that of the Klamath and Wishram further north.

The Havasupai do not take the whole head although it might have been expected. This is common in California (specifically Salinan and Patwin), in the Northwest area, and in Mexico it is noted for the Tepehuane.[11] Friederici believes that scalping is a substitute for head taking stimulated by the whites.[12]

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[1]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 186; Bourke, (b), 58; Bartlett, I, 465; McGee, 236-238; Bandelier, (a), 76, 237; Dixon, (a), 208, 232.
[2]Hoffman, 67-71; Lowie, (i), 245; (a), 185, 192.
[3]Trippel, 576; Corbusier, 332.
[4]Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.
[5]Spier, (a), 353; Teit, (b), 235; (a), 203; Sapir, (a), 273.
[6]Bandelier, (a), 70; Franciscan Fathers, 186; Hooper, 355; Yates, 374; Chamberlin, 308, 384.
[7]According to the Havasupai, although Corbusier (331) denies this.
[8]Smart, 419; Bourke, (d), 26; Franciscan Fathers, 308, 438; Pattie, 132, 139, 165, 199; Parsons, (i), 12; Kroeber, (a), 231; Bartlett, II, 221; Gaillard, 295; Bandelier, (a), 153, 242.
[9]Lowie, (f), 430, 833; (a), 193; (h), 242, 245; Powers, 320.
[10]Kroeber, (o), 207; Powers, 238, 241, 321; Buscana, in Robinson, 308; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Dixon, (a), 206.
[11]Powers, 221; Bandelier, (a), 95.
[12]Friederici.

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A scalp dance is also common in this area. Details are lacking, but we can note the distribution of at least one feature. Kroeber observes that in California (e.g., Maidu, Wintun, and a Mission group), it is usual to hang the scalp on a pole about which the dancers move. This is also the case in the Southwest (Havasupai, Navaho,[1] Zuñi, Papago, Opata), in the Basin (Paiute, according to the Havasupai; Uintah, and Lemhi Shoshoni), and in the Plains at least among Pawnee and Omaha.[2] On the other hand, in the northern Plains the scalp is hung from a stick in the hands of the dancers (Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Cheyenne,[3] and to the northwest the Klamath and Wishram), which appears in the Southwest only as one of the Navaho practices. Both usages have a wide distribution.

[1] Quesnay, 226; Pattie, 165.
[2] Pattie, 44; Fletcher and La Flesche, 422.
[3] Wissler, (b), 432; Lowie, (c), 226; Grinnell, (a), 205-210.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgd*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Mamkadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [527] [571] [621] [648] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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527 535 Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the [301] back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his [302] eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*djîkdjî'kîgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. [533] The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps [533] marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least know the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gîdjî'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white [302] horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "Ahalya, good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamita, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; later food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaija, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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527 The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men
535 who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun
[439] by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*gwetlłkómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section
534 of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwetlłkómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella
537 prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—
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Inyámátvi	má'évàhag'i'i	ddyłłniyúdjłk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánigwayóhag'i'i	ma'évàhag'i'i
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs:
527 it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In
535 fact, the term *kaád't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kaáta*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency
[171] for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader,
533 Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

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[1] About 1920 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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iniyŏ'kà no he he ha iniyŏ'kà ne'e'e 533
he remains still 539

iniyŏ'kà ne he he ha iniyŏ'kà ne'e'e
yovàn̨ówa ste'e'e ìn̨yówà ste'e'e

He dreamed he was in another country, where a cooling wind blew and girls in a little circle danced:—

màtwiyŏewasinowé'e
A fresh wind in that land

'màtwiyŏewasinowé'e
màsidjàhaiyanyowé'e
girls circle around

màsidjàhaiyanyowé'e
màtvàdjíma'wévowé'e

He dreamed he went to a strange land, where men continually danced while singing this song:—

wiyámŏ^k wiyámodjaíyŏ^k
go away somewhere hungry

wiyámŏ^k wiyámodjai'yŏ^k
wiyámodji^k wiyamodjíoma'anŏ
wiyámodji^k wiyamodjíoma'anŏ

The same man also composed the two songs which follow:—

si'iwi si'iwi'i'i

sa'ádjúdja djígánamé hídjánwiyŏ'máwámümé'e
girls alongside circle around
sa'ádjúdja djígánamé hídjánwiyŏ'máwámümé'e

n̨adjáwi'i hín̨adjáwu'i hín̨adjáwi'in
I do it
hínulá'adja hagan̨an̨owí
I am the man who names (himself ?)
hídjan̨aṇa haviyín̨ówŏ
girls stand alongside

The following song, typical of a class, is thought to be of Navaho origin:

ya'o'o'o
neya'o'o'o (repeat four times) neya'o'àn̨wé
'Ineyŏn̨
neya'o'o'o (repeat twice) neya'o'àn̨wé
'Inĕyoṇá heówìnà heówe

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533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance
527 during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form,
535 except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from
[30] the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the Cali-
177 fornia ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the
535 latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1]
769 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a
177 Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George,
769 Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him
775 to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 830, 921.
[2] *Ibid*, 815.
[3] James, (b), 256.

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and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 595
The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man steps to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

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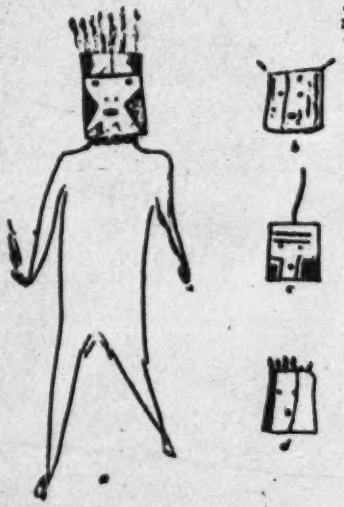

Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

Mohave Dance

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Havasupai. The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the 177 535

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's [533] line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kăθĥdă, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 92.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosiute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 281, 307 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 68; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1890 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 306.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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171 535 Uintah Ute, to the Wind River,[1] Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni,[2] Crow,[3] and probably the Yakima, but not the Wishram. The Crow Owl dance differs in that the performers have their arms about each others' waists; the Uintah Squaw dance in that men and women are not interspersed and the step is different. The Pima also have a dance which may be related.[4] In this the dancers stand in a circle with arms across their neighbors' shoulders, stamping their feet and bending their bodies.

Several of the details have parallels among other tribes. The central pole is recorded from the Kaibab, in the Wind River *Naroya* dance, and in the Ghost dances[5] among the Karok, Klamath, and the Plains tribes. Its use in the Ghost dance when men climbed to the feathers tied at the top suggests the *Notish* mourning ceremony of the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, where rivalry is shown in climbing a painted pole to which crow feathers and baskets are attached.[6] But there is a more suggestive relation in the tale of the Gabrielino which describes a visit to the land of the dead by a man who in a test is made to climb a tall pole to bring down a feather tied to the top.[7] At Taos clowns climb a pole for food, but I do not know that there is here any association with the dead.[8] The very characteristic way in which the dancers stand singing softly, then circle about to stand again, between songs, has been noted for the Gosiute by Reagan, the Kaibab, the Walapai, and in the Ghost dance by Mooney.[9] Lowie has also observed the curious reluctance of the Lemhi dancers to begin, and the whipping of Crow Owl dancers and those of the Moapa and Southern Ute who are slow to join the Bear dance.[10] The dropping out of women partners from the circle between dances is the custom in the Lemhi *Nuatin* and the Gosiute round dance. They are paid by the men and sometimes reciprocate in the Cree dance of the Lemhi and presumably the Fort Hall Shoshoni, in the Wind River Women's dance,[11] and in the Navaho war dance.[12] The foxskin worn [301] pendent from the back of the shaman's belt in the 1918 dance has its analog in the costume of the masked dancers among the Pueblos, as at Zuñi, and among the Navaho.[13] It is not clear how frequently other

[1] Lowie, (f), 822, 817, 820.
[2] Lowie, (a), 217–223.
[3] Lowie, (d), 209.
[4] Russell, (d), 170, 209.
[5] Mooney, (b), 896, 971; Powers, 42
[6] Du Bois, (e), 103, 148.
[7] Judd, 24. (Judd's account, published in 1903, is earlier than the period at which the ghost dance reached the Hasinongai).
[8] Lockhard, (c), 2nd ed., 105.
[9] Mooney, (b), 889; Dellenbaugh, 175; *Ghost Dance in Arizona*, 68.
[10] Lowie, (i), 201; (f), 823.
[11] Lowie, (f), 822.
[12] Parsons, (b), 467; Franciscan Fathers, 270.
[13] Parsons, (a), 180; Franciscan Fathers, 377.

[Text continues on p. 272]

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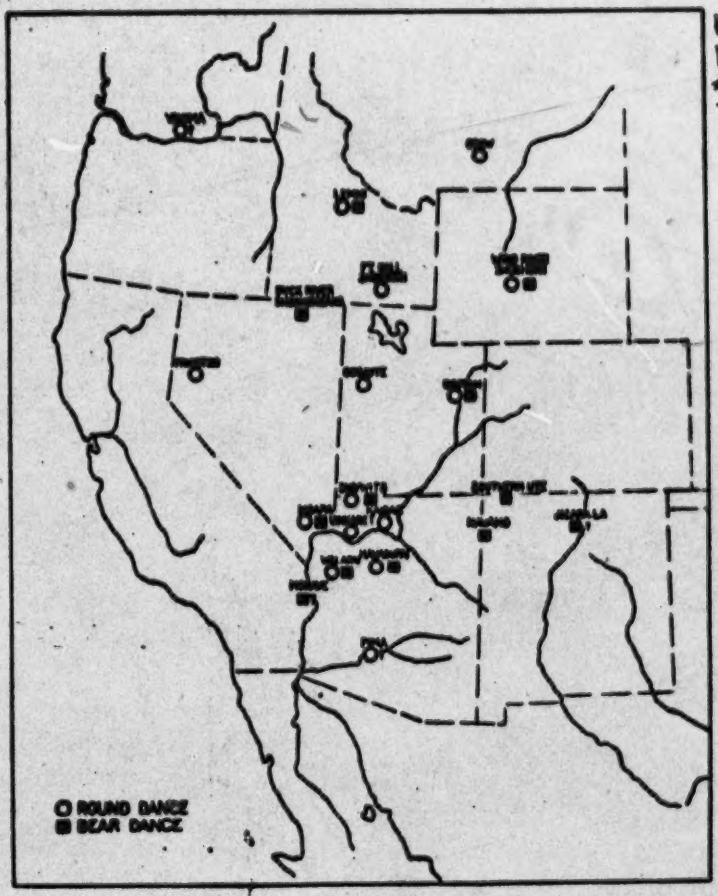

Fig. 53. Distribution of the Round and Bear or Mohave Dances.

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It is not clear how frequently other
171 tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is
535 specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it
[534] used by the Lemhi in the *Nuskin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the *Nareya*, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho
171 ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the
535 south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons
532 with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is
171 known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2]
535 Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *narupinavi*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is
171 in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp.
533 In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

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[1] Pueblos: Fathers, 202, 209; the Mohave have no masks (Kroeber, (a), 762). The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones (Russell, (a), 107); Ghost dance in Arizona, 67.

[2] Lowie, (i), 209–201.

[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.

[4] Lowie, (a), 219.

[5] "... Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . . Head upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking back wards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Whipple, 8).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] De Baja notes a similar suggestion showing a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish ritual (b), 137.

[2] Lowie, (1), 272. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 358, 359.

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corped they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

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The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinan, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Diegueño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

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Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 6, note 17; (g), 68; (o), 314; Mason, J. A., (a), 169; Sparkman, 221; Spier, (a), 319-321; Powers, in Robbins; Gifford, (a), 168; Hooper, 343.

[2] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 264-7.

[3] Parsons, (a).

[4] Saville, (d), 142; (e), 455; Safford, 169, 202.

[5] Hrdlička, (f), 25; Palmer, 689; Mason, J. A., (d), 148.

[6] Hough, (a), 275, 294; Chamberlain, (r), Bird ed., 198; Brown; Russell, (d), 197, states that only an inverted basket is used; Lumholtz, (b), 318; Lowie, (a), 200; Franciscan Fathers, 399; Curtis-7, 208; Matthews, (b); Spier, (c), 348.

[7] Franciscan Fathers, 399; Saville, (e), 422; Stevenson, J., Fig. 221. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 8, Plate 9.

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither extensive nor developed in systematic form. [796]

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuesflɨ*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'édjlmpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*dmiyé*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hwéjdédé* was also given for ghost in an association test.

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715 was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees [774] and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who 177 draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when 775 he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes 776 people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed 774 so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or 822 both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow [192] are used; *wiitagoxá"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yá'dacíyá*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost 776 without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit 787 (*aiwa"*)[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gáiwa"* (doctor, medicine).

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ádjádá*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahatupkititdja*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are stone beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [781]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to ill-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíóiyè'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gíotsad*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amaché*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Mamakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gîtîy'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatsqut'latsady*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (suck), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [649]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 552.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma. [164]

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756 If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on.
755 In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealousy is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

755 Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess admitted that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wanted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

756 The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They
[648] also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own.

755 Once about 1895 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather pinon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gïôiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist; hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dyudjd gleámd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwetdvög gleámd*), for fractures (*pakaád gleámd*), for wounds (*nahámi'dvidjá gleámd*), for stomach trouble (*nundaidjí gdeámdad*), and for snakes (*dluwí edmd gd*). Both doctor and medicine are called *gleámd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.
[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mátdadá dmidjagá'djá dgádmdadá'dj*). "Your cause [black cloud] off and make it dark," he is told (Spier, (*f*), 112).

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:— 756 [539]

sakàhútaŋa ìsá
eagle eagle
ìnyàhátčŋe ìnyanyàhátà
my domestic animal my dog
ìyàwaičŋe yuwaíà
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nčŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognised as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwíhalá'dá'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3] 752 755

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die. 755

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties. [439] 756 534 [428]

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave informations, Bourke (a), 172).
[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.
[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: ajuaíità, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), hanyaíità, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and hatámtà, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhyncha ochrorhyncha* Cope). [171]

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special
758 provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
752 knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is
[755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[171] [1]But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[2]The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 147) and the Rio Grande Mexicans think it causes rabies [Bourke, (f), 136]. This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states [976] that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. 752
Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal 278
medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two un- 757
identified plants which grow on the plateau (*dgwdĕlkd* and *tcikdydld*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*hatdgwild isdma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3] [171]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are 757
pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. [752]
Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent [751]
chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust [171]
an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain [152]

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, 782
rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We 778
wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] These struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed. [171]
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

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inyáin,ikádjádj máhánig midjáligig gwipagávà'ámàwiwüg
sun my relative be good coming out do something good for us

pámatàhatàhódög gwégavà'awi'k
make me work so I can do anything I wish in the

matënyüvig i'l'nyüg teyädjàhwàlig ha'askä'ligà.
garden I hoe I plant corn I irrigate.

inyán,idj mà'ahánig miyámig öömàdópmig
you, sun be good going down at sunset

iyägigàsmávidj tüyà àhánàhag'ig'i
we lay down to sleep I want to feel good

àsmàmidjàälligig. vamà'ámàmiyüdjà
while I sleep you come up. go on your course many times

àhánàpa màwiwug.
make good things for us men.

tul'nyàvàvà'àyüg in,üdjigwa'yóhag'i'i.
make me always the same as I am now.

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Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style. Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

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Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*sdedsdeu*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-

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meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—

àhapö'k inyahávà matö'kmidjálligà atiyéhag
spring I drink plenty more come I feel glad

àötha.
I use it to drink.

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Havasupai

àswŏ'gà	gwewálà	wi'và	mà'ûg	539
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matè'kmidjpágàhögwíg'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

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788 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use
754 them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Ilckdyúgdílga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'ígagwaáwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind
[534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed
[821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to
[825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He
[827] then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vaglgdlyúg sadel'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch
825 the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 344.
[2] See Mantanbou for an account of these.

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (l), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 339; Powers, 354, 380; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 406; Lowie, (l), 202, 204.
[3] Tozzer, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 168; Corbusier, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (e), 349.

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171. 534 of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

171 751 The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

171 778 782 The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs *which are to all intents identical with* the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

224 171 The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

171 534 789 778 The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1]Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Haeberlin und Günther, 33.
[2]Franciscan Fathers, 208–209; Bourke, (e), 303; (a), 439; Mason, J. A., (e), 15; Russell, (a), 82, 106 ("... rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").
[3]Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 203–209; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 342; (d), 131.
[4]Dixon, (a), 344. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99873). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.
[5]Curtis, (a), 236; Dixon, (a), 266.
[6]Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (e), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 18.
[7]Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Diegueño use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at. 171 534 789 778

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6] 171 534

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Diegueño reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9] 171 534 789 821 825

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[1] Dixon, (a), 209; Lowie, (i), 257; Kroeber, (h), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (e), 324–326.
[3] Hough, (a), 395; Stevenson, J., Fig. 361.
[4] Russell, (a), 370; Curtis, I, 86; Goddard, (b), 263; (c), 170; Franciscan Fathers, 402; Hodge, (a), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 169; Lumholtz, (c), II, 154, 438; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 209, 302; Reagan, 39; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Hagar, (a), 208; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 86; Mason, J. A., (a), 158; Kroeber, (c), 277.
[7] Brown, 689; Spier, (e), 349.
[8] Lowie, (a), 223; Dixon, (a), 206.
[9] Lowie, (h), 55; Du Bois, (a), 158; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 240).

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [183] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being 764 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor 178 enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, 768 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build 179 elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year 768 or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's [183] fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, [178] to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 781.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned. [768] [418] [763]

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance. [765] [587]

There are no mourning ceremonies (*cf.* the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning. [177]

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house. [769] [761]

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4] [171] [764]

[1]Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2]Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (p), 301; Carbonell, 227, 237; Jones, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 291; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 618; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 262; Cremony (102) states that the Maricopa bury; Tripped, 302; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Bonpart (287) gives burial for Baja California.
[3]Kroeber, (o), 395.
[4]Lowie, (j), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 119; Hrdlička, (r), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippe, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 295; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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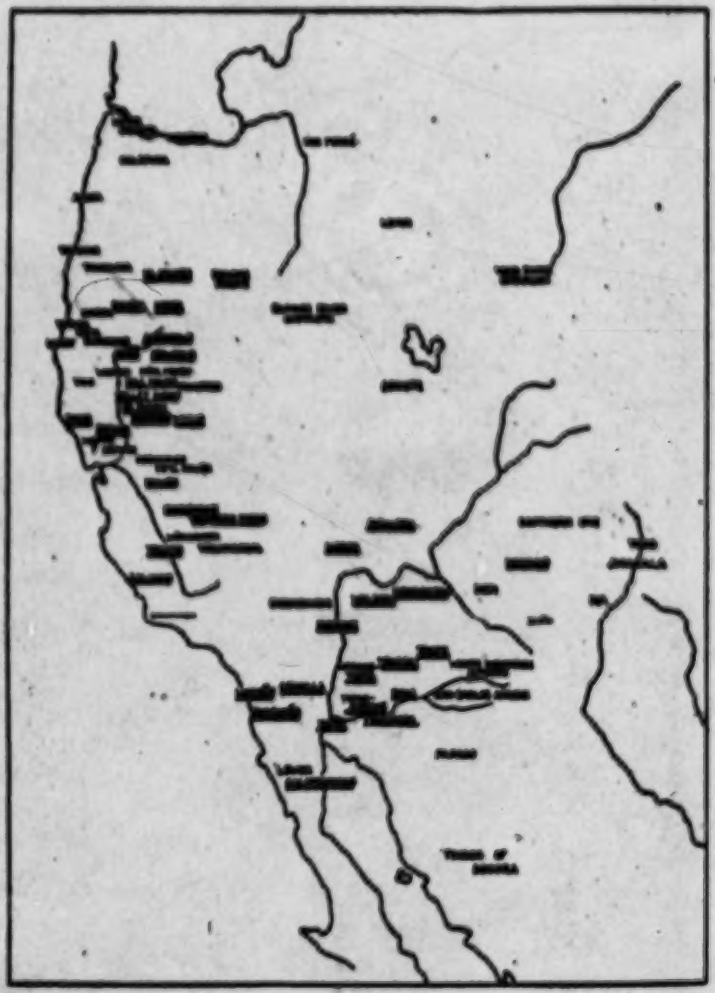

Fig. 84. Distribution of Cremation and Burial. Cremation occurs where names are underscored; areas where both practices occur (or where the evidence conflicts) are lightly underscored.

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Cremation occurs again in central and northeastern California. I find this on record for the Yokuts (but burial for the Wükchumni), Pomo, the Patwin near Clear Lake, Southern Maidu, Nomshoo,[1] Washo, Modoc, and Klamath.[2] Both practices are credited to a number of groups in this region. Cremation is favored by Salinan and Miwok, burial by Chukchansi and the Northern Maidu of the foothills. Two Western Mono groups (Balwisha and Wakaschi) buried, but did cremate during at least one epidemic.[3] Burial is the regular form of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, Atsugewi, Achomawi, and Shasta, all of whom cremate those who die away from home. The evidence for the Yana conflicts. Certain Miwok (Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok) are said to bury. Wappo myths refer to cremation.[4] Kroeber, who commands unpublished data and is better able to interpret this material, indicates cremation for the Yahi alone among the Yana, burial for the southern Yokuts, and discards the Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok cases. In addition he notes cremation for the Western Mono, Chumash, Esselen, Costanoan, Coast Miwok, Wappo, and Huchnom. He is in doubt as to the connection of the Modoc with the central area, but I think continuous distribution between the two points is clear.

Burial is the custom in the remaining sections of the Southwest and California, and throughout the Basin. In the Southwest it occurs among the Hopi, Navaho, White Mountain, Coyotero, and San Carlos Apache, Zuñi, Sia, Taos, Jicarilla, and Papago; in Mexico among all the tribes of Sonora and the Huichol.[5] In California it occurs in a well-defined strip of country separating the central and southern areas of cremation. This includes Chumash, Tülatulabal, and Chemehuevi,[6] to whom Kroeber adds Kitanemuk, southern Yokuts, and Eastern Mono. Burial appears again throughout northwestern California: Patwin near the Sacramento, Wintun, Yuki, Wiyot, Hupa, Chimariko, Yurok, and Karok.[7] Kroeber adds Tolowa, Chilula, Wailaki, and Sinkyone. North-

[1] An offshoot of the Pah-Ute stock, living six miles east of Georgetown, Eldorado Co., according to Stapler (p. 285). This is in Southern Maidu territory, but the identification in the *Handbook of American Indians*, (II, p. 72) places them on upper Butte Creek in the Northwestern Maidu area.

[2] Powers, 155, 173, 182, 216, 226, 310, 322, 327, 341, 363; Barrett, (c), 429; Pope, 37; Hopkins, 64; Barrett, (b), 9; confirmed by R. H. Lowie, 1920. Barrett, (g), 269; Outerbridge, (d), 29.

[3] Chukchansi and Western Mono data from Miss Ann Clayton. (Her informant told her that the Wanebi (the most westerly Mono) cremated long ago, but he may have been referring to Michahai Yokuts custom.

[4] Mason, J. A., (a), 167; Powers, 279, 348, 353, 356, 363, 427; Dixon, (a), 343-345; (c), 317; Lowie, (i), 291; cf. Yarrow, (a), 61; Dixon, (b), 465; Sapir, (d), 92, 194, 195; Mooney, (a), 259, (the material in this paper is open to doubt.)

[5] Hough, (d), 130; Curtis, I, 55, 80; II, 34; XII, 39; Yarrow, (b), 101, 111, 114, 125; Dorsey, (b), 127, 137; Shufeldt, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 454; (he Navaho buried the enemy (Mexicans) dead (Pattie, 167); Hrdlička, (d), 492; Herrmann, M. C., (a), 144; Goddard, (b), 270; Gaillard, 294; Bandelier, (a), 294; Hrdlička, (b), 69; Mollon, 289; Lumholtz, (a), II, 342.

[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 166; Kroeber, (f), note 13; Heye, (b); Powers, 384; Kroeber, (i), 342.

[7] Powers, 216, 236, 242; Mason, J. A., (a); Dixon, (d), 302.

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171 764 ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Goshute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with those to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

171 178 764 An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1878[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 807; Stapir, (a), 276; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 86; Pinkerton, 227. A burial in an unmarked tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1830-5 (Ames, *Burial Customs in Oregon.*)

[2] Lowie, (b), 279-282; Yarrow, (b), 137, 154, 161; Reagan, 31; Hopkins, 76; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lewis, (a), 214; Ridgeley, 252; Chamberlain, (a), 268.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 143, 163.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 58, 59, 60.

[6] Davis, (a), 64.

[7] Allen, 613. I have been told that it was customary as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 227.

[9] Powers, 346.

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In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";[4] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[5] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[6] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yókuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[7] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[8] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[9] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[4] Hayo, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 95.
[5] Powers, 320; "A long rule was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[6] For the latter see above, p. 270.
[7] Lowie, (i), 270; Curtis, IV, 52, 70, 82, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 781; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 103; Trippel, 8; Hooper, 543; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 623 ff.; (c), 103, 103, 148; Sparkman, 238; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Powers, 164, 231, 233, 252-256, 264 301; Dixon, (a), 245 259; Barrett, (b), 9.
[8] The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (238) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[9] This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achumawi, and Shasta (Dixon, (b), 230). Klamath, to the Athapascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last two named except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account (Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 335; Powers, 164) and to the Southwestern Wintun (Barrett, (c), 426). In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima (Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 166).

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171 764 765 769 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa, Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 765 769 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 109, 110 ff.

[2] Teit, Jesup, (a), 448; Teit, (a), 329, 356; (b), 279; Gibbs (1855) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Indians substituted effigies or carved them.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*dʒʃúdʒ*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist, with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakúdagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwdgídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakúdagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igíθaníddj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkat'ó'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 83.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 170. [163]
[2] A Pawnee belief (Lowie, (1), 206).
[3] Hodge, (1), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grand-
854 mother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark,
[439] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the
[178] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The
[842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with piñon pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Kissell, 144).

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854 at one end. The weft consists of two or three slender twigs which are first passed together under alternate warps; each end is then brought back and passed under the other warps, and so on. The other ends of the warps are similarly bound side by side with sinews, and the ends of the hoop are then lapped and bound together. The hoop is tied to the frame

Fig. 55 (50.2-1216). A Cradleboard.

in the open space at the top and also to the upper cross sticks. Two stay cords extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop.

[531] Dewclaw rattles are sometimes fastened to the hoop. In modern examples a string of beads, blue and white in alternate lengths, is tied back and forth diagonally on the periphery of the hoop. The baby's first

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The baby's first

854 [852] [827] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. [732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last 856 the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 853 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to 862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mŏndkădjá n„ĭnapŏ́ldj; nĕpŏ'igá*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pănămt'dăpŏndtaladj; djĭtaligá*, father). The word *nidjĭ'ĭmat igá* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken. 551

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment. 553 551 553 [603]

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Cheekapanyega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wawakwimd*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *hdwd*, house, and *dwĭ*, rock, are in this suspect class. 115 551 551

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpd*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

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551 the translation given me in each case. Women's names, on the other hand, rarely contain words for girl or woman. Half of all the names refer to personal characteristics, often quite indirectly. Arranging the data according to approximate ages brings to light some interesting points. The names of half the women under forty years relate to personal peculiarities, only one third above that age do, but there is no such distinction among the men. There are a greater number of men over thirty years with house and rock names, and a greater number of women over forty with vegetation names. Such differences may mean either that there are names appropriate to a particular age or that fashions in naming have varied at different periods. I cannot decide between these explanations, because, while men's names are changed, so that an agreement between the type of name and age is possible, this is not true for the woman, whose names are supposed not to have been changed except in a few cases. The inconsequential character of names is indicated by the number of school children who lack native names; evidently the English names they acquire at school are considered good equivalents of the meaningless names of the others. The names of foreign women married to Havasupai are appended. At least one of them has been re-named by the natives: the names of others may have undergone slight phonetic changes.

MALES

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
3	gwawâ'iyŭ'l, hair like a rope.	Named when 3.	gwawâ, hair; iyŭ'l, rope.
	yugâtâ̆ênydgovâ, eyes on a thread.	Only the central portion of his eyelids were parted when a baby.	yu, eyes; tâ̆ênydgovâ, the connecting filament of something worn nearly in two.
	li'neo	Possibly Spanish; named by a foreign Indian.	
7	gŭiyŭ"ŭ, shaman.	Looks like a shaman; does not behave, hollers, sings; runs about, strikes people. Named when 7.	
	yug'egaldba, dirty eyelashes.	His eyes were sore when an infant.	yu, eyes; g'egâ, dirty; ldba, eyelashes.
	bu", hallooing.		
	dkâ	A Walapai name.	

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
8	hwan	Spanish "Juan"?	
9	bulatévá, bump on forehead.[1]	Which he had when little.	bulá, forehead.
	hatévá, projection.		
	putgiskwi'djvá, hat sticks up.		pud, hat; skwidjvá, sticking up.
	h^{w}a'mu kögwö'öá, yellow-skinned Navaho.	Father's English name is "Navaho."	h^{w}a'mu, Navaho; gwö'öá, yellow.
12	'bé, wheat		
13	pakskiniginá, punching man		ápa, man; skinigin, to punch repeatedly.
15	padjilová, man with nits		ápa, man; djil, nits?
16	amakwápitá, sagebrush bänö't	Named when 16. English "Barnet"?	
17	kökwöt, fox.	Once he killed a fox by striking it on the head with a stone.	
	gütcápalivá, talus slopes on both sides of a canyon.		
20	pagágwin[2], caterpillar man	Had no native name before he was named thus by his wife's relatives when 19.	ápd, man; gágwin[2], caterpillar. [553]
21	nágá, or nágová pagátaiá, old man	His hair is somewhat gray.	
	vdin watágö'gimá, house pushed off.		háwá, house; tágö'gimá, to push one thing off another.
22	watöi'ötimá		háwá, house
23	mágwööá, a small rock-squirrel.		
	hö'ögádjidjigi', he bites lice.	Usual name: before he married, he once picked lice from the girl's hair and cracked them between his teeth	hö'ö'l, lice; djidjigi, bite.

[1] Bracketed names are those of the same individual.

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MALES (Continued)

551

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
25	tamágwŭ, rear end, back.		
	dulàdídàmá, he moves his feet fast (?).	When a fat baby, he toddled about at a run.	
27	djàdjàgámbádá, blue-jay legs.		
	hugul'gambádá, crane legs.		gul'ìgà, long; màbádá, legs.
	putágìdína, bat-lizard.	Boyhood name.	pût, bat; gìdína, lizard.
	badigálí;á, crushed leg.	A horse fell on it.	màbádá, leg.
	djóla, limp.	When a baby he was too heavy for his strength and always toppled over.	
	gìtcìsà	When a little boy he was troublesome like an unidentified eastern tribe of this name.	
28	kàptà	English "captain"; both names commonly used.	
	patàkŭ, man's belly.		àpá, man; tàko, belly.
29	ya'kwáwà, dumb.	Could not talk plainly until he was a big boy.	ya, mouth; wáwà, sounds representing mumbling.
	ŏàpdìàgigàváva, I want peaches.	Usual name.	ŏàpala, peaches; kàváva I or he wants some.
	sŭk'ŭvódjvà, make a noise.		
	pagahwalá, quarrelsome man.		àpá, man; hwalá, to feel like fighting.
	kwaiyál, stone arrow point or knife.		
30	lámá, spread out.		lámìgà, to spread out.
	patágŭvatalá, fat legs.		màbátá, legs; vàtalá, big, fat.
32	wigàtá, blasting rocks.		àwí, rock; gàtu, blasted.

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
34	halisŧkh'ápá, wet (with semicolons?) ôal'má		
	aurafvá, Oraibi.	He was taken there frequently when a boy.	
35	tšikwamgáttšafá, lizard (a variety found on the plateau).	Usual name.	
	gwó'lová, having wings.		wó'lá, wing.
36	d^{u}vá, tobacco.		
39	gátó, belly-full.		
	sólgáman'ó'dá, wrist.	Usual name; his wrist once swelled.	sól, hand; man'ó'dig, knob, wrist, ankle.
	gálógávásudjá		
39	ovádá, flame.	Usual name.	o'o, fire; vada, fire leaping up.
	smategudiná, thick ears.	Boyhood name.	smadigá, ears; diná, thick.
	málgúlo, ——sack.		a'mál, sack.
	sálhóvá, a streamer moving in the air.	A bird was carrying a snake pendant as he flew.	[misí vigá, the air (a little way up); mahá'lá, the sky.]
	wa^{a}húgámá, pucker-house.		háwa, house; hówigá, to close a hole or bag mouth by drawing into puckers.
	pawaigáddvá, thin man.	Usual name: he has consumption.	ápá, man; gáddvá, thin, lacking flesh.
	ny$_{a}$gádjá^{a}wi'nvá, black-bend down.		ny$_{á}$gá, black; djáawi'nvá, to bend down.
	gitá'tá, porcupine.	Once when hunting all he caught was a porcupine: also, he looked like one, with vestiges of whiskers.	
43	pátcilvoiá, woman chewing his hat.		pát, hat; tcilvoiá, chewing.

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Havasupai

MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
44	ndidš hualkámpŭ'dà, wooden legs.	Used crutches when he broke his leg a few years ago.	huál, pine tree; mábada legs.
	pan,ágwnià, shabby man. n,ymaigámányà, soft breasts.	Usual name; always wears old clothes. Before his first marriage he felt the girl's breasts and told some other boy they were soft.	ápa, man; nigwnià, shabby. n,yámaiá, breasts; mányá, soft.
	pagátaiá, old man. djinyáhŏ, head hanger.	Usual name. When he was a small boy, he went about with hanging head.	djinyahágà, to hang one's head; hu^{n}, head.
	máttÿà		ámàt, dirt; tÿà, nothing.
44	suwí'mim	Boyhood name; perhaps given by a foreign Indian.	
	smadigádŭ'tcà, deaf.	Usual name; he is hard of hearing.	smádigà, ears; dŭtcà, not to hear well.
45	wavaakwimà, house-standing.		háwa, house; akwimà, (a living thing) standing up.
47	payá, man's mouth.		ápa, man; ya, mouth.
48	pasmádigà, man's ears. tämdevà, to slide over the edge of a bank.	Usual name.	ápa, man; smádigà, ears.
49	pagatáe, short man. tiláwimà, knob on the end of a stick.		tegŭluisigà, knob on end of a stick.
	wódo wákágàmà, creaking house.		háwa, house; kágamà, creaking noise.
[302] 54	gŭdzkóvà, knot of back hair.	He was the only man to retain this when the agent induced them to cut their hair short.	káwáwa, hair.
	apáyukálnya, blind man. wasků'goma	Usual name; went blind recently.	ápá, man; yu, eyes; lnyág, black. háwá, house; skŭg, to force the beans out of green pods.

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Havasupai

MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
55	mátamá, salt-lick (for cattle).		
59	pi^{a}t, hat or headband.	Usual name.	
	yívinyámí'hówtdóvá, long beard.	Which he has.	yu, mouth; nyámi, beard; owtdová, long.
	hábá'dá, left (hand).	Usual name; he is not left-handed.	
	pagovátá, large man.		
64	kóndaká		
	tefkápánigá, hat.		
67	milsi'tá, ten cent coin.	Usual name: he said he paid ten cents for a woman at Jerome, but he is not believed.	
	pinhámida, man feels glad.		ápá, man; nahámdá, to feel glad over success after loss or famine.
69	kwaiyotyá, gold teeth.	Usual name: he was the first to have them.	kwá, metal; yui, teeth.
	gótigó'má		
	wímaiá, little rock mountain.	Former name.	áwí, rock; maiá, pile, mound.
	manágadjá, leader of his children.	So named when he became head chief about 1900.	hamáa, children; agadja, leader of men.
	pútgahámi'l, high hat.	Usual name: he used to wear a high-crowned hat.	pút, hat; hamigá, high.
	watáhómidjá, stripped-house.		háwá, house; tahómigá, to strip off (leaves, excess water, etc.)
71	ákokóbá, Hopi word for "like an Acoma"?	Boyhood name: when a boy he was often at Oraibi, where the Hopi said he looked like an Acoma.	
	sinyú'lá, to part by a forward movement.		^{A}mátsinyú'lk, to plow, to furrow the dirt.
	tahawágá, two wives.	He once had two wives.	tahawágágá, to have two wives.
	hógápídá, diarrhoea.		

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Havasupai

MALES (Continued)

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Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
74	paigiyo", all cleared away.	Usual name.	
	pakádagé'ovà, he bumps against a man.	Once when entering a house at night, he had his head lowered and bumped into a man.	ápá, man; tagóvà, to bump into something.
79	amadigitá, half deaf.	He is quite deaf.	amadigá, ears; tu, something inside.
	hainyá, black man.		ápá, man; inyágà, black.
83	wigittiyá, (break off?) a fragment of rock.		áwí, rock; tiya, nothing at all.
92	wasamáma, lost-house.		háwa, house; samáma, lost.

FEMALES

4	gwaŏm'ŏ'da	A Walapai name.	
5	hamotyá		
7	hai'ó		
	gitsáví, three strand braid.	Wears her hair this way.	
	bil'ŏi'vidá.á, white pimples on her forehead.	These were never present.	bíl, forehead; ŏi'vì, white; di'ia, pimples.
	guágostikáwà, chicken eggs.		kuágo, chicken, stikáwà, egg.
8	kiŏŏ'tvà, big and flabby.	Formerly characteristic.	
	hódjila, nit.		
9	mátdgá, "woman" in Paiute (?).		
10	wátá, buttocks.		
11	haniyóká. onion.		
	bi'ná, raccoon.		
	uwí', mouse.		
12	mátk'ówautá, swollen neck.	Used to have swollen gland under angle of jaw.	mátk'á, neck; wautá, lump, swollen.
13	gaálatí, angry.	Formerly she was always angry.	
	nakovi	Named by a foreign Indian.	

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FEMALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
14	mäsi'mō'k'á, tall girl.	She was tall when born.	mäsi', girl; mō'k'á, long. 551
	kaōídá, left hand.	Is left handed.	
	ōwi'ngá, lame (?).	She is lame.	
15	yúkádjilhópá, eyes deep set.		yu, eyes; djilhópá, deep set.
20	ōá'g'á		
22	ya'álaíá, chatter-box.	Eminently characteristic!	ya, mouth; laíá, to chatter.
23	yukáinyá, half blind.	She is nearly blind.	yu, eyes; inyág, black.
26	auwigálóvá, grandchild not good.	When her daughters were small, they misbehaved: probably named by her parents-in-law.	auwiga, son's children; kálóvá, troublesome.
27	djá'kádjá'ká, dovetailed, interspersed.		
32	sutaheándjō, blue round spot.		vasága, blue; heánidjá, round spot.
34	yugátoskeí'gová, cock-eye.	One iris points upward.	yu, eyes.
	tēōē'k'idjō		
35	kágiō'gová, sores all over body.	But she never had them.	
36	táhótá, something concealed.		
39	tāōámódjō		
41	teyává, uneven, lame (?)	One leg is longer than the other.	
43	ōákwō'midjá		[átakwi'má, to move one thing gradually toward another.]
44	sutōídidjá		vasága, blue; sówá, unripe (green) color; talídjá, to nudge.
49	dásdjígvá, bolt upright.		
50	djōrdwaímo, a round thing.		
53	gwowálová nymsává, usual name, white winged bird.		gwo, bird (?); wálová, with wings; nymsává, white.
	dji'igá'svá, boundary of hair at nape of neck.		

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FEMALES (Continued)

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Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
54	sutdjó'gidjá, green, to pile.		suwá, unripe (green) color; djágidjídá, to throw or pour things into a pile or receptacle.
55	dink'idívá or g'ódivá, marked with lines.		
	teshapdinyá, swelling on body.	She has none.	
[768]	kamwi'dimá kápti'dívá, old woman wearing a hat.	New name, 1919, after the death of her husband	kámwi'dima, old woman; pót, hat.
59	iyáwalyí, heart.		
60	gwegwtígwaiá, (a human) moving about quickly.	Usual name.	
	pahádjá, pile of brush, sticks or hay (not stones).		
	kámwi'dámgyagydiá, tall old woman.	Usual name.	kámwidimá, old woman; gágydiá, tall, long.
	yákobó'má, protruding upper alveoli.		ya, mouth; bómá, protruding (upper alveoli only?)
70	tíshkámákáwá, tripod of poles.		
75	shwligídi, rough.	Usual name?	shwilga, little points
	tíkaóridjá, mixed up into something round.		[kaaudig, to mix up and make round.]
79	ámá, mountain sheep.		
	si'é dívá, green things at intervals.		siwá, green, unripe; údigá, round things set at intervals; [údigá, to string beads.]
83	dasnítcívá, a little stream (of sand or water).		ahasoidjigá, water streaming down.
85	siydídjá		siydigá, to place close together.

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FEMALES (Continued)

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Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
90	bokumá or bokumá, to eat pinon nuts.	Usual name.	bo' or bo', pitch tree or nut.
	mdjigudjá, unripe things floating.		údwá, unripe; djigudjá, material covering the surface of water.
94	djéxá', eagle.		

FOREIGN WOMEN.

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23	hᵘ'dá.	Yavapai name.	
35	xámí'dhdjá.	Walapai name.	
49	djadᵘ'ñyúmá.	Walapai name.	
	gáñnyúdává, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dñnyúdává, face paint, tattoo marks.
60	pagidjahdda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djuhnyañgá, to chew; gahdda, tough.
	xinyúkdjá, to pull with the hand.		xál, hand.
70	cladwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

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The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 819–821; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 237. Field notes on the Klamath, 1925

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Fig. 88. Distribution of Cradles in the Southwest and Basin-Plateau Areas. Californian sitting cradle and Northwest trough form omitted.

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The Havasupai type is an elliptical hoop with its long sides nearly parallel, crossed by closely spaced transverse bars. This type is also used by Walapai, Western Apache, and presumably the Seri.[1] The Mohave and Pima have a variant, a U-shaped frame which might be construed as the elliptical form with only one bow. The cross-sticks are lashed at wide intervals but still transversely. The sides however taper toward the bottom so that the board approaches an oval outline. A crude Cahuilla specimen with two longitudinal sticks similarly crossed by splints is of this type. One Miwok specimen is essentially the same; the flat splints are set close together and the ends of the side bars rise over the infant's face.[2] One Wind River Shoshoni form is of the Havasupai type, but it has the oval outline which prevails in the northern half of the area.[3] The Arapaho have a cradle of the same shape made of a framework of sticks, but it is not stated in which direction the cross-rods run.[4] Another variant appears in Round Valley, Pit River (northern California), and in one Konkau Maidu specimen. This is a single bow with the ends brought together; in outline oval above and ending in a point below. This is crossed transversely by slats.[5] It is possible that these, especially the Round Valley form, are related to the Pima, Mohave, and Moapa types. The Salinan type is described as two sticks crossed by smaller sticks: this sounds like the Cahuilla specimen. It is clear that this is at least the flat cradle, not the sitting type of northwestern California.[6]

The elliptical type is quite old in this area. Two specimens of Basket Maker age, the earliest culture now recognized in the Southwest, from Grand Gulch (?) and the middle Chinle Valley, are of this type. The latter is rather oval. Both have longitudinal rods in a medial position in addition to transverse rods. The arrangement of the rods suggests the Mono-Yokuts-Wükshumni specimens.[7]

A peculiar type of Californian flat cradle is a forked stick set with transverse rods. In the Yokuts form tule reeds are placed longitudinally as well (practically a tule mat). O. T. Mason figures a Tule specimen like this with both longitudinal and transverse rods. The Maidu cradle is a forked stick with the arms joined at the top to form a bow. The cross sticks in this are small and set close together. This form approached the

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 330; (b), 102; Hrdlička, (d), 166, Pl. 32; McGee, 227.
[2] Univ. Calif. Archeo. Museum specimens 1–1914 and 1–20253.
[3] Mason, O. T., (g), 324–6; Curtis, II, Ill. after 77; Russell, (d), 102; Lowie, (a), 199.
[4] Kroeber, (b), 67–8.
[5] Mason, O. T., (b), 102.
[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 131.
[7] Kidder, pl. 38a; Mason, 26, pl. vb.

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171 Round Valley and Konkau specimens, and suggests that this whole
854 group may be looked on as a variant of the Havasupai type described above.[1]

The Basin form is commonly an oval frame set longitudinally with reeds united by open twining. This is found among the Shivwits, in one Paviotso form, and possibly among the Wind River Shoshoni. Among the Southern Ute and in one specimen of uncertain derivation, but probably Wind River, the reeds extend at each end beyond the frame. The Moapa have this Shivwits type, but like the Mohave and Pima the frame is a U-shaped bow with converging ends. The Paviotso variant has the framing hoop in the form of a quadrilateral tapering to the lower end. Mason figures one extreme form of this in which the lower end is so narrow that the board is quite pointed, resembling the Californian types mentioned above.[2] The same quadrilateral occurs with variations among the Washo, Mono (probably both divisions), Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, and Wükchumni.[3] Transverse rods, small and very closely set on the back, also appear on some of the more southerly specimens: Mono, Yokuts, and Wükchumni. (Similar cross rods are seen on the Maidu examples mentioned above.) These Californian types are practically basketry structures: they have no frame or at most a very light one.[4] The quadrilateral cradle with longitudinal rods is then a local type of the San Joaquin-western Nevada district.

In the northern part of the area the cradle is a single piece of wood, a board, of oval shape. This is the type of the Upper Thompson, Eastern Shuswap, Okanagan, Spokan, Nez Percé, Klamath, Flathead, Kutenai, Crow, Blackfoot, Wind River, Uncompahgre, and Southern Ute.[5] In the first three and the last, the lower end is square, not rounded, and some of the Shuswap specimens are angular rather than oval, but these all seem variations of a single type. So much of a Cayuse specimen as is shown in one of Curtis' illustrations shows it is essentially the same shape, but I do not know whether it has a board or basket foundation. A specimen collected by the Wilkes expedition among the "Oregon Indians" is clearly related to these although the upper part has angular shoulders.[6] The

[1] Mason, (a), 888. Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10780, 1-10779, and 1-8266; Mason, O. T., (d), 888.

[2] Loc. cit., (c), see 887; Mason, O. T., (d), 888, 889.

[3] Mason, (a), 21, 24, XII, Fig. 2; Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10944, 1-10945, 1-8267, 1-10947, 1-10948, 1-10949, 1-10950, 1-10951, 1-10952, 1-8268, 1-10780, 1-10917, 1-10918, 1-8269. Wükchumni model in the possession of A. H. Gayton.

[4] Cf. (a), 888; (c), 884-886; Mason, O. T., (d), 844; Spinden, 238; Curtis, VII, 76, 78; Chamberlain, (a), 847; Lowie, (b), 190; Wissler, (a), 46. Wissler suggests that the Blackfoot specimen of basketry type figured by Mason, O. T., Pl. 844 is from the Blackfoot Sioux. Lowie, (b), 190; Mason, O. T., Pl. 888.

[5] Curtis, VIII, 74; Mason, O. T., (d), 884.

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Wishram cradle is angular, yet seems a related form. The last two and the Klamath, Cayuse, Thompson, and some Eastern Shuswap examples are provided with projecting handles in the middle of the upper end. The Klallam cradle is an interesting modification of the Northwest Coast trough cradle in the direction of these flat board forms. The trough is so slight and so filled with padding, that the child lies on, not in it. Further, the form is that of the Thompson cradle even to the handle[1]. The Cowichan cradle is like this but without the handle[2]. The Lkâ'âgxn cradle for a young infant is presumably related to these flat board forms, although it is made of bundles of rushes, the outer one of horseshoe shape. The first Quinault cradle is also a very shallow rectangular trough, in place of the later trough form.[3]

The wooden cradle is used in the Southwest by the Zuñi, Navaho, and the Hopi of the middle mesa. One of the Zuñi forms and that of the Hopi are rounded on top, square at the lower end, and with parallel sides. These may also be variants of the oval form. The second Zuñi pattern with a terraced top is only a further variation. The Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa have a cradle of the same shape but formed of a U-shaped bow filled in with longitudinal rods held by transversely placed wickerwork. The rounded end is usually at the bottom of these specimens but sometimes it is at the top. It is, of course, possible that this is related to the Moapa type where the longitudinal rods are laced by open twining. The Kaibab have also a wicker board, but its shape is not given by Powell. The Navaho cradle presents the most interesting variations of the board form, for here the two projecting points above resemble the points of the Plains lattice frame.[4]

This type, so named by O. T. Mason, consists of two broad sticks converging toward the bottom and crossed by two others. In its tapering form it resembles the oval shape of the Basin-Plateau. This is used by Comanche, Kiowa, Dakota, and perhaps others. The Mescalero cradle at least is not like these, but apparently a solid rectangular or elliptical form.[5]

The Pima usually have a swing of cloth suspended by ropes; so have the Papago, while the Cora use a swinging netted hoop. The Navaho cradle is sometimes placed in a swing.[6]

[1] Hawkins, MS.
[2] Field Museum, no. 19033.
[3] Boas, (a), 579. Quinault information from Kunkel Chas.
[4] Hough, (a), 241; Mason, O. T., (d), 481-4; Powell, 127; Franciscan Fathers, 469.
[5] Mason, O. T., (g), 324, 511; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 14; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 141.
[6] Hrdlička, (a), 44; Bartlett, H., 264; Hrdlička, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 473. The Yaqui cradle described by Mason, O. T., (g), 5459 is different from any of the foregoing. It consists of parallel rods fastened by dowels in rectangular form.

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Most of the wooden cradleboards of the Basin-Plateau are covered with skin; those of the Southwest are not. This appears among the Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, on the Oregon specimen of Wilkes, Cayuse (?), Nez Percé, Flathead, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Uncompahgre, Southern Ute, and Arapaho. This is further evidence of the relationship of the cradle among these peoples. However, the use of the cover is a separable trait for it has been applied in the adjacent region to the hoop-and-rod types of the Paviotso, Kaibab, and the Colorado Ute. The lattice type of the Plains is provided with a pouch to hold the infant. Some of the Basin-Plateau types (Upper Thompson, the Oregon specimen, Flathead, Blackfoot, Wind River (?), Southern Ute, and Tule) have something of the sort or else the cover itself forms a pouch. Some connection between cover and pouch may be suspected, but this is difficult to work out from illustrations and descriptions alone.

The hood, arch, or awning which protects the face of the child also offers comparative points.[1] First, it is not used among the Plains tribes considered here (Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Dakota, Crow, Blackfoot) nor northwestward among the Flathead, Kutenai (?), Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, and Nez Percé. It is not used in California, among others by the Round Valley group, with the Tule and Yokuts forked stick cradles, nor by the Yaqui in Mexico.

There are three principal forms of the hood. The Upper Thompson, Lillooet,[2] Wishram, Klamath, and Cayuse have a single stick forming an arch secured to the sides of the frame much in the manner of those in the Eastern Woodlands area. In the Basin and California a triangular awning is used: one blunt apex is usually fastened near the top of the cradle, the base rising above the infant's face where it is supported by a transverse arch. Paviotso, Washo, Mono, Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, Wükchumni, Uncompahgre,[3] and probably Wind River Shoshoni and Southern Ute have this awning made in open-twine technique, with the supporting arch usually at an angle to the board; that is, leaning toward the upper end of the board. The Shivwits awning is simple twine; that sometimes used by the Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa is wickerwork. The supporting arch for these two tribes and probably the Colorado Ute is vertical.

The Southwestern tribes use either a broad arch or hoop, the latter only among the western groups. The Navaho arch is formed by four

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[1] Some Californian and Basin heads are ornamented to show the sex of the infant. One Havasupai head bore a string of beads arranged in a zigzag and resembling the decoration of a Paviotso hood, but neglected to enquire if this had any significance.

[2] Teit, fig. 28.

[3] Mason, U. S. N. M., fig. 189.

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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart:[2] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Moapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kaibab. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[3]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Moapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Wakaachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[4] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[5]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Moapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[6]

[1] Ibid., 182.
[2] Russell, 149.
[3] Lewis, (i), 269-9; Dixon, (a), 280.
[4] Gayton, 254.
[5] Lewis, (i), 270-2; (a), 211; Parsons, (c); Starr, (a), 48; Curtoudor, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-120; Russell, (d), 180; Dixon, (a), 310; Pope, 55.

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171/351 Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

861 Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

868 Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old 867 enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *stil'* seeds, piñon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

868 They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

[867] Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them 868
hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said."

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep [751]
them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 326).[1]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time, [863]
and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I knew how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak.

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, 867
tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby."

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, 868
explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand-

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, (d), 491.) The Arikara-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Mason, (e), 216.) Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, (i), 265). [773] [171]

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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [847] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen [848] made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dances and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [869] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1] The Piutes have the same custom (Russell, 4th, 118). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lest they acquire the ability to run (Bourgeois, 146; Parsons, (f), 9). Smoking is connected with warfare elsewhere. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought it down his first large game (e.g., deer). He supplies honey the bride to his father, who makes a strong brew from it, which he drinks over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 59). A Shoshone boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Dixon, (f), 416).

[3] Kroeber, (d), 406, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [738]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlŏ*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

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881 covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

[173] Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgd*, lit., red) end.

841 A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire 585 body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. 841 The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

825 Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

758 Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

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[171] [1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (j), 146–147, (j), 282, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (j), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

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832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of
574 cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a
[439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop-
[697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared,
[576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *kdnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahdnd*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Utes also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, (1), 203.) [171]

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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have incorporated a Zuñi greeting here.
[2] Also Yavapai (Corbusier, 229).
[3] Compare the Hidatsa *ia, ia, ia* [Lowie, (a), 224].
[4] No offerings of tobacco or smoke are made. Tobacco is not chewed

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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*uwádolgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kápdd'dtátópigd*, "It is hard to say." [201]

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdsmádjigd*, *gwétdsmd'djigd*, cf. *smágd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 314, footnote.

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787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer may acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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He has occasionally dreamed of spotted fawns coming close by him, whistling. He saw the fresh tracks and followed them. He has been hunting after such a dream, but failed to see either tracks or fawns. He dreamed of seeing the heads of antelope showing above a barrier at a distance. Some were lying down and others standing about in the plain. He wondered how he could get close enough to kill them since there was no brush for cover. 159 787

I dreamed last night about lots of venison. I dreamed that my father shot many deer. He was living by himself in a cliff-dwelling on the northern side of the Buckskin Mountains; I know the place. I dreamed that he took Mr. H's boat, which he left tied in the Colorado River, and went across. A well-marked fresh trail led up the cliff to the cave. I saw that he had much meat and deer hides, the latter spread on the ground. The meat was piled in two or three places, a great quantity. We were both there when I heard someone coming. I looked up the trail which led down to the cave, and said, "Someone, a white man, is coming." He came down to see the deer meat. He said, "I will not say anything about that; if you have plenty of meat, it is all right. I know all you Havasupai; I will not say anything to the forest-ranger."[1] I know that man, Tom M. He said his wife would like to have some meat. So I gave it to him and he went home. (Tom's wife has left him. I asked him why and he said he did not know. What happened? I do not know. She always said she wanted to leave; she was always angry. She went to F — — to get a divorce. She left their son with Tom, who is a cattleman.)

Sinyella gave the following account of his dreams:—

When I was a young man, I dreamed I had plenty of horses, cattle, and sheep. I dreamed that repeatedly for a long time. Then I thought, "Maybe I am going to have those animals some time." Now that I am old, I have them; many horses, cattle, and I had some sheep too. I butchered the sheep as fast as I got them. That is what I dream for; sometimes the dream tells us right.

Once I dreamed that I went to Oraibi and wanted to buy blankets. As I dreamed I was positive that I was in Oraibi, but when I woke I was right here in my own house. Sometimes I dream that I am in the Walapai country trading, but when I wake I am still at home.

I dreamed last night about women. We have no women in my camp.[2] I dreamed that a woman came right to me, and I asked, "Do you like me?" She said, "Yes, I like you." Then I drew her by the arm into my bed and she let me have my will of her. I felt positive I was doing this and when I woke I felt pretty bad. I have also dreamed of nearly having my will of a nice girl, but I woke. When I tried to resume the dream, I failed.

I used to dream that I was mounted and chasing a deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. Sometimes a short time after my dream I actually chased and killed them. Then I knew that is why I had dreamed.

Long ago when there were wars I dreamed that I heard the enemy coming, shouting, and patting their mouths.

[1] Hunting is forbidden.
[2] This was a recurring theme of his conversation.

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787 159 Sometimes I dream that someone dies and they are taking his body away. The dream tells me right, because after a little someone does die in this way; that is why I dream of it. Sometimes, however, it is all right; it does not turn out that way.

Sometimes I dream of seeing another tribe. I am quite certain of it. Other times I dream of hunting and killing deer. Then I hunt and get two or three in the same manner. At other times I dream, but I fail to get any. I dream of working in the fields, hoeing weeds, or planting; then when I am working there, I do just as I dreamed. Sometimes I dream the corn will grow tall, and at other times, will not grow at all: it eventuates that way. I have dreamed that I was hunting and got some deer, but when I tried next morning I failed. I dreamed falsely: one does not have to dream the truth.

The night before last I dreamed about cattle and horses. I saw that I had many cattle. They were walking about at a little distance. One big bull, with long horns, came close to me and stopped. I went to him and stood by his side, rubbing my hand along his back. The bull stood with his head aslant, hooking with his horns. I was afraid of being hurt. While I was looking, I turned. I saw I had many horses just a little beyond the cattle. I saw that all were sorrel horses. They were quite small ponies. My horses, those I really have, are about that size.

I dreamed last night that I was baking in a Dutch oven. Although it had not been cooking long enough to bake properly when I looked in, it was all burnt.

I dreamed about a hunting charm [shaped like a marble.] I took it from my pocket and scraped the top a little with my knife. I continued scraping until finally it broke in two. I tried to tie it around to hold it together, but it kept bulging between the bands, so that it was impossible.

Sometimes, at long intervals, I dream that a ghost comes into my house and lays his hands on me. He scares me and I say, "Something bad, you must not touch me. I do not want you to touch me; take your hands off." But the ghost keeps his hands on me and holds me tight and wants to do something to me, so I yell hoping that someone will hear and the ghost will leave. So I groan. Everybody dreams this way.

Sometimes I dream that I see and talk to my dead parents. I dream that I am living at their house. I also dream of the good horses I had long ago and which are now dead. I dream that I ride them again. I dream that I see the old men who used to be my good friends here; I dream that we are working together again. When I wake at dawn, I find I am not dead, I am still alive, and I want to sleep again, but peacefully. I say to the dead, "I am not dead: I only saw you dead people. I am still alive. I want to sleep well so I can get up in the morning refreshed. It is bad to dream of the dead; I do not want to dream of them; so go away." And then I blow into my hands and brush them down my face and body. So I brush the dream away into the night.

158 Cases of somnambulism are known. Such individuals are deemed crazy (*alpdedwūg*, also inebriated). Some men talk in their sleep, occasionally in English.

158 787 159 Crook often talks in his sleep, shouting, and carrying things about. He was camping with his father. A coyote was barking in the woods. Crook got up in his sleep, ran out a little way, and cried, "What is that calling out there?" Once Crook and I [Jess] were at Rowe's Well, when he dreamed that he was fighting someone. I heard him get up, punch the tent, and scatter his bedding, repeating, "I am going to

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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing. 158 1787 159

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi. 517 181 517

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter. 515 517 575 345 517 575 575

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345 The lodge (*tá'dve*) is a dome-shaped structure, 2 m. in diameter and 1.3 m. high, set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep. The frame (Fig. 57) consists of light poles set into the ground at intervals of 30 cm., arched and bound with strips of bark. Two horizontal braces are bent around these, one near the bottom, the other halfway up the sides, but leaving a space for the entrance. The frame is completely covered with several layers of blankets and buffalo robes, furnishing an air and light-tight

Fig. 57. A Sweatlodge Frame.

structure.[1] The floor is freshly strewn with green twigs, save for the space immediately to the left of the door (for one entering) where the stones are always placed. These are heated on a slowly burning wood-pile nearby, and carried in with green sticks.

515 It is customary for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon;[2] on each occasion four men may enter, but this is not fixed—there is hardly room for more. It is considered advisable to bathe in the stream first, taking copious draughts. The bathers crouch side by side, with legs crossed before them. The leader or host sits at the extreme rear with a basin of water by his side. It is pitch-black; the heat

[1] Cushing, (a), mentions a covering of grasses and dirt. I have not seen this; perhaps it is used on the plateau.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*saksal'dhidji sudhlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where connivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [874]

Footracing (*tsnomdgelgd*, race by two; *tsnomdgoelgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 132° F. (outside 72° F.). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "It is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" (ib., 4n). [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatpi'd*) was a lump compounded of wood and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood (Hrdlička, (a), 44). [171]

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541 giña giyi giyi gaidaq ávoqhai launda haneyá (repeat)
789 giñiqiqaigagé náqiqihá launda hineyá
533
A second song is:—
[539] a'l'l'ke'ego hanitqá hanitqá hanitqaiqaná yóligai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horseraces do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

Only girls juggle (*djipipi*). Two or three balls are caught in one
526 hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigut'ñelgi*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

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Shinney (*ámáwápá*) is played in the spring before the planting for stakes of future crops, buckskins, etc. The two companies of men or women, numbering five or six, hang their stakes separately over poles erected at the middle of the field. The field is 60 to 70 m. long; the goal posts being two sticks, stones, or trees. The ball is buried in the center

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[525]

Fig. 88 (30.9-1610). A Shinney Ball.

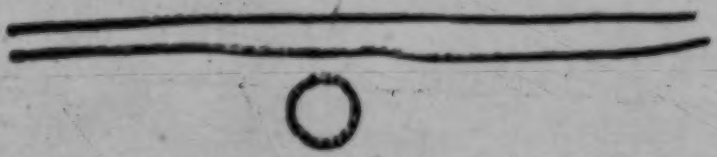

Fig. 89 (30.9-1613a-c). Poles and Ring for Hoop and Pole Game.

of the field. The two leaders strike it out of the ground. Each company gathers behind its leader. Pushing, pulling, and kicking at opponents is allowed. The ball may be kicked, but not touched with the hands. In the characteristic driving stroke, the ball is lifted with the stick and then struck while it is in the air. When the ball is driven over the line of the goal posts, either between them or outside, the whole stakes are won. The shinney ball (*ámáwá'dá*), 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, is made of a circular

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526 piece of buckskin 13 to 15 cm. across. A thong is threaded through holes in its edge; it is stuffed with damp deer hair, and the thong pulled taut and tied. The long ends of this drawstring, tied in a loop, remain until ready for play, when they are cut off. This allows for shrinkage, otherwise, if the string were cut short before the ball is dry, it would pull out when it was struck. Some balls are decorated in red paint (Fig. 58). The stick (*ádcvíd*) is a branch with a short section of trunk for the crook. Children use smaller sticks.

The hoop and pole game (*i'ádáveá*) is played by men alone. The hoop (*avádjádá*) is a 2 cm. ring, 15 to 20 cm. in diameter, made of a bundle of buckskin strips about which another strip is spirally bound. The poles (*i'it'ádáveá*), 2.5 m. long, have a deep notch encircling the butt. The ground is carefully smoothed for 10 to 12 m. and a line to mark its boundaries drawn at each end, beyond which brush is piled.[1] Two men stand at one end: one flings the hoop down to roll along the course, and both running a few steps, throw their poles. In throwing, the loop is held vertically against the wrist, the back of the hand moving forward and down. The object is to have the hoop lie on the pole; this counts one. A sector of the hoop must rest wholly on the pole; if this is disputed, a little stream of sand is poured from directly above, which must clear both the inside of the hoop and the edge of the pole. In the next trial the winner rolls the hoop back along the course. The stakes are
[525] won when two points are gained in succession. If the ring lies in the notch (*p'ít'mádyyápá*), it scores two and the game is won. An erotic interpretation is given when the pole pierces the hoop. The game really requires some skill.

[83]

Fig. 60 (30.2-1614). Cup and Pin Game.

The cup and pin game (*Aupdád*) consists of a cotton-tail or jack-rabbit skull fastened to a sharply pointed twig, about 8 cm. long, by a slightly longer cord (Fig. 60). The base of the skull is cut away, the teeth drawn, and it is boiled free of meat. The cord is tied back of the incisors. Holding the stick, the skull is swung toward the body and caught on the point. Catching by any hole scores one; any tooth hole, six; ear hole(?), ten; incisor hole, forty; and if the stick splits

[1] There is no word to designate the course.

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off in a foremost palatinum, the game is won. This game is played by four persons (men only?), two on a side. First, each member of one party swings until he misses, when it passes to the opponents. Three hundred or more counters are made of scapweed leaves split into narrow pieces, 10 cm. long. Some wider pieces have a number of slits in one end, six, ten, or twenty, corresponding to so many units. The side getting all the counters wins. 526

Possibly there is no conception of luck or supernatural aid resulting in success; at least, I recorded no expression of it and was unable to isolate the idea. In a myth the hero, who has repeatedly made a perfect score, says, "I am all right; I have good luck (*ahúnlg'ïn*, I am good)." To win big stakes is *mátʼáqat* (*mátʼáqʼwápat*, to carry big winnings.) 777

Basket dice (*wiháwápat*) is played in winter; four women to a side. The dice (probably *aʼáʼk*) are split willow hind leg bones, with red bands painted across the concave face. Four are tossed in a tray basket, about 40 cm. in diameter, flat-bottomed, with sharply rising sides. All convex faces up or all concave up scores one. The player continues to toss until two of a kind appear, which is a miss. The counters are ten little sticks in a general pile from which each player draws his score. When this pile is exhausted, they draw upon the opposing party's counters, until one party has all ten. 524

Stick dice (*hhaváqat*, also playing cards) may be played at any season. Four men or women are on a side: each member of one party makes one throw, then the dice pass to the other side. They sit about an incomplete circle of small stones, 60 cm. in diameter, with a larger stone at its center. One such stone is a fragment of mano with a red cross on its face. The three dice are flat wooden billets, 3 cm. wide and 8 to 13 cm. long, with all angles rounded. These are marked with red paint on one face: usually a broad median line, sometimes a waved median line. Two sets have all three differently marked: one (50.2-1818) has a zigzag line on one, the other two are colored over the whole face and in addition one has a continuous band of diamonds incised; the second set (50.2-1819) has a median line, a cross, and three cross bands. These lines are commonly painted with the finger tip. The three dice are held between the two palms and cast on the center stone end on, but a little diagonally to cause them to bounce beyond it. The scores are: all blanks, ten; all reds, five; two reds, three; and one red, said to count one but the marker is moved over two stones. Each party has one of three markers, a little stick. These are started at the gap in the circle and advanced in opposite directions. If a throw brings the marker on the space occupied by

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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*nkhotipd*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*atkind*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-burying the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[538] wi ga imai nu'u naga djavid'ma tama wi'l ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'l ta hihn ma yaga wi'
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[2] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[539] aihumu'dj mavagigina kavinykyuyt^a ydid^w'i
(want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pkthigi'ni do wo wo wa (repeat)
pkthigi'ni di'hnana

524 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their
857 elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.

Dolls (*guedi'?*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*wilitcid*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Cushing, Ms., 1918. I failed to note how the chosen person in another player.
[2] This was owing to unanswered ephithets, as there is general inquisitive for drivals in lone words.
[3] Cushing, Ms., 1918.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the ahul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 888; Lowie, (i), 207 f; Powers, 260.

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Nastapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]
[5] [illegible]

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mouth, while tapping it, to make an opponent falter. Northwestern and Southern Maidu shamans similarly hold a special bow to converse with spirits; the Northeastern Maidu use an ordinary bow for amusement only. For amusement, the Eastern Pomo tap a bow provided with two strings and held in the mouth. The San Antonio Salinan and Yokuts also use a special bow with the mouth as a resonance chamber. The usage crops up again among the Maya and again in western central Patagonia; the bow is held in the mouth while the string is tapped. The Tepecano place an ordinary bow on a gourd and tap the string as an accompaniment to the recital of prayers.[1] The other type of instrument has several strings, often tuning pegs and a bridge, and is described as a fiddle or guitar. This is on record for the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yokuts, Tule, "Pueblo" of New Mexico, and in South America among Busintans, Araucanians, Patagonians, and tribes on the lower Amazon.[2] Musical bows of undescribed nature are credited to the Tepehuane, Cora, and Huichol of Mexico, and the Lenca of Honduras, the Chané, Choroti, and Mataco of the Gran Chaco. Saville also believes in their possible existence in Central America, Guatemala, and San Salvador.[3] Balfour holds that the musical bow was introduced into the West Indies, South, and North America by negroes.[4] Nordenskiöld favors white or negro sources for the South American examples. This may apply well enough to the multiple stringed affair, but there is no reason why the use of the ordinary bow should be viewed in this way. This is not a specialized instrument; it is not really a musical instrument at all; and the twanging of a bowstring with the mouth as a resonator, which can be appreciated by the player alone, must have repeatedly occurred. Its sporadic distribution as a regular usage bears this out. It seems unlikely that there is any historical connection between the several occurrences of the mouth-bow, with the exception of the Californian-Havasupai ones. It is doubtful that this is derived from the fiddle type.

Shinney is played generally throughout the Southwest. Havasupai and Hopi play it in the spring. Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai, Walapai, and presumably Mohave bury the ball at the center of the field. There is some similarity in the name for the game: Havasupai *tévivigat*, Walapai

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[1] Thom, [illegible]; Pepe, 30; Mason, J. A., 34, 187; Kroeber, 17, 39, note 67; Saville, 34, 278; Tac Kate, 30. According to Dr. Edwin Lamb the Western Pomo do not have it.
[2] Hrdlička, 46, 30, 31; Mason, J. A., 34, 67; Hrdlička, 46, 600; Powers, Fig. 38; Mason, O. T., 34, 300; Nordenskiöld, 108, 109.
[3] *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, 900; Lumholtz, 90, I, 473, II, 186; Mason, O. T., 34, 300; Saville, 34, 278-284.
[4] Balfour, 39-41.

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171 526 *ise-a-es*, Yuma *che-tak-auk*, Navaho *ndaahdilhá'l*, and Hopi *ta-tatc'-ia-ia-wûh* (ball, *ta-tci*).[1]

The hoop and pole game is recorded in the Southwest for the Yuma, Mohave, Northern and Southern Diegueño, Gabrielino, Havasupai, Paiute, Navaho, Mescalero and Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Laguna, and Isleta. The manner of playing it is almost identical among the Havasupai, Walapai,[2] Mohave, Southern Diegueño, and perhaps Yuma. Southern Diegueño, Mohave, and Havasupai poles have one or two rings encircling the butt; the White Mountain Apache have many, but the ring nearest the butt counts highest. Apparently all these groups use the simple hoop without netting, except the White Mountain Apache, Isleta, and Paiute. It has a central core wrapped with buckskin among Gabrielino, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Wind River Shoshoni, while that of the Hopi is cornhusk. The White Mountain Apache and Southern Diegueño cast the hoop in the same way as the Havasupai. These two have the two poles represent the sexes.[3]

Culin and others give little material on the cup and pin game in the Southwest. Pima, Zuñi, and the Tewa of Hano use a form with one or more rings: Havasupai and Paiute use a rabbit skull.[4] The Moapa reckoning is identical with that of the Havasupai, except for the incisor hole count.[5]

171 524 Basket dice is a widely distributed game, and the Havasupai have no special form of it. It is generally a woman's game in this area, but played by both sexes among Navaho, Zuñi, and Mohave, although the first consider it especially a man's game. The number of dice varies, but not randomly: Havasupai, Maricopa, and Pima, four; Mohave, four but only three are used in play; Zuñi, four or five; Paviotso and Washo, twelve. These are all long wooden or bone dice. White Mountain Apache use thirteen or fourteen small chips; Navaho, thirteen or seven. By way of comparison, the Yokuts (of Fort Tejon and Tule River) use eight nut shells, the Tejon, six. In another form of dice game in this area the Zuñi use small chips, three lozenges and two squares, thrown from a board; the Wind River Shoshoni, three lozenges and three disks, tossed in a basket. The Mohave and Pima games are included here although no basket is used to toss the dice. The absence of the basket

[1] Culin, 04, 624, 656, 649-7; Tréguer, 6; Curtis, XII, 46.
[2] The Walapai names for guess, hoop, and pole are the phonetic equivalents of the Havasupai (Culin, 04, 653).
[3] Culin, 04, 649-650; Tréguer, 6; Hodge[illegible], 66; Francisco Pathora, 662; Lowie, (1), 201; Spier, (c), 350; Stolz, 19; Zia Bible, (c), 197.
[4] The only other recorded case of a skull are among Labrador and West Greenland Eskimo (Culin, 04, 649; Parsons, 227).
[5] Culin, 04, 649-650; Lowie, 01, 207.

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seems a local variation, for no basket is mentioned in connection with the Maricopa game. The White Mountain Apache and Wind River Shoshoni strike the basket on the ground. The latter sometimes throw the dice into the basket and the Yokuts always do. These resemblances may not be significant, but the answer lies in what the custom may be in the intervening areas. The scoring is variable, but there are identities. All four faces up count one for Havasupai, Mohave, Maricopa, and Pima. All faces down count one for the first pair, two for the second pair of tribes. Any other throw does not score for any of them. It is clear that they clearly recognize that all of a kind is necessarily the most infrequent throw.[1]

Stick dice is essentially a Southwestern and north Mexican game. Comparative notes are tabulated below. I have assumed that the essentials of this form of the dice game are (1) striking the sticks on something so that they fall on the rebound, and (2) noting the scores on markers arranged in a circle or square. A case is included here if either of these features appear.[2]

In addition to the groups below, Lummis notes its occurrence in the Pueblos of Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and doubtfully, San Juan. He did not see it at Jemez, Pojoaque, or Picuris. It may be played by Yuma and Mohave as a note by Tru Kato suggests. Mooney ascribes it to the Comanche and "Apache of the southern p[illegible]ns." Pawnee and Arapaho dice accompanied by a square of hide, which ...ay have served as a surface on which to bounce them, suggest that this game may have been known to them also. Lumholtz says that it is played by all the tribes who live in or near the sierras of Chihuahua (and by the Mexicans), but is not known south of the State of Durango. The Opata and the Zuaque of Sinaloa may be added. It is unknown to the Cora and Tarasco.[3]

[1] Culin, 24, 91-324; Powers, 279; Lewis, G., 288, 292.
[2] Culin, 24, 91-324; Frankfurter Parliament, 681; Dorsey, G. A., 24, 187; Lewis, G., 288; 24, 194; Russell, 24, 174; Curtis, XII, 68.
[3] Culin, 24, 91, 99, 127, 140, 141, 154, 188.

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	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score AE back	Score 1 front	Score 2 front	Score 3 front	Score AE front	Circuits per game
Wind River Shoshoni	4	×										
Lemhi	4	×					10		to		5	
Paviotso	6		sticks									semicircle
Paiute	8	ground										
Yokuts	8		?	25		?	15		to		1	
Gabrielino	8	ground										
Northern Diegueño	4		board: square with wings	40 holes								
Pima	4	ground or struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	horse or slave	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	
Papago	4	struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	×	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	1
Walapai	3	×	×	30			10	1	3		5	semicircle
Havasupai	3	×	×	indefinite		×	10	1, 2	3		5	1
Oraibi	3 or 2	floor	inscribed stone with wing	–	animal		2				1	.
Hopi	3	×	×	4×10		×	10	1	3		5	1
Hano	3		×	4×10			10	2	3		5	.
White Mountain Apache	3	×	×	4×10		×	10	1, 2	3		5	1 or 3
Zuñi	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	3	3		5	1 or 4
							10	3	2		5	

	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score: All back	1 front	2 front	4 front	All front	Circuits per game
Navaho	3	×	Circle or square	4×10			10	2	3		5	
							10	0	0		5	
Acoma	3		×	3×10	×		10	3	2		5	
Laguna	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3, 15		5	1 or more
Isleta	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3		5	
								2, 10	3, 15		5	
Sia	4		square	4×10			10	3	2	..	6	
Cochiti	3	×	×	40			10	2	2, 15		5	
Santa Clara	4 or 3	×	square	40	×	×	10	3	..		5	1
							10	1	3, 15		5	
Nambé	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	1	3, 15		5	1
Taos	3	×	×	16×10	×	×	10	1	1, 15		5	semicircle 100 points
Comanche	12	×										
Kiowa	4	×	marked blanket	4 ×10		×	10	1	2	3	6	8 or more 87
Caddo	4	board stones										
Tarahumare	4		square with wings	4×10 holes		×			quince			
Tepehuane	4		square with wings	4×10 holes					quince			

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The unity of this game complex is quite obvious. Ordinarily, three dice are used; the cases where there are more are by no means randomly distributed. Four are used by the Northern Diegueño, and all the Piman groups. This occurs again at Sia, Santa Clara, and among Kiowa and Caddo.[1] It is quite likely that all these form one group, since the game is called by its Spanish name (quince, fifteen) both in Mexico and in these Pueblos. We might be more certain of this if we knew the scoring in Mexico. It is, of course, possible that at least this special form was carried by Mexicans from one region to the other. The Wind River use of four dice is not clearly connected with these.

The use of eight dice by Paiute, Gabrielino, and Yokuts is an interesting case of coalescence of two games, for in this region the basket dice usually number eight.

Note also that the Paiute, Gabrielino, the Hopi of Oraibi, and Pima strike the dice on the ground. Pima and Papago share the custom of striking them upward from the hand with a flat stone, rather than the usual one of bouncing them on the stone.

The circle of stones, etc., which serves as a counting board is very general; even the diagram marked on a blanket by the Kiowa is of this pattern. The exceptional form is a square, from corners of which there are sometimes pendent lines or wings of stones from which the markers start. These are two or four in number and curved in shape. This establishes again a definite relationship between Northern Diegueño, Pima, Papago, Tarahumare, and Tepehuane. The inscribed stone used by some Hopi has a wing extending into the figure which also serves as the starting point. The use of the square at Sia and Santa Clara is further evidence of their connection with the Mexican tribes. The square is also used by some Navaho.

The number of points in the circle is quite uniformly forty, divided into quadrants of ten. At Taos the process has been carried one step further, each of these quadrants being again divided in four. The only aberrant cases are the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yokuts, and in the last case it is not certain that we are dealing with the same game.

The markers are commonly called horses. At Zuñi these are little figurines of horses. It is equally common to find that the marker is sent back to the starting point ("killed") if another enters the space it occupies.

The definite identity of the complex is clearly established by the scoring system. Almost universally, a score all of one kind counts ten,

[1] No description of the Caddo game is given, but they have a board used in connection with four dice and eight counters, which suggests an equivalent to the Kiowa game.

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its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks.

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring.

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place.

[1] Culin, (b), 333–362.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 259.
[3] Lowie, (b), 59.
[4] The Nootka and Klamath hiding game in which four urns are given four guesses shows how the same pattern has resulted in a different form (Culin, (b), 376).
[5] Kroeber, (b), 374.

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171 524 The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papago both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+2, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

171 192 524 It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, G. [illegible].
[2] Harrington, [illegible].

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sho-dó' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mulaq'qode (old mule)	tl'ịq (ol hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	sprinkled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	penopeni	poyopeni	wihipeni	kepeni	
Pima	ma-aicovoh		old man	middle black	old woman
Papago	ist-ok ju oi		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorah		old man	tok-gum-yurah	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have translated these names because the names as given in Culin's account (1891) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington (Ibid., 261) has identified with the San Ildefonso analogue.
[2] Harrington, (b), 249-261.

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triangle with the fourth reed beside it, the Hopi in a square or row. (The Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho arrange the sand piles in a row). The latter cases suggest cultural connection, but this need not be true for the Piman and Tewan groups.

The discontinuous distribution of the moccasin game and the hidden ball game seems established despite the Navaho case. I do not find either game recorded for the Arapaho, Kiowa, Wichita, or others in the intervening area. There is, however, some similarity in the scoring. The Ojibwa player loses points unless he finds the object on the third trial, the Winnebago and possibly the Ottawa and Cree on the fourth, and the Santee in the second of three moccasins. On the winning trial the guesser gains points; a feature wholly absent in the Southwest. The value of points lost or gained in the successive trials bears no relation to the chances involved. In the Cheyenne game the guesser loses a point unless he succeeds on the first trial. Among the other tribes for whom we have data—Menomini, Omaha, Seneca, and Wyandot—the notion is rather of winning points by successive guessers. The scoring is quite variable throughout this area, but the principle of avoiding the object on the earlier trials is found only in one compact area, including at least Santee, Ojibwa, and Winnebago.

The question is whether this similarity is due to borrowing or convergence. I think it can be shown that the latter is involved. In making a choice of this kind, the guesser can either wager that he will find the object or that he will not. It does not matter how many trials are permitted, these are the only alternatives and they apply with equal force to each trial. Of these possibilities one must be decided on. Whether to lose points for a failure to find the ball or for finding it, or to win points for the same, or merely to win the right to hide the object, must also be decided, but this is in no way dependent on the decision to find or to avoid.

The Southwestern tribes have in general decided to avoid the object on all save one trial; so have the Ojibwa, Santee, and Winnebago. The Havasupai, Walapai, Cheyenne, and the other eastern groups have chosen the other alternative, to find the object. So much of the similarity is clearly accidental.

If the decision is to avoid the object it must be found on some other than the first trial. There are three possibilities. The Southwestern tribes, east of the Havasupai, have uniformly prescribed the third trial. On the other hand, the Eastern Woodland tribes have variously hit on the second, third, or fourth. The only real similarity then is in the case of the Ojibwa; this then may be set down to accident.

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Furthermore, there is no similarity between the values in the scoring systems of the Southwest and the eastern area. All include arbitrary values not dependent on chance. This is clearly the case in the east, where the Winnebago, for example, have the same number of points (four) lost or won in each trial, although the chances necessarily change. In the Southwest the order of the losses (10, 6, 0, 4) is dependent on chance, but not the actual values. If we consider the position of the guesser, who endeavors to avoid the ball until the third trial, we see he has three chances to one in his favor on the first trial, two to one on the second, an even chance on the third, and certainty of failure on the last. Taking 10 as the highest penalty, this should apply, as it does, on the first trial: the others should be in order, 7.5, 5, and 2.5. There are two arbitrary elements here; the actual values and the choice of the third trial for success rather than the fourth.

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HISTORICAL TALES

A Yavapai Raid[1]

539 A little way above Lee Canyon in Cataract Canyon were some Havasupai camps. Three Yavapai[2] men came down the main canyon. Just a little way from the camp were some horses. A boy was sent to look for them early one morning. He could not find them. "I saw tracks where someone has driven the horses up the canyon," he said. My paternal grandfather, Big Jim's father and another man[3] followed the tracks up the canyon. They thought those men would go out by the Moki trail, but they did not; the tracks led on up Cataract Canyon. They thought that the three men might go out by another trail far up the canyon. Perhaps the enemy did not know that trail, for they kept right on up the canyon. When they were far up, the Yavapai stopped a little while. They were famished; they were going to kill one of the horses and roast the flesh. They gathered wood in a big pile. The three Havasupai came up and saw them. When the Yavapai saw them coming, they were afraid and ran off and climbed up the cliff. The Havasupai reached the horses, where the Yavapai had tied them. They untied them and led them off a little way. Then the Yavapai on the cliff said, "We got your horses, but we did not kill any. They are all alive; now that you came and got them, it is all right again. Just go right home." My grandfather said, "You are no good; if you had come down to our houses, it would have been all right. But you did wrong; you stole all our horses. We are going to kill all three of you. You made us run afoot and we are very tired; now we have got you here. I will send one of my men on a good running horse down to the village, to tell more to come. Then we will kill you three." So he sent one on a fast horse.

He got down here at the village very quickly and told the people. Some of them had good horses which they got ready, with some buckskins for shields, and rode up there where the enemy were. The Havasupai big chief, my grandfather, said to the enemy, "You Yavapai are no good. You stole all our horses; you are pretty bad men. We will do just as you intended; we will fight you—but we will kill all of you." Then they

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[1] These historical tales were told by Sinyella. The first apparently dates from the first half of the last century.

[2] These raiding parties were probably throughout comprised of both Yavapai and Western Apache. They were described as Hokkā, meaning specifically Yavapai, but generically enemy. This was translated as Apache, which is used interchangeably with Apache-Mohave for the Yavapai when speaking English. [701]

[3] The narrator's interest seems to lie throughout in stating precisely who took part. The dead are rarely called by names.

[4] The colloquy between enemies is quite characteristic. One wonders if, despite their seriousness, these affairs are not in a sense blustering games.

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began to shoot at each other. There were many Havasupai; some of 539
them went around and climbed up to the cliff; some did the same on the other side of the enemy; and some went right straight up the talus slope toward them. They kept shooting; all shot at once, and each time a lot of arrows flew at the Yavapai. In a short time, those three were wounded all over, but none of the Havasupai were wounded. After a time the Yavapai hid behind a big rock and built up a wall there. They were badly hurt, so they climbed up the white cliff where there was a somewhat better place to stay. They kept shooting down from there. The Havasupai big chief said, "Do not shoot too many arrows up there; just one or two of you shoot once in a while. If a lot of arrows are shot there, they can use them to shoot back." The three Yavapai kept shooting until they had no more arrows. Right up there where they were there were some small rocks. They rolled them down, until they had no more; they had nothing left. By this time the sun had set and it was dark. All the Havasupai were down at the foot of the cliff; they camped there, watching the Yavapai to prevent their escape. So they stayed all night.

In the morning the Havasupai cooked and ate until their stomachs were filled tight and they felt strong. My grandfather said to Panamida's father, "You are the man: I want you to climb up." Just two men climbed up; the other was Manakadja's father's father. The enemy threw some little stones at them. The latter carried the stones with buckskins hung from their left arms. They kept on climbing until they got there. Then Panamida's father seized one of them by the hand and pulled them down after him. Then he led the other two down similarly to where the other Havasupai were. All of them walked together down to the bottom of the canyon. They gave them some food to eat. Then they killed them one at a time. They cut around their heads just above the eyes and ears, and pulled off their scalps, throwing the bodies aside.

The Havasupai big chief said, "Let us take the scalps of these three 539
men home with us to show the women and children and the old men." 727
They brought the three scalps to the camps above Lee Canyon to let the women and children there see them. Then those people moved down here to the village. They showed the three scalps to everyone. They gave them to an old woman, who washed them with soapweed and cleaned them. A man got a good straight pole and tied all three scalps to its top. Some of the men cleared the ground and set up the pole; then everybody, men and women, came to see the scalps hung up there. Everybody felt glad and wanted to dance. Everyone danced around and hollered, clapping their mouths. The Havasupai said to the three scalps, 539

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539 "A long time ago some Ñaklyâgitlg' were bad men. You came down here to steal and kill as though they had come to life. So we killed all three of you. You know we never go over to your country. We stay here and are good. You three were pretty bad men, so when you came down here we killed you all."

The Yavapai Raid of 1855

When I was ten years old [about 1855] the enemy came down into the canyon. There was one Havasupai camp where Smiley's house is now [see map, Fig. 50, no. 58]. Doctor Tommy's father, a Walapai, who had a camp near Pine Spring, came down to see his relatives near Smiley's place. After he had been here a few sleeps, some Yavapai came down and killed a Havasupai man and Doctor Tommy's father. They killed two. I saw them. It was just at dawn; after they killed the two, they went right back. They hollered when they killed the men; we heard them and were scared, so I ran and climbed to the top of the red cliff [the upper canyon level]. I was living on the west side just where the canyon turns above Navajo Falls. Then all the Havasupai followed the enemy. The Yavapai got a lot of things, buckskin, food, etc., and carried it on their heads and backs. The Havasupai followed and caught up with them a little above the head of the creek. The Havasupai called to them; the latter looked back, saw them coming and threw off their loads. They shot; pulled out their arrows from their quivers and shot at the Havasupai. They lined up on one side of the canyon bottom, the Havasupai on the other. Each party shot at the other: the Havasupai kept right on up the canyon, while the enemy stood their ground, shooting. The head chief, Captain Navajo, had a gun; Big Jim's father and another man also had guns; there were just three guns. Those three men were sitting close together; one shot first, then his neighbor, then the third. When the enemy saw the guns, they were scared, and ran off. They said, "I wonder what that thing is they are shooting with. We never saw guns" [1] They kept on going.

I did not go with them; I did not see the fight. I was only a little boy; I was scared and ran away, and then I stayed at home.

The enemy went a little way and stopped to fight again. They hit Barney's father in the bridge of the nose. They went on again. Six or seven Havasupai climbed up on the west side of the canyon where a trail led along the lower cliff face. Where they climbed up, the canyon is very narrow. There they waited until the enemy came up the canyon. These

[1] The animal-men characters of the myths.

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Havasupai held their fire until some had passed this narrow place. One 539
of the Havasupai following in the canyon bottom could see those now
standing on a point of the cliff. He called up to them, "They are right
below you now. Now is the time to shoot." One of the enemy heard
him shouting and looked up to where the Havasupai were standing with
drawn bows. Then the enemy cried, "ex ha"; ran across the wash to
the opposite cliff and then on up the canyon. The Havasupai on the cliff
ran along and waited for the Yavapai to come. But the enemy saw them,
because they now knew they were there. So the Yavapai stopped a
little while and shot up at them. They hit one up there, making a flesh
wound in his thigh. Then one Yavapai stood and spoke to the Havasupai.
One of the Havasupai had a little pistol which he shot at the man, hitting
him under the ear, the bullet lodging at the back of his head. I saw him
long afterwards, when he was a good man; he told me the bullet was still
there.

The Yavapai went on without stopping until they were far above
Lee Canyon, when they stopped again. They shot at each other. None
of the Yavapai were hit. Then two or three Havasupai came back to get
more buckskin and arrows and some black powder, percussion caps, and
bullets. The enemy went on again up the canyon. After they had gone a
long way, they stopped on a little brush-covered, isolated hill. It was
nearly midday and the enemy were tired, so they rested there. The Hava-
supai surrounded it; they kept shooting. Some of the Yavapai were
wounded. One of them had a bullet wound; he died there. They fought
all afternoon. Then the Havasupai said, "We feel hungry now. Two or
three men should go back to the village and bring something to eat."
So two or three came back and got pumpkins, squash, beans, cornmeal
mush, water melons—everything was ripe about that time—and some
water which they carried to them.

After that they felt stronger. Then the head chief, Navaju, said,
"We feel strong now; we will go right up to the enemy. Grab them and
kill them." They said, "All right." Two of them went in front, each
holding a long stick from which hung a buckskin. Panamida's father, a
chief, had one and Jess's mother's father had another. These two went
in front, while the others followed close behind. They advanced up the
hill, while the Yavapai stood up there. The two with buckskins carried
iron hatchets in their free hands. When the Havasupai were within a
few feet of the Yavapai, the latter shot right through the buckskin and
struck Jess's mother's father in the left shoulder, so that his arm got weak.
He said, "My arm is getting weak. I cannot hold it up much longer;

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539 we had better go back." So they walked back, while he held the skin up. Again they went up the hill with two men in advance with buckskins, until they were within a few feet of the enemy. When Panamida's father, who carried a skin, lowered his arm to look over, the Yavapai shot again. They hit him above the left eye. Again the Havasupai walked back with the arrow still sticking in Panamida's father's forehead. They walked back a long way and pulled the arrow out. By this time the sun had set and it was dark. They built big fires all around that little hill, where the Yavapai still stayed. Near midnight the Havasupai shouted to the enemy, but no answer came back because they were gone.

In the morning they saw where the enemy had come down the hill, walked across the wash, and climbed up the lower red cliff. They were gone. They carried off the one who had died on the hill. They took the body up on the cliff and hid it away before they ran off. Two Yavapai had been badly wounded; they went with the others but both died on the road. Later their bones were found on the plateau just beyond the Moki trail, with their arrows, blankets and a little water jug near a little fire that had been made for them. There were about twenty Yavapai.

The Paiute Residence among the Walapai

When I was about eight years old a lot of Paiute came down here; that was the only time they ever came to our village. Not long after, when I was twelve years old we heard that a lot more had come to visit around Pine Spring. The Paiute were afraid of the Mormons.[1] They had been their friends. The Mormons had new guns. One of them had said he would give his gun to a Paiute man in exchange for a Paiute girl as a wife. The Mormon gave his gun to the Paiute: the latter gave a young girl to the Mormon. That girl did not like the Mormon, so she ran away and hid. Then the Mormon had no wife, so he wanted the gun returned. But the Paiute would not give it up. The Mormon wanted to get the gun back, so he fought the Paiute man and beat him with his fists. The other Paiute were very angry, so they killed that Mormon. There were a lot more Mormons living there and the Paiute were afraid they would take revenge, so they fled to the Colorado River (kapitsis).

The Walapai living near Pine Spring came down to our village and told us all to go to meet the Paiute. The Havasupai all went: I was with them. The Walapai and Havasupai stayed together on the plateau while the men of both tribes went down to where the Paiute were gathered on

[1] The white settlers of Utah were adherents of the Mormon faith.

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the north side of the river. There they saw that the Paiute had built a 559
raft, a gridiron of poles lashed together. They saw them put their belongings on the raft and push it into the water. Men got on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. Then they threw the things off and went back to ferry more, until all the women and children were across. This is what the Havasupai and Walapai told when they returned.

Next day the Paiute came up on the plateau. I saw them; there were a great many. They came and camped with us. I saw that they did not wear many clothes. The men had bare bodies, breechcloths, but no leggings. The women were only rabbitskin blankets on their bodies, tied over the right shoulder and down the right side; for skirts they were deerskins with the hair on; some were skirts of mountain sheep skin with the hair on. The skirts came down to their knees and hung even all around. All were sandals of sagewood, which extended up around the foot only a little way. The women were conical basket hats; the men had headbands of sagewood; some had their hair in a knot tied with yucca string. Their arrows also were pretty good.

They stayed with us. After a time all the Paiute went hunting deer. When they killed some, the Havasupai traded blankets for the buckskin. The Paiute would give the skins of two good-sized bucks for a blanket measuring about two and a half by four feet.

We all stayed together for a short time; then a little snow fell. Two or three sleeps after that, the Paiute cleared the ground. The Paiute head chief said, "We are going to dance." He said this after the sun had gone down and it was a little dark. The Paiute man who had killed the Mormon had his body painted entirely with red such as our women use. All he wore was a breechclout. He had a stick, about a foot long, with one eagle feather hung from the end and another from the middle, thrust upright in his headband on the right side. That man stood in the center of the dance ground; everybody formed a circle around him to dance just as we do here, but only the women sang. They sang two songs. I did not understand the words, but one was "Mormon." They felt glad about killing that Mormon. When the women had sung four songs, they stopped for the Paiute men to sing. The men sang while they all danced in a circle. The women danced first before the men joined them.

(I never saw those mythical (tcktcpkpi) times; the old folks told me of that. But those things of which I tell, I saw. I tell you about them; I give them to you.)

The Paiute who was painted red stood in the center for a little while only; then he joined the dance. It was just the same as we do

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539 here; they would sing a song and then stop; sing again and stop again; all night long, until the sun rose. When the sun had risen a little, they finally stopped. The next night when it was dark, they danced again until sunrise. They did this for many nights; they did not stop at all. They stayed there for quite a long time, but the Havasupai all came back to our canyon.

We stayed there until the spring planting. Then the Paiute men came down here, but no women, bringing buckskins to trade for blankets and other things they wanted. After they traded they went back and stayed there until our corn was ripe, when they returned, bringing their women with them. They came to stay as long as they wanted. There was plenty of corn, squash, sunflower, watermelon, and other good food. So for several years [ten or fifteen?] they lived up there and visited us when our corn was ripe.

The Paiute stayed with the Walapai around Pine Spring. Two Paiute men married Walapai women. Manakadja got the daughter of one of the Paiute men for a second wife; he brought her down here. He was not a big chief then. That Paiute woman had four children.

The Paiute brought more buckskin and mescal every time they came down here to trade, and they stayed here as long as they liked. Not very long after this time, when I was a young man and was married, the Paiute heard that it was all right in their country; that the Mormons were no longer angry; so they went back. All went back at one time: they have never come back since.

The Navaho among the Havasupai

A few years after the Paiute visit I saw the Navaho for the first time. I was then about sixteen years old. I heard the Havasupai say that a great many Navaho were coming this way. They did not know just where they were coming from. I heard that these Navaho were encamped on both sides of the Little Colorado River (*hagdéd'la*). It was about this time of year [October]; the piñon nuts were falling to the ground. They grew plentifully at Moho Canyon[1] (*Asnellkaskaed*, pine precipice): all the Havasupai went over there. Some Walapai were there with them.

Some of the men there said they wanted to go to Oraibi. They would take piñon nuts and buckskins with them. So they went by a direct route, crossing Cataract Canyon at *gicjued* (near its head), where they

[1] Only an approximate location is given on the map, Fig. 1.

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camped. Next morning they went straight on, passing a little south of 539
the present Anita, camping again a little beyond Red Butte. The next morning they went on. When they were halfway to the Little Colorado, they came on the fresh tracks of many men, so they stopped there while two or three scouted ahead to see what kind of men these strangers might be. They followed the tracks along the plateau above the Coconino Basin, where they found several camps of Navaho. The Navaho gave these scouts something to eat; then they returned to where the others were waiting. They said that they had found Navaho. The others said, "That is good; we will kill them all. Are there many?" Those who had seen them said, "Yes, there are not many. We are many more than they."

Early in the morning they packed their horses and went forward until they got to where the Navaho were encamped. These Navaho had told others and they had collected at that camp; they wanted to do just as the Havasupai had done, to go to kill the enemy. The Navaho said, "Our big chief[1] is right below here, down in the Basin. You just go down there to our big chief's house." The Havasupai said, "That is all right" and they went down to his house and camped there. Then these Navaho sent word to all the Navaho for a long way around, and these came in great numbers to see the strangers.

This was the first time that the Havasupai had seen the Navaho. They did not know how to talk their language. When they first met, each people spoke their own language and used signs for eating and trading. At first one of the Navaho talked to them in his own language, but they did not understand. Then he talked in Hopi, and the old men understood that, so they used this language to converse in. The Navaho said, "Many of us are living in this country; some along the rim of the Grand Canyon, others far over to the San Francisco Mountains, and some far up the Little Colorado. There are only a few living here. Many white men came to our country far to the east of Oraibi; we do not know whence they came. They came little by little. After a few came we Navaho thought that that was enough: that no more were coming. The Navaho stole mules and horses from the white men, and killed some of them. We had done this many times, but more white men kept coming until there were a great many living back in our country. There the white men gathered together about half the Navaho—we are only half the tribe over here—and drove them to the east and south.[2] Those

[1] Navaho chief-history is here overlapped by Havasupai terms.
[2] In 1863 Col. Kit Carson invaded the Navaho country, killed many sheep, and took the greater part of the tribe (some 9000) as prisoners to Ft. Sumner at the Bosque Redondo on the Pecos in New Mexico. They were released in 1867. (*Handbook of American Indians*, II, 411.

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539 white men are friends of the Ute, the Zuñi and all the Hopi pueblos. They wanted those people to fight too and drive us out, or kill us. All those people fight with us. We are afraid and so we came westward. That is why we are camping here where you see us."

The head chief of the Navaho said, "All you Navaho men listen to me. I think some of our men would like to kill these Havasupai. I think this is wrong. If you do not listen to what I say but kill all of them, other Havasupai living over there in their own country will come to kill us. That was what you did in our country and a lot of men came to kill us, so that we were afraid, and had to leave. Now we must be friends with these people. This is what I think; leave them alone and we will have a pretty good country. The country about here is pretty good. I want you to listen to what I say and be good to the Havasupai. If you do not heed and kill even two or three of them, things will be different." Then the Havasupai, who saw these Navaho, came back to Moho Canyon and told what they had seen. Then I came back home here in the canyon, and the Navaho came down here, and I saw them too.

Before those Havasupai came back, the Navaho big chief said, "Be good friends with them" and the Havasupai big chief, Panamida's father said the same thing, but the Navaho persisted, "We want to fight them." The Navaho big chief went around among them saying, "No, do not fight: that is wrong." The Havasupai stayed over night and in the morning the Navaho big chief said to them, "I will go back with you," and that morning they came back. They got as far as Grand View, where another Navaho big chief had his camp. The Navaho said, "You are our chiefs; do not hold us back. We want to kill these people." Those Navaho like to talk of going to fight all the time. One of them said, "These Havasupai are not good men. A long time ago some of their came to a place a little east of the present Tuba, where I had some horses. They killed all of my family, my wife and children and some other women. I was not home then. They killed them and stole all my horses. That is why I want to fight." The Navaho chief said, "Do not talk about old things like that to fight about. You say you have no wife: you can have my young daughter for a wife; but do not kill these Havasupai: let them go. Be good friends," and he gave him his daughter. Then that Navaho man said, "All right; that will settle it."

The Havasupai stayed another night at Grand View and the next morning the Navaho head chief gave them something, saying, "I am glad to see you people We will be good friends to you and you must be friendly to us; then all will be well. Back in my country those people

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are not friendly. They would like to kill all of us. They hunted me, 539
and are still coming. All right. You Havasupai go back home and tell the others. We Navaho will camp near here. You tell the others that. After a time we will move slowly toward your village. When we arrive down there some time you can see us again." The Havasupai said, "All right; that is a good way. You come down to see our village." Then they came back the way they had gone and reached Moho Canyon. When they got home they said, "We have not been to Oraibi; we met the Navaho. After we saw them, we turned back. The Navaho chief said that they would move westward slowly and soon would all come down to our village."

After a short time we came home [to Cataract Canyon] from Moho Canyon bringing lots of piñon nuts. A little while after this, a few Havasupai were camping above the Moki trail. We heard that the Navaho, who were living a long way off, had ridden this way and found these Havasupai up there. The Navaho visited these people repeatedly. When we heard of this, the Havasupai down here wanted to go up on to the plateau to wait for the Navaho. They wanted to see them. So a number went up there and I went with them. We all camped together. After a few sleeps the Navaho men began to drift in, but none of their women. The Navaho said that they brought blankets to trade for food. We gave corn for blankets, about one tray full of shelled corn for a saddle blanket; if the blanket was big, we gave the shelled corn to the amount of a good-sized small burden basket (*gôôkâ'ŋ'djâ*) full. Two bundles of dried squash, about two feet long, were traded for a big blanket. Beans were valued high; only one small tray basket full, just level, was given for a good-sized blanket. The biggest burden basket full of shelled corn was traded for a horse. When we traded buck-skin, the skins of two big bucks with a little corn in a sack to boot, were given for a horse. These Navaho came from the country around Grand Canyon and Red Butte to trade for corn.

When it was spring, after all the snow had melted, and there was no drinking water up there, all the Havasupai and Navaho moved. Some came down by Lee Canyon; others came by the Moki trail (*ôsthâd'gûsdwagwad*, enemy scalp place). They camped up there in Cataract Canyon where the little springs are. Some of them came farther down and camped near the village at the head of the creek. It was about planting time. Most of them stayed up at the little springs and gathered mescal to bake. When the corn and beans were ripe, they wanted to trade. Those men in the east had stolen most of the Navaho

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539 horses so they did not bring many here. Some had two or three, others five or six. The Navaho up the canyon and those down at the creek thought what they might trade for corn and beans. So they killed some horses, dried the meat, and brought that down to trade. Some had a few sheep with them and they butchered these too. The Havasupai had many horses then; they ate their meat too. This is the way the Navaho traded, with horses, sheep, blankets, bracelets, necklaces, bridles, and all such things, until they had nothing more to trade with. So when some Navaho woman saw some Havasupai man alone, she proposed to lie with him, in exchange for corn and other things; the man gave just enough for one meal, not very much.

At that time I was about seventeen years old and I did not understand such things. An older man and I went up near the Walapai trail, where his corn was ripening. The Navaho were stealing corn all the time. We stayed there to watch it. After a little while, we saw a Navaho woman come into the cornfield. She wore bracelets; she wanted to trade them for corn, but he said, "No, I do not want them." She sat down and talked to him for a long time; he thought he would give her corn if he had his will of her. So he told me, "You go home a little while and then come back again," so I went away but after a time I went back. He was there alone; the woman was gone. I asked him, and he said, "Yes, we did pretty well," and he showed me the spot.[1] He had broken off a lot of ears and given them to her. He had a horse tied close to the cornfield, so he broke off the cornstalks, and I gave them to the horse, two or three armfuls.

Soon when the corn was ripe they gathered it. Those who had big fields got the Navaho men and women to gather it for them, and gave a little of it in payment. We were very friendly with the Navaho. They stayed here in the village. The Havasupai got the Navaho men to work for them. They did these things very well.

After a time one of the Navaho men found four or five big buckskins hanging on a pole stuck in a crevice. Those buckskins belonged to Jess's father's father. George's father had a bridle and other things hanging with the buckskins. A Navaho man stole them and climbing up on the upper canyon level, got away. Jess' grandfather did not know when the man went, whether he had been gone a day or only that morning. Jess's grandfather followed his tracks and then came back. Then he and George's father set out up the canyon, up Lee Canyon, and followed his

[522] [1] Whoever takes this turn among them at least as freely as he would among ourselves.

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tracks up tovôk,óvà canyon. They continued after him where the old road follows therim; his tracks seemed to be one day old. They went a little further, but a summer rain had washed out his tracks. So they followed the trail and after a little way, they heard someone coming toward them. They met a Navaho mounted on a mule. They stopped and talked a little while. First the Navaho said, "Back in my country some white men gathered us up and took us back east. When we got to the place where they kept me, they said to us, 'Are you going to kill or steal any more?' and we said, 'We are all right now'. We are all home again now and all our other people are down in your village. That is why I am going to see them; some are my relatives." Then the two Havasupai asked him, "Did you meet any Navaho man back on your road?" and he said, "No." The Havasupai said, "All right; you come home with us. That is good." So they brought the man with them. He had a lot of things packed on his mule. 539

The two Havasupai were very angry. When they got to the head of tovôk,óvà canyon, the sun set. They came down the trail a little way; then the two Havasupai said that they would like to sleep right there. So they built a fire and ate there. The Navaho could not understand their language; with him they used gestures. These two wanted to kill him while he slept. "A Navaho stole our buckskins and other things, so we want to kill him," they said. They watched him, but he did not sleep because he suspected. It was nearly daylight before he began to snore. One of the Havasupai had a little pistol. He held it to the Navaho's head, but it only snapped; again he tried without success. The Navaho heard the slight noise. A third time the Havasupai fired it, shooting him in the forehead, and killing him. They took off all his clothes, took his pack, and divided the spoil. There was a pistol, nearly new; Jess's grandfather took that. They said, "What are we going to do with that mule?" "I think it is better to kill it. We will lead it to our house in the village. I will shoot it from one side, and you from the other, and kill it quickly." So they brought it down to Jess's grandfather's house. They killed it with arrows there. Everybody came and skinned it. Every man cut off a little meat and took it away; the Navaho did so too. Then other Havasupai asked those two, "Where did you get that mule? What did you do to the man who stole the buckskin and fire?" They said, "That man got away; we did not catch him. We met another Navaho riding that mule and brought him with us. We camped just below the rim on the trail; we killed the man there. He had some blankets and other things; we took those and hid them up in the canyon. All we brought

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539 was the mule, so you people could have some meat." That day the Navaho recognized the mule, and those living here in the village became frightened and fled. Next day they traveled fast; all went back toward the east.

The Walapai and Havasupai raid the Yavapai

I never saw the Yavapai and Walapai fight, but heard of it when I was a little boy.

Some Walapai were camping at Pine Spring where the Paiute had danced. Some of the enemy came to fight and killed many of them. A Walapai came down here to Cataract Canyon and told the Havasupai that he wanted some to go to war. Some agreed. Then they told the Walapai to return to his camp and tell the Walapai to come down. When they all came, they asked for some corn, beans, and other things for provisions, for they had nothing to eat. The Havasupai said, "All right." Then the Havasupai chief talked: "We do not want to go to war, but if you need men very badly, then you can take some of them with you." There were lots of Walapai. The Havasupai said they did not want to go to war; they did not know how to fight. So the Walapai all returned home.

The Walapai chief said that all his people were going to war. But I did not see him; I just heard of it.

When the Walapai were ready to go, three Havasupai went with them: Rock Jones' father, Kaßoda's father, and Teskimalauwa's mother's brother. They were going to the Black Hills [near Jerome] where quite a number of the Yavapai lived. They found them in the night. Then the Walapai chief said they would send half their number to encircle the enemy camp. Early in the morning some of the Walapai rushed on the enemy. One Yavapai was just starting out to hunt antelope; he saw the Walapai about to start. He shouted and ran back to tell the others. Then the Walapai hallooed and ran after them to fight. The Yavapai scattered. There were a great many Yavapai; they had all gathered at this place. They said the Walapai were but few, so they had intended going to kill them. When the sun came up, the Walapai, who had surrounded the camp, went in to fight. They fought and chased the enemy. The Walapai, running behind, caught the Yavapai by the hair and beat them down with clubs. They ran along, killing many of the enemy. When they killed several of them, they returned to their camp and then set out for home. One Walapai, a chief, had been killed.

After the Walapai had returned, the Yavapai said, "We are going to war again." They went over to Walapai Mountain, where many Walapai

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were camped. They fought, killing many of the Walapai, just as the 539
Walapai had done. This was perhaps a month after the first foray. When the Yavapai returned home they said that one Walapai chief, a big man, was the one who had killed so many. The Yavapai chief said they ought to go to war again in order to kill that man. So they went to raid at the same place on the eastern side of Walapai Mountain where some Walapai were camped. They saw there the big man whom they wanted to kill. He picked up a baby and ran. Some Yavapai ran after them and shot him in the thigh. When he was hit he threw the baby away. The Yavapai chased and shot him again. They shot him several times before they killed him. That Walapai big chief, Watetuñáimà, had killed so many of the enemy at their camp; that is why they wanted to kill him.

After they killed him they returned to the Walapai camp. The Yavapai chief took a Walapai horse, and rode off a short distance where some Walapai were grouped. He stood there and spoke to them: "This is the man I wanted to kill." Then a Walapai, who rode a race horse, circled around into the little canyon where the enemy were, and chased them as they ran, and shot at them with arrows. He hit the Yavapai chief right in the side, killing him. Then the enemy all went home.

Then a Walapai chief said, "We do not want to fight any more. So many of our people get killed, that it is not good." So the Yavapai agreed, and they and the Walapai never fought again.

The Ute Residence among the Walapai

When I was a boy, after the crops were gathered, the Havasupai went up on the plateau for the winter, because there was not enough firewood down here. They stayed there to hunt in the snow. I remember that when I was about seventeen years old we camped on the plateau near the Moki trail. There were plenty of deer there, of which the others killed a great many, but I did not get any. There were a good many men in this camp. Four Ute[1] men came there; they said they came from tãnyáká [the canyon leading north to Pierce Ferry on the Colorado River in the western part of the Walapai reservation]. They said there were many more Ute staying there with the Walapai. One Walapai man who knew the road led them to our camp. Each of them had a gun which he traded to the Havasupai for blankets. They stayed for three sleeps.

[1] These are clearly Ute, not Paiute although they came via Paiute territory.

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539 One of the Ute, their big chief, traded his gun with Jess's mother's father; another gave a gun to Captain Navaho; another to [his older brother], Manakadja's father; and the fourth gave his to a young man. They received one big blanket for each gun. They also gave ten charges of black powder—not much in each—ten bullets, and ten percussion caps; for all this they got one skin of a fair-sized buck from the Havasupai. Ten silver shoe buttons made by the Navaho, were also given for the same amount of ammunition. After three sleeps, they started back when the sun was nearly down. They went down the Moki trail and got into Cataract Canyon when it was dark. They went on up a trail leading out on the west side, and then north along the rim of the plateau until they reached Wasikwiyami's camp on the Walapai trail. They hunted around there for his horses—he had many of them—and stole them all. When they had driven them halfway to Pine Spring, they killed one right on the road. They camped on the other side of Pine Spring. Next morning they went by the same road they had come on and finally got to the Ute camps.

There the Ute said they wanted some food: their provisions were gone. The Ute said that they wanted all the Walapai to come to their camps. They wanted the latter to make provisions for them to carry home. The Walapai brought some for them. The Ute said, "We want all of the Walapai; tell more to come. Tell them to bring some buckskins with them; we have lots of horses to trade." The Walapai said, "All right," and then they all came bringing buckskins. Then the Ute big chief said, "Our people should get ready, saddle their horses, and pack them. Then we will kill all the Walapai." One Paiute man who was with the Ute heard this and told the Walapai. But the Walapai said, "We are good friends of the Ute; we do not think they want to kill us."

One of the Walapai had a pistol. A Ute said to him, "Let me see your pistol. Let me see if I can hit something. If it is pretty good, I will give you a horse for it." He gave it to the Ute, who shot at a mark. Then he re-loaded and asked the Walapai for a bullet, which was given him. The Ute first put it in his mouth and put it in the pistol with a patch. Then he put on a percussion cap and gave it back to the Walapai. Then the Ute big chief shot a Walapai man and the other Ute began shooting, too. The Walapai ran away, the Ute chased them; they had good horses. They killed a great many Walapai. Then they turned back home toward the north. The Walapai spread the news everywhere: some men came with it to Pine Spring and then further east to the Havasupai. Then we who were up the Moki trail heard of it.

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This was in the spring. There was still a little snow on the plateau 559
when we moved down into the village. They were playing shinney down here then for buckskins and other things, blankets, powder, and percussion caps. Half the Havasupai went up the trail above Austin's house (no. 41, see map, Fig. 80) to the upper canyon level; the other half went up the west side of the canyon with Wasákwiviná, a big chief, to wigiačlá [the springs west of the canyon]. I went with the first group out the east side to wigáčlálá [pointed rock, the peak at the corner formed by Cataract and Grand Canyons] to gather mescal on the red sandstone bench in the Grand Canyon. We camped at ahágiwáhčeč'tá spring [cottonwood knob; these were little trees with rounded tops] north of the peak. We roasted mescal, pounded it, and spread it out to dry in sheets. Wasákwiviná was camped in the angle between the next canyon west and the Colorado River. One of our men went down to the point between the Colorado River and Cataract Creek (haviné), making a signal fire at short intervals, so that Wasákwiviná might see it. Wasákwiviná came down to the point in his angle. The two canyons (Cataract and the next one) which come together here are very narrow, so that they could talk across. Our man said, "We are going down to our homes in the bottom of the canyon. We are going to live there again." Some said they would go down above Navaho Falls and live up on the cliff to the west of it. Supai Jack's father, my father, and Jess's mother's father said, "We think we had better camp right up here on the ledge [above camp no. 42]. We know the weather is not good." It was cloudy and rainy, and the wind blew hard. They heard the screech owls and the big owls hoot, *gtwvkkyág* hun hun hun (something comes from the south), and they were afraid, for owls mean something very bad; perhaps an enemy is coming when the owl hoots.[1] We camped up on the ledge. We were there three sleeps, when early in the morning the Yavapai came down that trail. Jess's mother's father saw them first, and woke the other two camps: *tcúkudédj ewadedgíu* (enemy are going by), he whispered.

The Third Yavapai Raid[2]

The enemy came from the south straight across the plateau, from the Moki trail to the rim of Grand Canyon at Apache [?] point from which a canyon leads back to Lee Canyon. They got to the rim and looked down on the red bench [the upper canyon level], but could not see any smoke. So they followed the rim westward to the corner of Cataract

[1] The call of a scout.
[2] This was about 1860–65.

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539 Canyon, wigiciyávi. There were about two hundred of the enemy. They saw no campfires, so they followed the rim southward along Cataract Canyon. There were a lot of horses in a little canyon, ɓata'mivo, near the point. Some of the Yavapai scouted ahead for the Havasupai; when they saw no one, they told the main body which moved forward. Then they descended by the foot trail into this little canyon. So they got all those horses. Then they came up along our canyon on the red bench. They found a lot more horses near the white peak north of here [near the corner of Grand and Cataract Canyons]. These they captured too. There were fresh tracks of some Havasupai, who had camps near that peak, leading this way. The Yavapai followed these. When they reached the south side of the white peak they sent scouts to look down into Cataract Canyon. These returned and told the others, "Yes, there are a lot of men staying in the canyon who are clearing the ground and burning the brush. It is pretty fine for us." The Yavapai came to the head of the canyon leading down back of Captain Jim's house [no. 20, see map, Fig. 30], where there were a lot of horses which they captured. It was late then, the sun was setting. They said, "You women (there were six of them) should drive the horses after us. We will go ahead." So they came.

They started before daylight. They did not know the trail. It was so dark that they got lost in a difficult place. It was dawn when they came down the trail above Austin's house [no. 41]. Captain Navajo and Olaɓwá's husband (Captain Gave) were living in the caves above Billy's house near this trail. I and my father[1] were living up on the red cliffside just above these caves. Jess's mother's father had a camp near ours. Supai Jack's father had a camp there too, but this was nearer the trail. He heard them make a little noise as they came down the trail, and saw them first.[2] He ran over and whispered to my father. We were still sleeping; my father woke me. My father and Supai Jack's father did not stop to put their clothes on. They slung on their pouches containing bullets, powder, and percussion caps; grabbed their guns, and we ran off. I went with the women; we ran to the north, climbing the cliff.

Twenty Yavapai were already down in the village just a little below Austin's house, when these two men loaded their guns, ran to the point above the house, and shot down at those who were running along the road below. The Yavapai had not yet found anyone. Other Havasupai, living down the canyon where Smith's house [no. 50] now is, heard the

[1] This is the invariable sequence of personal pronouns, at least in speaking English.
[2] I am dubious from the preceding tale (p. 371).

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shooting and ran down the canyon away from the firing. About ten 539
Yavapai went down the canyon following them. There were a great many more Havasupai down where the canyon wall turns above the falls. These men got ready and came up the canyon to meet the enemy. When they met them they drove them back, shooting all the way, until they forced them back to the point from which they had started. Then I slung stones at them.[1]

Captain Navajo and Captain Cave had their wives with them in the caves. They saw the Yavapai while they were still descending the trail right past the entrances of the caves. It was pretty hard for these two to get away from that place, so they kept quiet and stayed there. Captain Navajo had two guns. He gave one to Captain Cave. They loaded these and waited. After they saw no more Yavapai passing, Captain Cave thought that there were no more. So he ran out and up that trail. When he had got part way up, he met the remainder of the Yavapai driving the horses down it. They shot at him and hit him in the thigh. He found a good place to climb the cliff and ran to join us up on the upper canyon level.

Captain Navajo stayed in the cave until the Yavapai saw him. They climbed right up toward it. Captain Navajo's cave was at one end of a ledge; so, followed by his wife carrying her baby, and an old man, his mother's brother, he ran along this until he came to a break about six feet long, which he had to jump. He ran on to a similar gap, which he also jumped, followed by the others, until they came to some big rocks at the point above Billy's house [no. 42], behind which they stopped. From there they shot at the Yavapai and the three others right above them (Sinyella's father, Supai Jack's father, and Jess's grandfather) shot down too.

Many more Havasupai came up the canyon and chased the Yavapai across to the point with the two pinnacles on the west side of the canyon. There were some Yavapai still below, who called to the Havasupai, "We have not eaten yet. We are going to fight you all this day until tomorrow." So those Yavapai over on the point built fires, killed a horse, and broiled its flesh on the coals. After they ate, about half of them crossed back again. They skirmished along the creek, where Richard's and Bert's houses now are in the middle of the canyon [nos. 32 and 33], while the Havasupai were gathered up on the point of the cliff at the foot of the trail by which the Yavapai had descended. The Yavapai did not come near when they shot at the Havasupai, so their arrows did not carry.

[1] The sling is not seriously a weapon (see p. 349).

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539 The Havasupai had plenty of guns and could shoot down. Some of them said to Captain Burro, "You said you could hit something at that distance; try this, let us see if you can hit one."[1] Captain Burro said, "All right, I will try and see if I can hit one," so he came a little way to the edge of the point, and sat there. He shot one Yavapai, who fell right over, for his thigh bone was broken.[2] Then all the Havasupai hollered and rushed down the hill. Some of the Yavapai wanted to rescue the wounded man, but the Havasupai kept firing, so that they had to leave him and retreat across the creek with the rest. The Havasupai dragged the man back to the base of their point, chopped off his head, and carried it up with them. This Yavapai had vertical lines, alternately black and red, painted on his face. After a while, the enemy came across again and shot arrows up.

After a little while Captain Navajo went down the hill under the cover of the bushes, and went close to the enemy. He shot one of them under his left arm, killing him. Captain Navajo dragged him away, took off the Yavapai's clothing, and cut his head off, too.

The Havasupai said, "We want ten or more of our men to go down off the point and up along the middle of the canyon, and go up on top of the red cliffs by the trail on the east side [above camp no. 16]." So ten or twelve of them started off. When they were in the middle of the canyon among the mesquite bushes, they saw the Yavapai, who had crossed the creek a little higher up, coming toward them. The Havasupai were afraid and were chased back to the point. Some of the young Yavapai were good runners and nearly caught them. The Havasupai jumped across a little arm of the creek and ran up under the point where they had the protection of those shooting from above. These then drove the enemy off.

Prince's father went down, and crossing the creek under cover, went up the side canyon to the west. He climbed up on top of the red cliff back of the Yavapai and came around on the point above them. They did not know he was there. He pushed big rocks off the cliff on to them. They made a thundering noise which frightened the Yavapai so that they left that place and started up the canyon. I was on the cliff and saw them fighting. I could see a lot of horses and men going up the road and kicking up so much dust it looked like a fog. The Havasupai came down off the point and followed them through the village. The Havasupai said, "This is pretty good. They came down here, and now we are glad,

[1] He is still treated somewhat as a butt for their jokes.
[2] The distance is about five or six hundred feet.

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because we can follow them and kill more of them." The Yavapai fled as fast as they could, so that the Havasupai could not catch up with them until they were a little above the entrance to Lee Canyon. The enemy stood there to fight a little while. Right there are good places to climb up on the red cliffs. Many of the enemy climbed up on both sides and came back down the canyon on this level, while the rest waited in the canyon bed. They wanted to trap and surround the Havasupai. But these knew of their stratagem, and as the enemy came along the cliffs, the Havasupai retreated. So they came back home. 539

After they returned, they cut off the scalps of both men, and tied them on a pole. They cleared the ground and planted the pole upright. Then they danced around this. That is what I saw; that is the way they did in the old days. They kept the two scalps, so they could have a dance whenever they wanted.

Two years after this a Yavapai came down and said, "We will all be friends with one another. It is not right for us to kill each other; our language is nearly the same. It is not right; we ought to stop and be friends." All the Havasupai said, "All right." So he went back and told his people. So a lot of them came down here with buckskins to trade and as presents. The Havasupai gave them lots to eat, and they were glad. So sometimes they brought women down here and there was no more fighting.

Peace at Oraibi

Shortly after this raid we went down to the lower part of the village, on the west side of the canyon above Navajo Falls. There we lived in the bottom of the canyon under a shade, a box-like house. There we planted corn, beans, squash, sunflower, and everything. When the corn came up, I scraped [hoed] out the weeds. We stayed there all summer. All the crops were getting ripe when we moved down to the ledges on the west canyon wall above Navajo Falls. Everybody went there to live on the cliffs. Nobody went away. We all stayed together. We were afraid the enemy would soon return. We gathered all the ripe corn and beans and other crops, and piled them on the canyon floor just below our camps. When they were fully dried, we stored them all in the stone storage houses along the cliffs.

It was then early fall and the Havasupai began to scatter. A good many started to go to gather piñon nuts where someone had said he had seen plenty lying on the ground. They went up Lee Canyon and out by tovõk,óvà (precipice) trail, and along the road on the plateau for about

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539 seven or eight miles to kwiganon,aghkŏ't (deer trails between the hills). They camped there and gathered the nuts. After some time when they had a great quantity, they said, "We want to go to Oraibi, to take the piñon nuts over to trade." All the men went, leaving their women. They camped at Rain Tank [east of Grand Canyon Station]; next night they camped on top of the mesa, huwal'gătidă (rock water hole) to the west of the Little Colorado River. Next morning they crossed the river and made their next camp up on the plateau on the east side. The next day they arrived at Oraibi. They stayed there but one sleep, when in the morning they saw a signal fire to the south. The Hopi chief sent two of his men down from the mesa to see. These two met a great many men coming, Yavapai and Apache. They sent the two Hopi men back to tell that they were coming. The Hopi ran back as hard as they could and told the others: "The Yavapai and Apache are coming together. We met a great many men." The big chief[1] of Oraibi said, "You Havasupai must not be seen here. I do not want those two peoples to see you. I will think how I will dispose of you and what I will do about this crisis. All you Havasupai hide down in a lower room in a good place. We will let the Yavapai and Apache come into our houses; then we will trade with them and buy their bows and arrows. When we have bought all these, then you can come out and show yourselves. Then if the Yavapai and Apache want to kill you, we Hopi and you together will kill them."[2]

I was not with them; I stayed at home with the women to pick up nuts. My father, Wasäkwivämĭ, Captain Navaho, and Jess's mother's father and a lot of lesser men were there in Oraibi. Wasäkwivämĭ, the big chief, said to the Hopi, "I do not want to hide. We will stay out here; let the Yavapai and Apache come in and see us. Let us see what they will say. If they say they want to kill us, I think we will fight. I think that is best." The Hopi said, "All right. You people talk with the same words [i.e., speak similar dialects]: talk to the Yavapai." So Wasäkwi'vämĭ said, "I will talk about being friends. I will tell their chief to keep his people from always killing so many of ours. If he says 'No,' then we will fight."

The Yavapai came to the base of the mesa and camped there. All the Hopi went down to meet them, and shook hands all around. Then the Havasupai showed themselves to the enemy and went down to shake

[1] The narrator is projecting Havasupai organization in Oraibi.

[2] Oraibi figures throughout these tales as a sort of neutralized trading post. Its people are uniformly represented as friendly to the Havasupai rather than the enemy. Yet it seems reasonable to suppose that they made the same show of friendship to the others. Incidentally, the only Hopi town that the Havasupai had contact with is Oraibi, the easternmost.

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hands in the same way. When the greeting was finished, one of the Yavapai, who knew Wasákwivámă, said, "All right, we just met you here; we will talk about being friends." Wasákwivámă said, "That is what I think; I want to talk friendly too." The big chief of Oraibi said, "I want you Yavapai and Apache to stay right here by this spring. Then my people will bring their blankets and other things down here to trade. They will also bring things to eat." The Yavapai big chief said, "I do not want to do that. If I come to be your friend, to visit for a few days, we ought to go right into your houses. When a man travels around to visit, nobody leaves him outside this way. We want to go inside your houses and sleep there. Your people should treat mine right." The Havasupai all said the same. "That is the best way. If all go in there, it will be all right," they said to the Hopi chief. So he said, "All right." They all went up into the town and scattered, two or three men went into each house. 539

In the evening the Havasupai said, "We do not know which Hopi has the biggest house, so that all the chiefs can gather there and talk all night." One Hopi, we called Hopi shaman[1] (*mak"gloi?*,) was chief. "His house is all right; we will all go in there and talk," they said. When they were all in that house that night, they said to the Yavapai big chief. "You go ahead first and say what you think." So he spoke first: "My people have gone out to kill various tribes. We do that all the time, but it is wrong. We used to fight Mohave, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and your people, the Hopi. We will not do that any more. This is the truth I tell; I do not lie. That is why I came over here." Wasákwivámă spoke next: "All right, that is a good way to talk. All of us—one tribe and another—living about here are pretty bad; when any man is traveling around, who we see on the road, we kill him. All the tribes do the same thing. It is not right. If a man wants to go to some place to visit another tribe, to stay there or trade, that is a good thing. We have been pretty bad to each other in the past; now we should not be so any more. I want it stopped."[2]

Then the Apache chief talked in his own language, but the others did not understand him. The Havasupai asked the Yavapai, "Do the Apache understand how to talk your language?" and the latter replied, "Yes, they talk it." The Yavapai said to the Apache, "You can talk our language to the Havasupai; they will understand what you say." Then the Apache chief repeated what the Havasupai and Yavapai chiefs had said.

[1] Here rather in a recognition that the chiefs are thought of as priests by the Hopi, or it may be this was one of the ceremonial leaders.

[2] These colloquies bear out the Havasupai view that the primary function of a chief is spokesman for his people. (624)

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539 The Oraibi chief spoke last. He said to the Yavapai chief, "I know you; I do not believe you. You come here and when you talk to us you always talk crooked. I think that perhaps when you go back, when you are in your home again, you will think more and finally decide to go out to fight. I think that you came to fight with us, because you came with so many men, but you see the Havasupai and ourselves here, and you think we are too many for you, so you talk of being friends. The Navaho are just like you. They come here and say 'all right,' then they go and do wrong. They do not talk honestly. We stay here; we do not travel far. We walk down into that valley to plant our corn, and we are afraid for the enemy: 'Perhaps an enemy will come and kill me while I am working in the valley,' I think. So while I am working I look all around. I do not work very long: I come right back; then I sally down again. That is what I have to do all the time. I would like all the different tribes to be good, to travel around and visit, to go alone and sleep by the road. That would be fine. What you say sounds good, for then I can work well. I will not have to watch out for the enemy any more. I can plant and hoe and tear out the weeds in safety. I want you, the big chief of the Yavapai, to repeat what you said so that I can hear you. Then it will be good. Say again, 'You are sure you will not fight any more.' Say it once more, and that will be all," he said.[1] The Yavapai chief said, "I talk just one way. Certainly we are not going to be enemies any more." Then the Hopi, Havasupai, Apache, and Yavapai men all said, "That is a pretty good way we have settled it now. All we have to say is finished."

Wasäkwtvämä said, "The Paiute have been enemies for a long time: they came and fought us. The Paiute chief came over and said he was not going to fight us any more. He said they would be good friends to the Havasupai. It is all right over there now, too. The Navaho are just the same; we met them and they came down to stay with us. We talked it over and they said they would be our good friends, too. Only you Yavapai had not said you would be good. Now we meet you here and you say so, so all will be well now." Everybody clapped their hands and cried out, "It is finished all right now." Wasäkwtvämä said, "It is all right now." Then he took a big blanket from beside him and threw it down before the Yavapai chief as a present. Captain Navajo did the same, and so did the Oraibi chief. The Yavapai chief gave a buckskin to the Hopi chief. Then they said, "It is all right now. Look around for anything you want, and trade. Perhaps the Hopi men and women will prepare provisions

[1] This is very characteristic of Havasupai translations as well.

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and tomorrow you can go back. We will all go the same day: you Apache and Yavapai go your way, and we Havasupai will go back home too."[1] 539

The Havasupai came back from Onâibi to where I stayed with the women gathering piñon nuts. After a while, when a little snow had fallen, we saw signal fires over at gîtcḳwâ [the head of Cataract Canyon]. We saw a big smoke, then another nearer, and more, always nearer. A Havasupai man went in that direction to see. He met the Yavapai coming. They said, "We are coming down to your people's village to visit. We are going to be friends. That is what I said at Onâibi. I want you to go right back and tell your people, so they will know I am coming." That man came back and told that the Yavapai were coming. The Yavapai came to a group of Havasupai camped near the Moki trail. Then one of these went around to tell all the Havasupai to gather to see them. So we moved down there, too. I saw them there with my own eyes. Then we made one big house for all the chiefs to gather in. The other Havasupai kept coming. Each family made a little circular wall of green piñon branches to camp in temporarily.

Then they talked. First the Yavapai chief spoke: "We talked already at Onâibi: we met you there. I will talk again the same way. We would like to trade. We have some buckskins here which we will give you. We will not trade these; we are friends." Then the Havasupai chief spoke the same way: "We are relatives now. That is a good way. That is all. We will play now." The women prepared a dance ground and stood beside the Yavapai youths. We had a good time. The Yavapai stayed for a long while before they went back. The Havasupai stayed there until spring; then they all went down directly to the village. The Havasupai big chief said, "We have talked it over with them, and are now good friends. So you can make big fields and make good houses to live in. We do not have to climb on the ledges to live any more. All is well now: go do this."

When the corn was four or five inches high some young Yavapai men came. They now began to travel back and forth between their country and ours. They traded buckskins for dried corn and blankets. Those who wanted to make friends gave presents; they did not trade.

[1] I think there can be little doubt that the willingness of the Yavapai and Apache to make peace at this time (1869–70) is due less to any fundamental friendliness, than to the fact that the Californian-bound immigrants, who now were rolling westward through southern Arizona, were a more lucrative prey. Raids were now southward, instead of northward. The last raid on the Havasupai was in 1866. The Apache and associated groups were subdued in 1870–75. Yet, white occupation of central Arizona might not have prevented northward raids until as much as thirty years after this last one.

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539 When the crops were ripe, they brought their families with them, and stayed down here and ate our bounty. Then I saw that all was well, and I felt better. I was not afraid any more. In those days when I heard the coyotes and owls call, I felt very much afraid.[1]

That is the way they talked to make the Yavapai stop killing people.

[1] Quotes indicate the calls of wolf, coyote, screech- and horned owls.

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The following abbreviations are used.

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BBAE	Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology
BAMNH	Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
Mem AMNH	Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History
Pa AMNH	Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History
Proc USNM	Proceedings of the United States National Museum
RBAE	Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology
R Smithson	Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution
RUSNM	Annual Report of the United States National Museum
Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.	University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology

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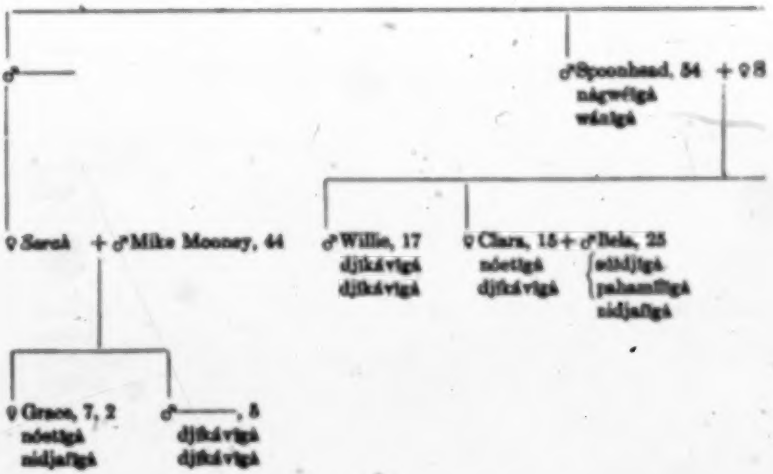

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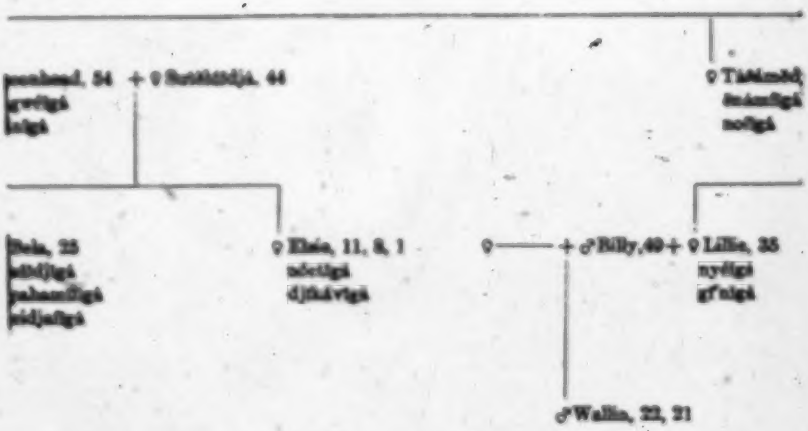

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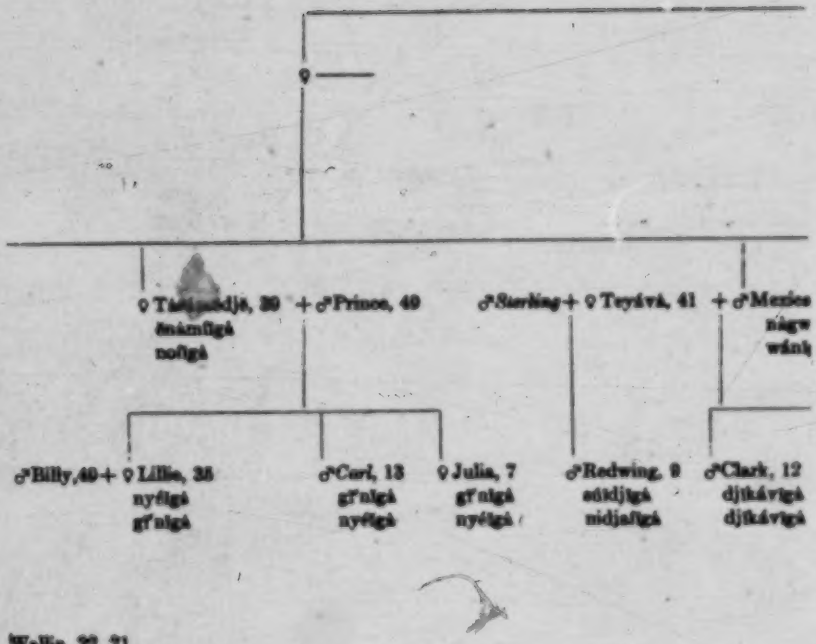

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Relatives Through Mother

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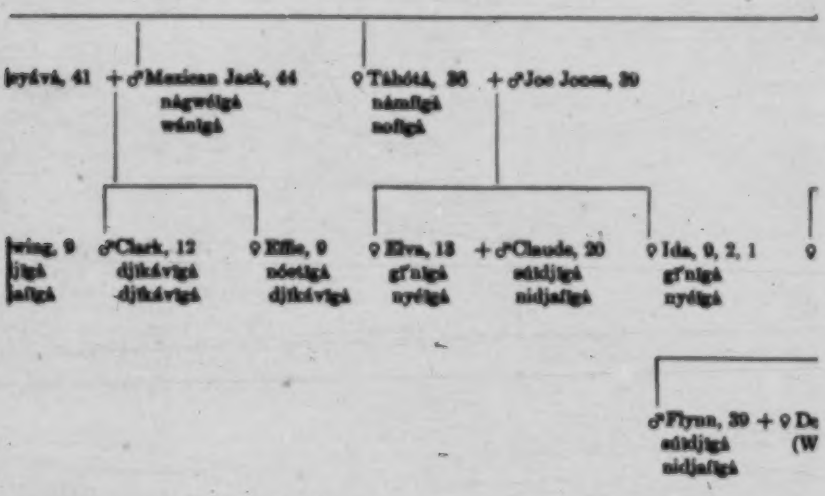

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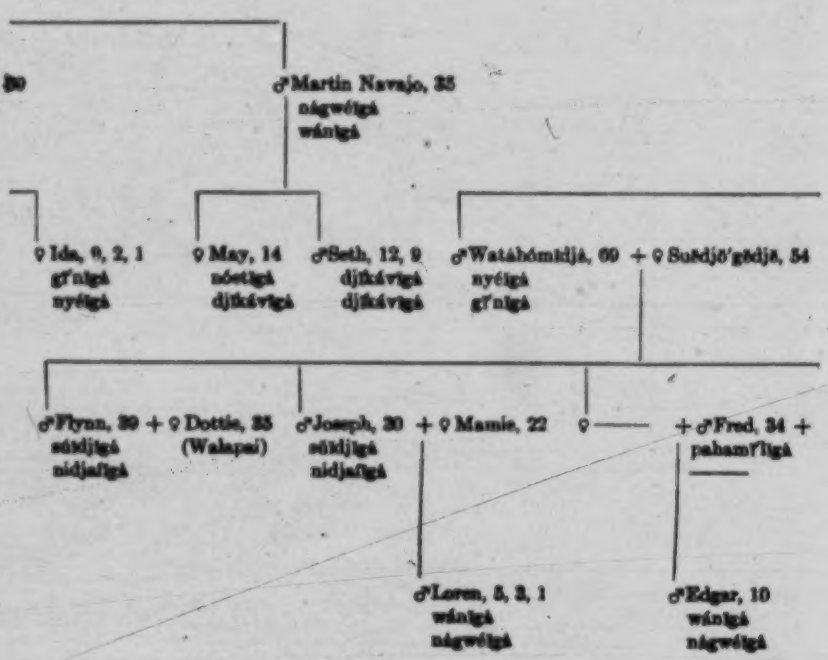

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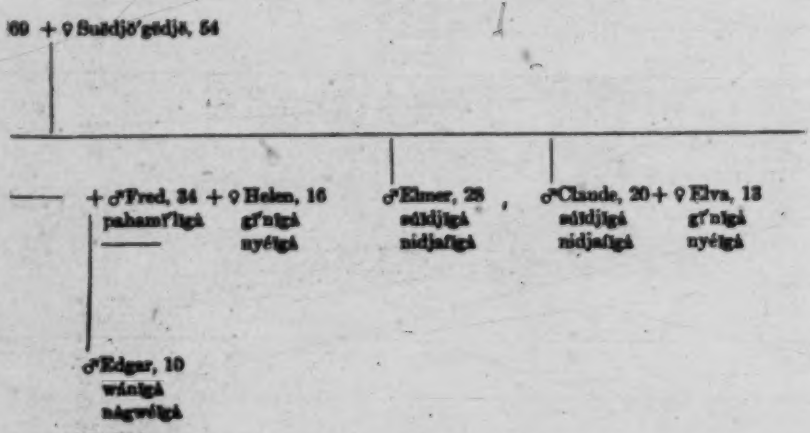

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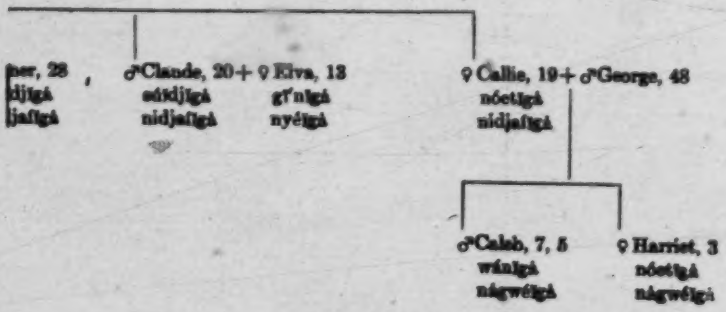

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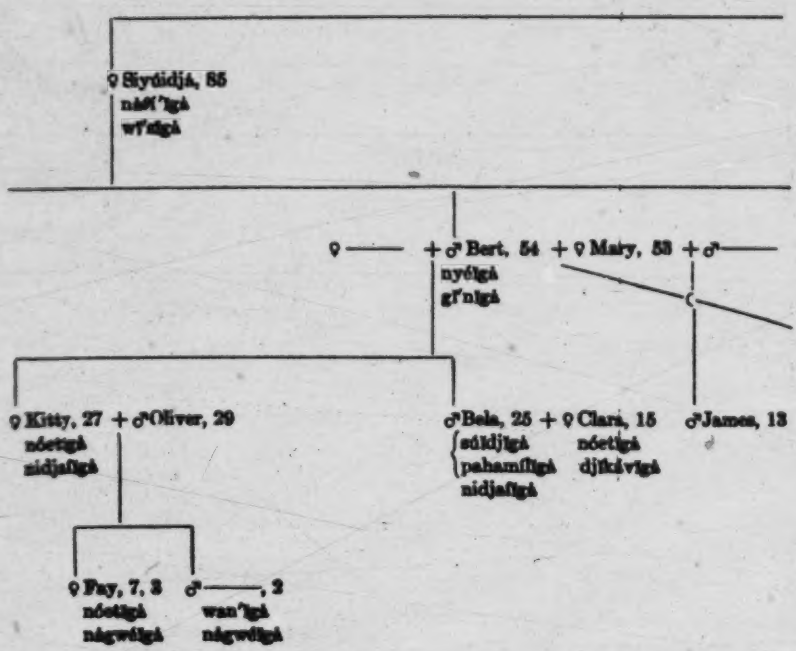

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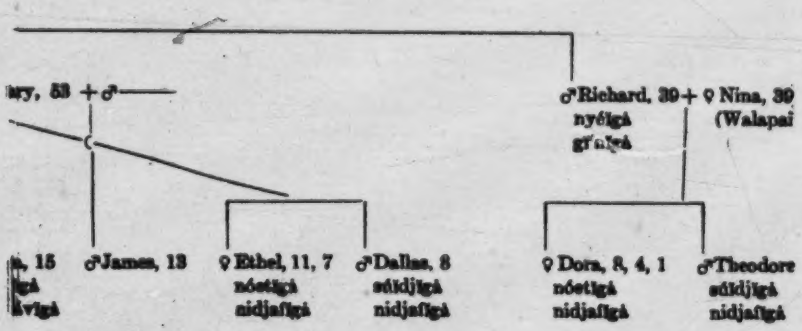

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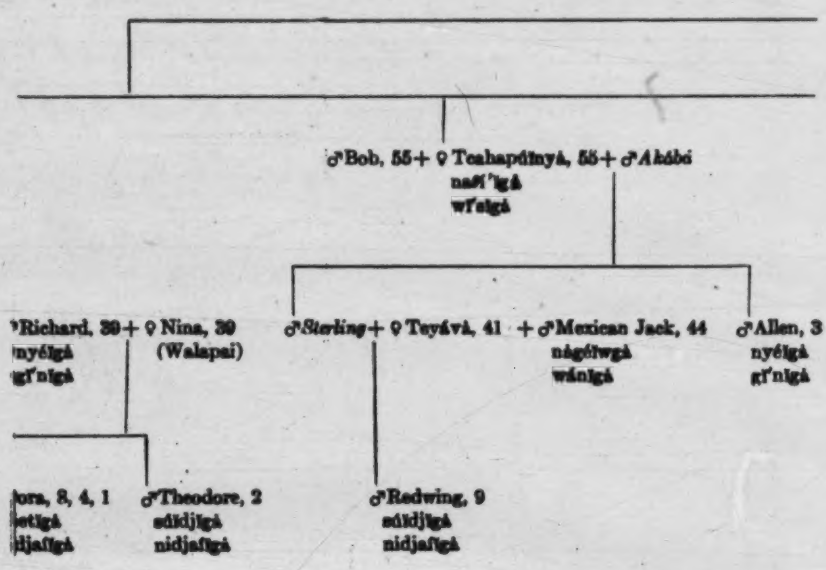

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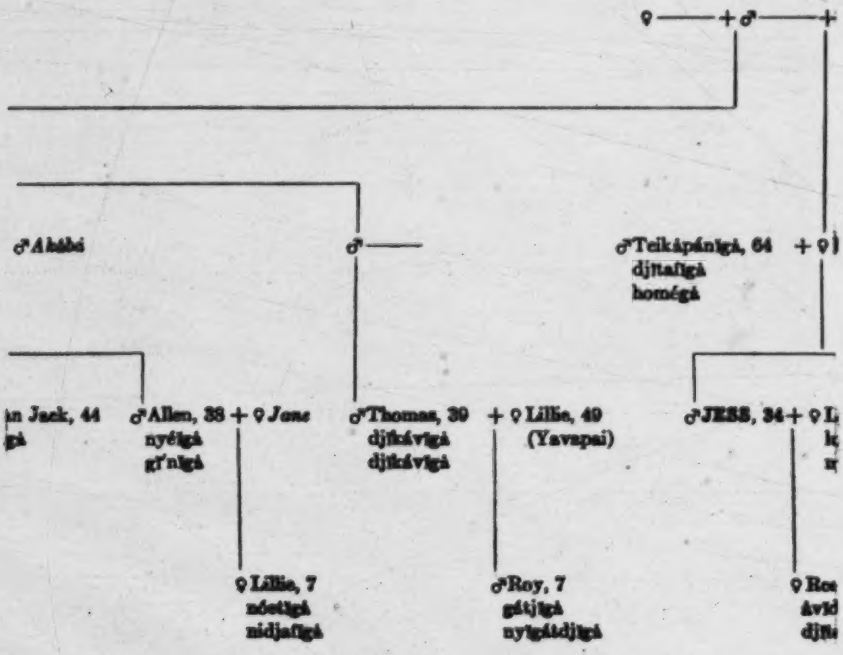

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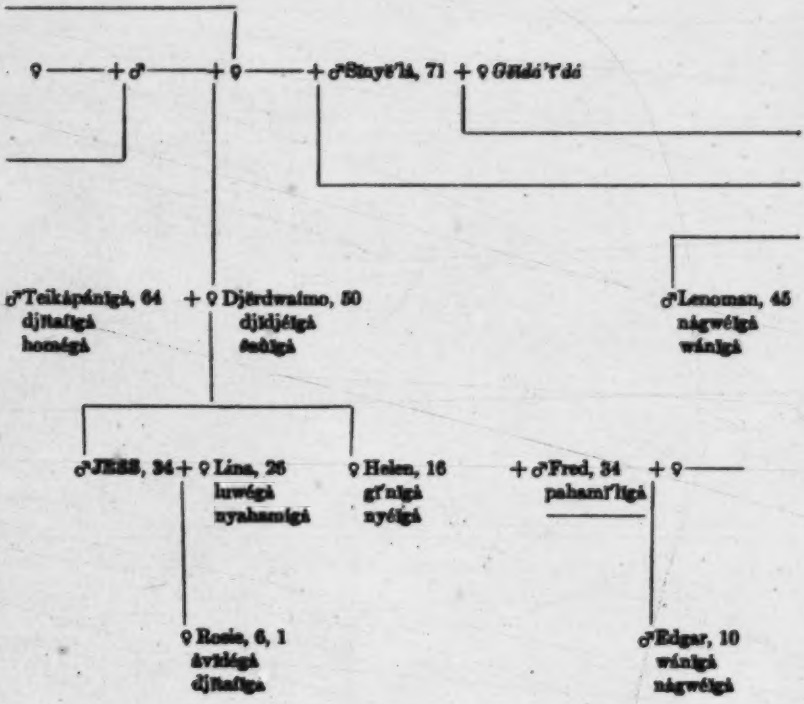

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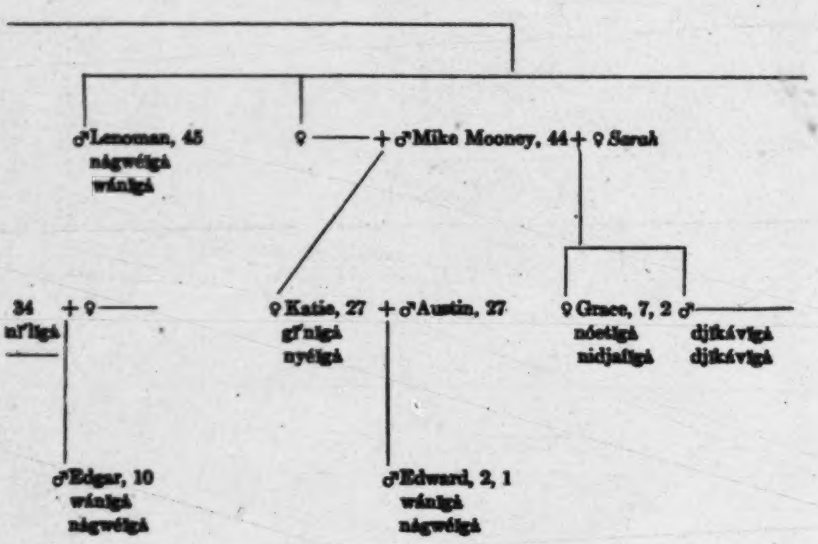

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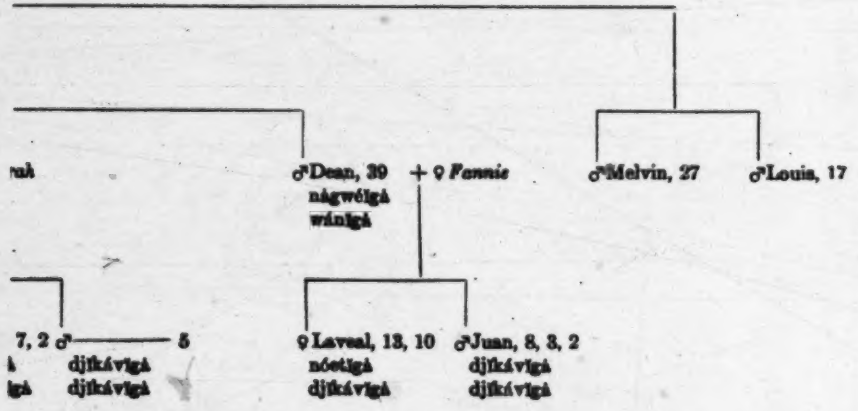

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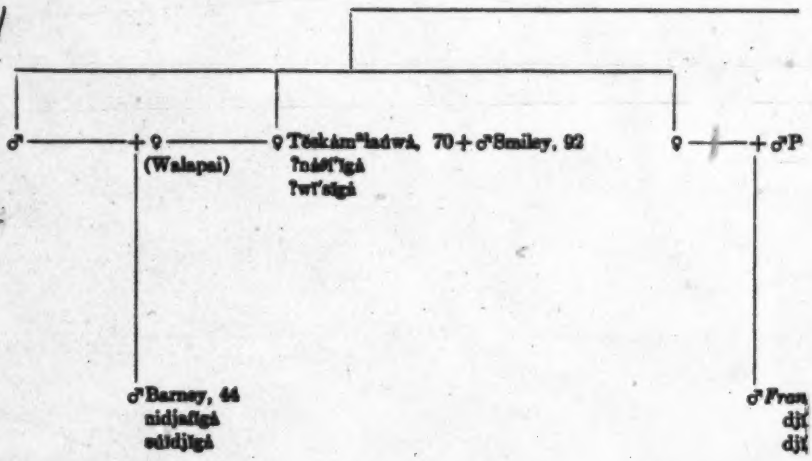

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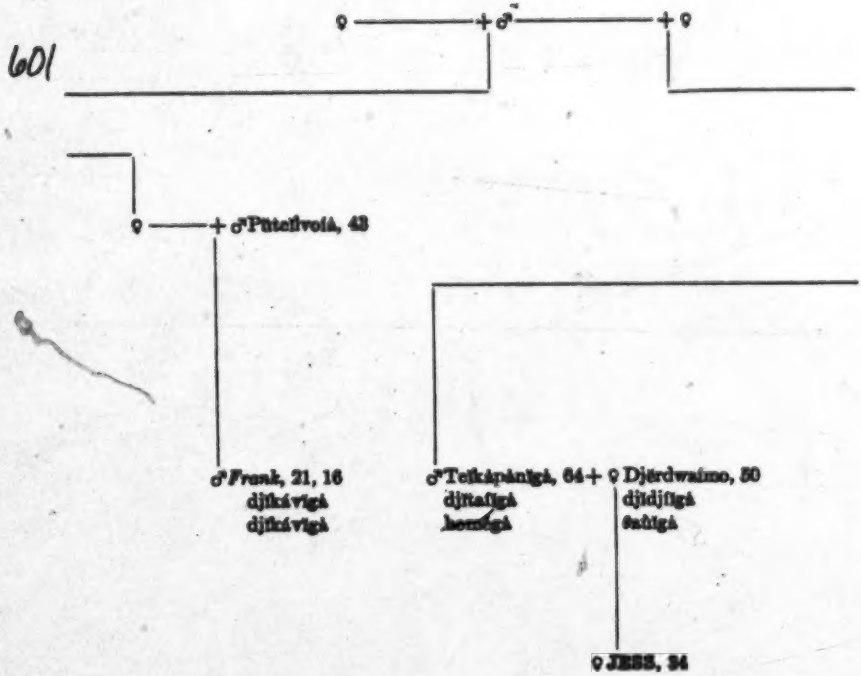
Relatives Through Father



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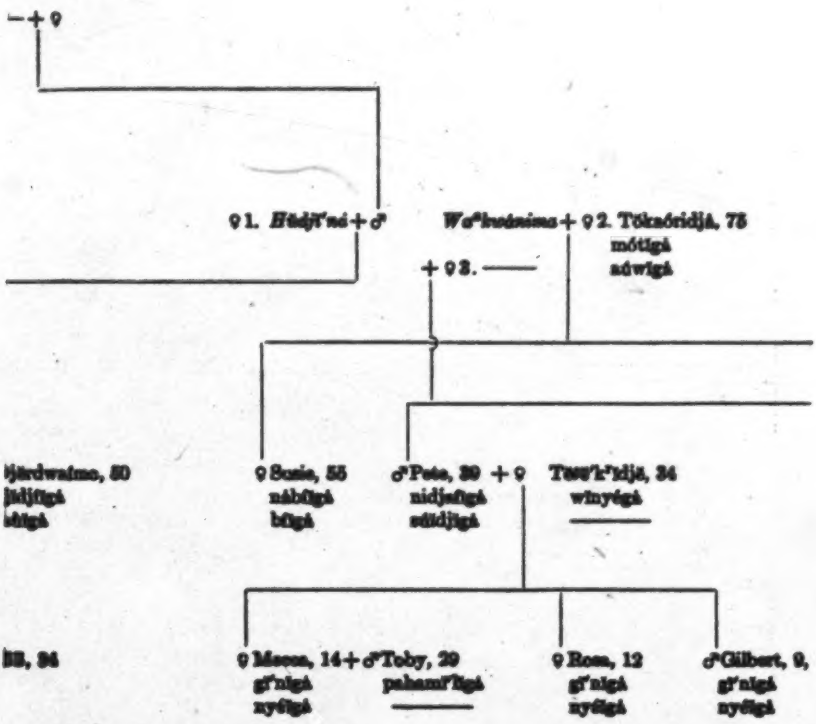

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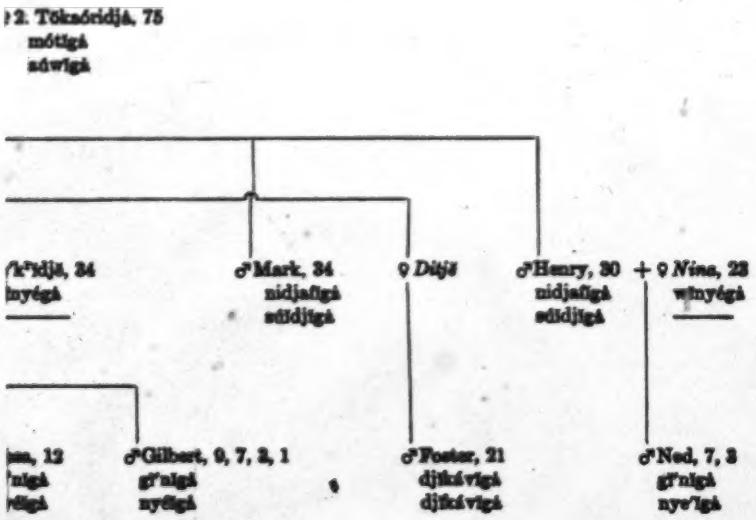

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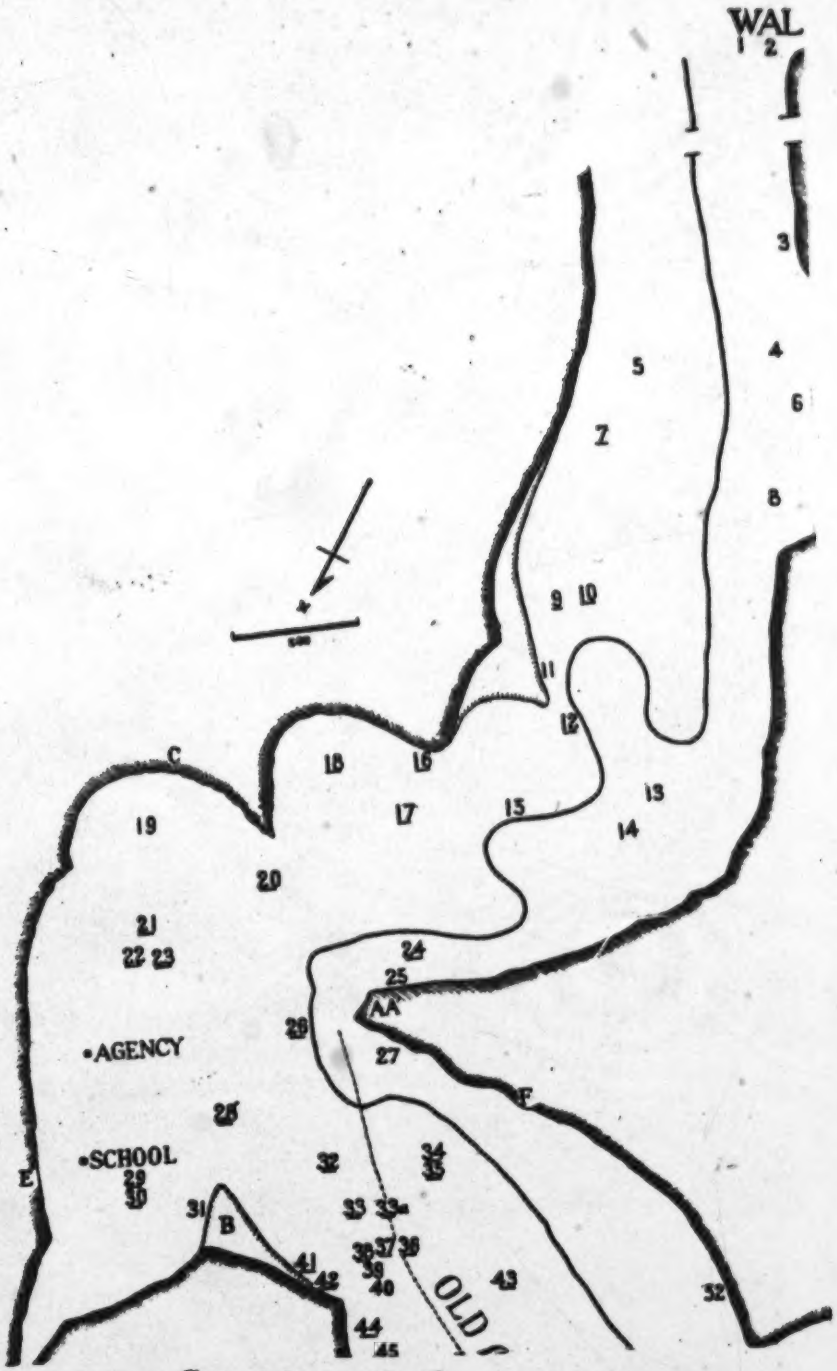

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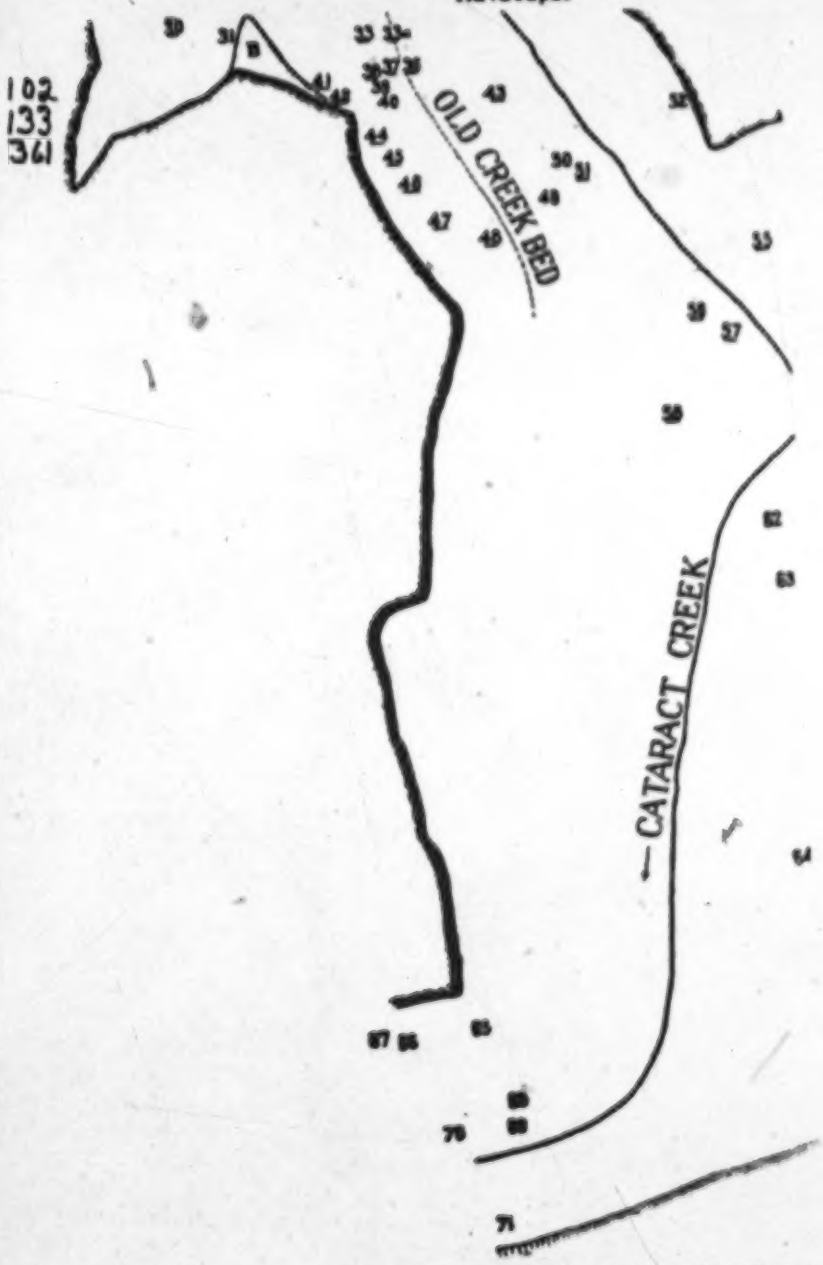

Fig. 31. Map of Camps in the Havasupai Village, Coconino

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Havasupai

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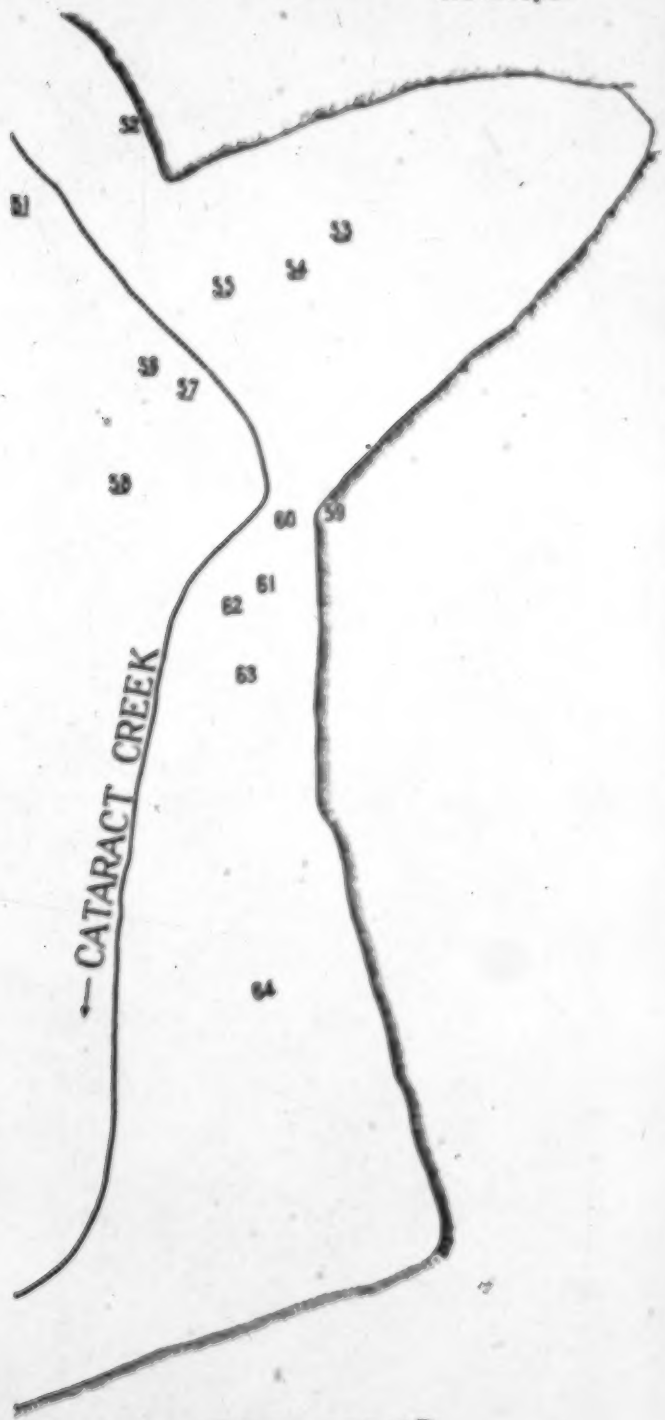

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the Havasupai Village, Cataract Canyon

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[Some materials on warfare with particular neighboring tribes will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

[Some materials on relations with particular neighboring groups will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

[Some material on traditional history will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

[All materials on political officials are filed under category 624, local officials.]

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[The map of the settlement has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

P. 392 C-1	P. 392 C-2
P. 392 C-3	P. 392 C-4

[The genealogical charts have been reproduced for the files in the following manner: Chart A - Relatives through Mother - pp. 392 A-1 to A-14.]

A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7
A8	A9	A10	A11	A12	A13	A14

Chart B - Relatives through Father - pp. 392 B-1 to B-4

B1	B2	B3	B4

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People of the Blue Water

[TITLE Page].

My Adventures Among the Walapai and Havasupai Indians

by Flora Gregg Iliff

Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

[p. 102]

Report for the Great Father in Washington

000

I hopped out of bed at five o'clock the next morning, forgetting the little scorpions whose toes I had promised to singe. I faced many problems, but my immediate concern was to form a mess. That was solved when Frances offered to do the cooking and Miss Goenawein, Mr. Burnett and I agreed to buy the groceries.

"What were the other superintendent's duties?" I asked at breakfast. I was determined to keep the school up to its former standard during the month I would be in charge.

"Teaching seventy-two children," Frances said, grinning, doubtless expecting this information to floor me.

"Mr. Ewing told me about the seventy-two pupils," I answered.

"Issuing drugs to sick Indians," she continued.

"I am neither a pharmacist nor an M.D.," I objected.

"Also settling the Indians' disputes." She hesitated a moment, then laughed and added, "Oh, I almost forgot one important duty. You climb the big cottonwood east of the house to take readings from a government thermometer and mail them to Washington."

"Tree-climbing too!" I exclaimed. "I've *really* been promoted. At the day school I was delouser, manager of the bath, cook, engineer and principal teacher; salary, sixty dollars per month. Now, for fifteen extra, I am doctor, judge, teacher, superintendent, weather reporter and tree climber. Six positions for the salary of one!"

[pp. i, iv-xi, 1-101 not processed]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Later, I went out to have a look at the cottonwood tree that held the thermometer. It hugged the wall of the house, spreading heavy branches over the roof. A few years afterward, this tree became very important to one of my successors. He and his wife saved their lives by climbing as high as its creaking limbs would allow while a flood raged below.

A short ladder leaned against the gnarled trunk. By standing with one foot on its top rung, the other on a stout limb, I would be able to read the thermometer that was enclosed in a rectangular box, nailed to the tree's trunk. I had played in trees in my childhood; tree climbing had always been fun. But now, when I tried to picture myself in my ankle-length skirts perched on a rung of the ladder and a limb of the tree, peering into that box, I couldn't bring the picture into focus; I didn't want to. But that didn't keep me from taking the readings and sending the reports to Washington. The canyon's temperature, I learned, varied by ten degrees from that of the mesa, winter or summer. Even nature applied a special law to the land of the People of the Blue Water.

Mr. Ewing had been right about our isolation. I was soon hungry for news from the outside. Our mail was brought by Indian carrier from Seligman, and this was "mail day." We were so eager for letters that by the time the sun's rays had left the canyon at three o'clock, we were already watching the trail, hoping the carrier had made a faster trip than usual. However, we had lighted the lamps before Spoonhead came riding in with the mail-sack thrown across his saddle.

It was the first time I had seen Spoonhead, but I did not need to speculate as to the origin of his name; just as the Indians declared, his head was shaped like the bowl of a spoon.

Miss Goenawein kept the post office in one corner of her room. She sorted the mail while we waited. Among my letters was one from Mr. Ewing, asking me to prepare an annual report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs covering conditions on the reservation for the past year, a duty neglected by my predecessor. It was long overdue, and he urged that I submit it immediately. Although

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped. I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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812 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [515] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [347] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

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how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

872 stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the
177 fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with
872 hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes
177 and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children.
262 Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, *'Havatoopegal* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

[522] The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

262 When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

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Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

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The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

Bailiff Y-6 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumamu NT14 Havasupai

Their garden was lush with corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and sunflowers that grew large seed heads. Purple figs and red-cheeked peaches grew at one end of the plot.

Chickapanyegi worked unhurriedly, pushing the dirt aside with his bare toes to open the floodgates, letting the water gush through to fill the ditches that ran between his rows of vegetables. Toes did the work of fingers, opening ditches or packing the soil to close them, picking up sticks and stones and piling them ready to be removed. Here was a way of life new to me and very intriguing. The Walapai that I knew lived in idleness on bare sand, accepting government rations, a few working at odd jobs. These people produced and stored food, not only for the immediate future, but for years ahead. At one time, the Walapai, too, had been self-supporting and self-sufficient; then agents of the government had come, using rations as a buying power, and had established controls that crushed initiative.

The Havasupai had devised their own garden tools, even making a spade by fashioning the blade and handle from a long, flat piece of wood. They used the shoulder blades of horses or anything they could get that would loosen the soil or chop weeds. Obviously they were greatly handicapped by these primitive tools; sticks, bones and toes were poor substitutes for spades, hoes and rakes. The Indians themselves restricted production by refusing to till inherited land until it had lain fallow for a year or more. The spirit of the dead might at any time return to its former home, so they would not make immediate use of such land, partly through fear, but also to show respect to the former owner. Thus many acres of fertile soil lay fallow, necessitating more intensive cultivation of the land in use.

Tending their crops and preserving their food was the main object in life for the people of this village. Always the crop was divided into portions: some for eating, some held for an emergency, but the best kept for seed.

Chickapanyegi's rectangular house stood near his garden. The flat, brush-covered roof, topped with earth, and the sides, thatched

Zolliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

Hilliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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574 262 long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

343 251 When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone [333] walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

423 343 251 The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

251 Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

Billiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *tatawa* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

2:Iliff Y-6 (ca.1902) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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cameras they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

> Sir: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.
>
> Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him.

2:1115f Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumaas NT14
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Pacific Transportation Co.

A packtrain on the trail from Hilltop into the Havasu Canyon

Pacific Transportation Co.

In these two stone pillars on an outjutting arm of the canyon wall, lived the god-spirit that protected the Havasupai and their gardens from harm

[p. 116 D. Pp. 116 A-C not processed]

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1864 NT14 Plateau Tunnam NT14
Havasupai

Manakadja, late chief of the Havasupai, father of the present chief

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

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Old Ute, a Havasupai, blind in one eye, guided us over trailless country to the junction of the Havasu and Colorado Rivers.

[p. 116E]

2:1117 7-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tamana NT14
Havasupai

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Winter scene showing our stone cottage, later washed away in a flood. To the far right is the outdoor toilet. From the high wall on the right came the boulders and trees that crashed down on us during an earlier flood

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Havasupai woman, wearing sutaw about her shoulders, preparing to bake thin, crisp sheets of bread on her baking stone

[p.116F]

2-Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Framework of Havasupai sweat lodge, left foreground. Conical brush house, center, with brush-covered shelter where family activities are carried on

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Havasupai signs and symbols painted on a rock surface by Those of Old. Their meaning has long since been lost

[p. 116 G]

9:Diff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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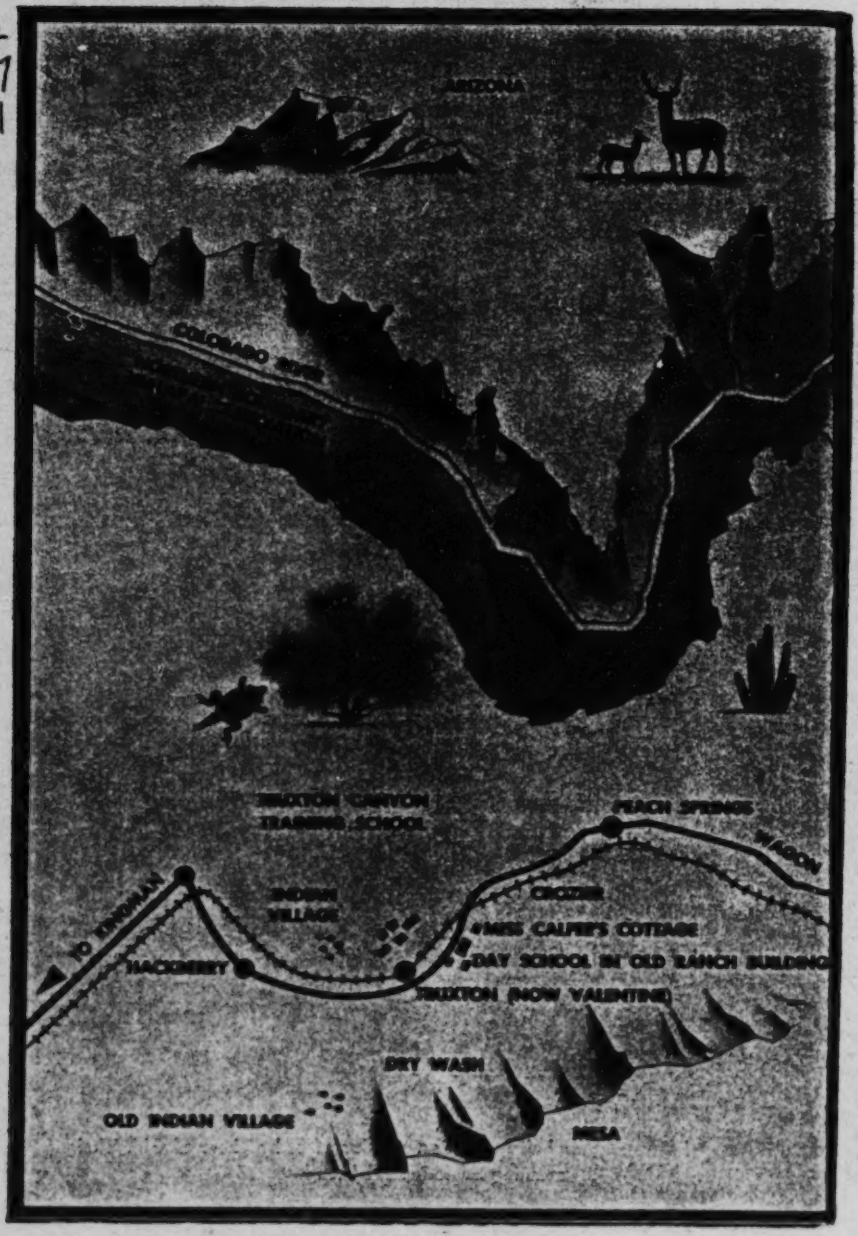

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2:IIIH Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1864 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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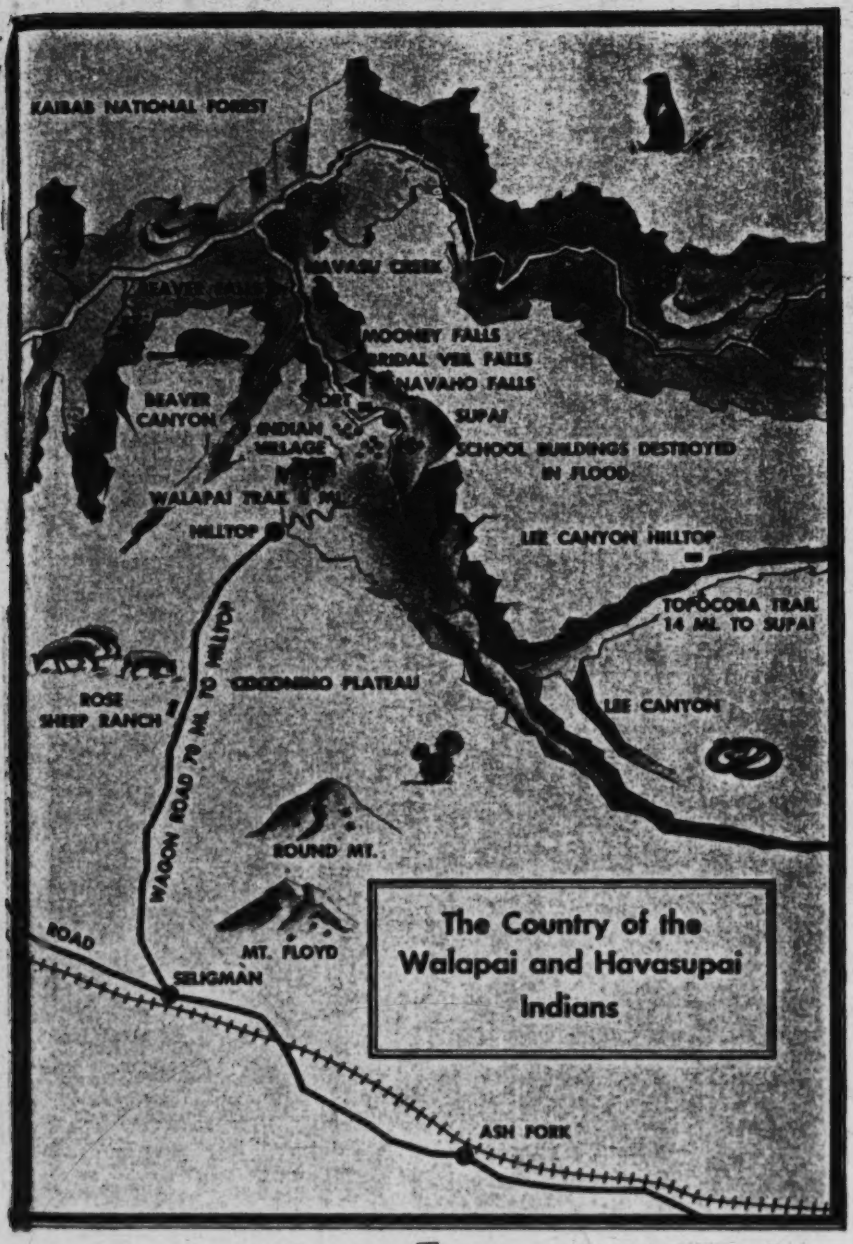

[p. 116 I]

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Policeman Vesnor, whose somber eyes reflect the iron will and fearlessness of primitive tribal life, had been healed by the Great Healer. Later, when a very old man, he was converted to the Christian religion

[p. 116J]

2:HH Y-5 (CR.1901) 1904 NT14 Pictures Tuzzano NT14

Havasupai

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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2-Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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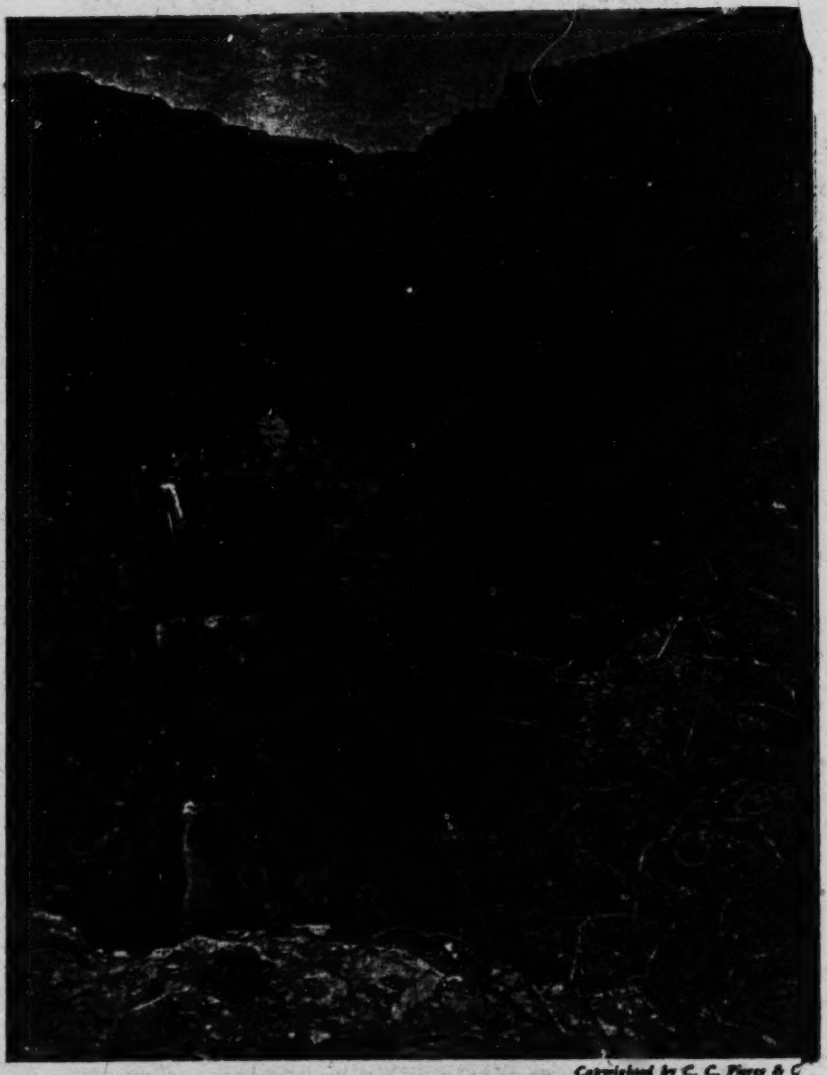

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Mooney Falls, "Mother of the Waters," showing the wild gorge in which Lanoman's wife was cremated

[p. 116 L]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

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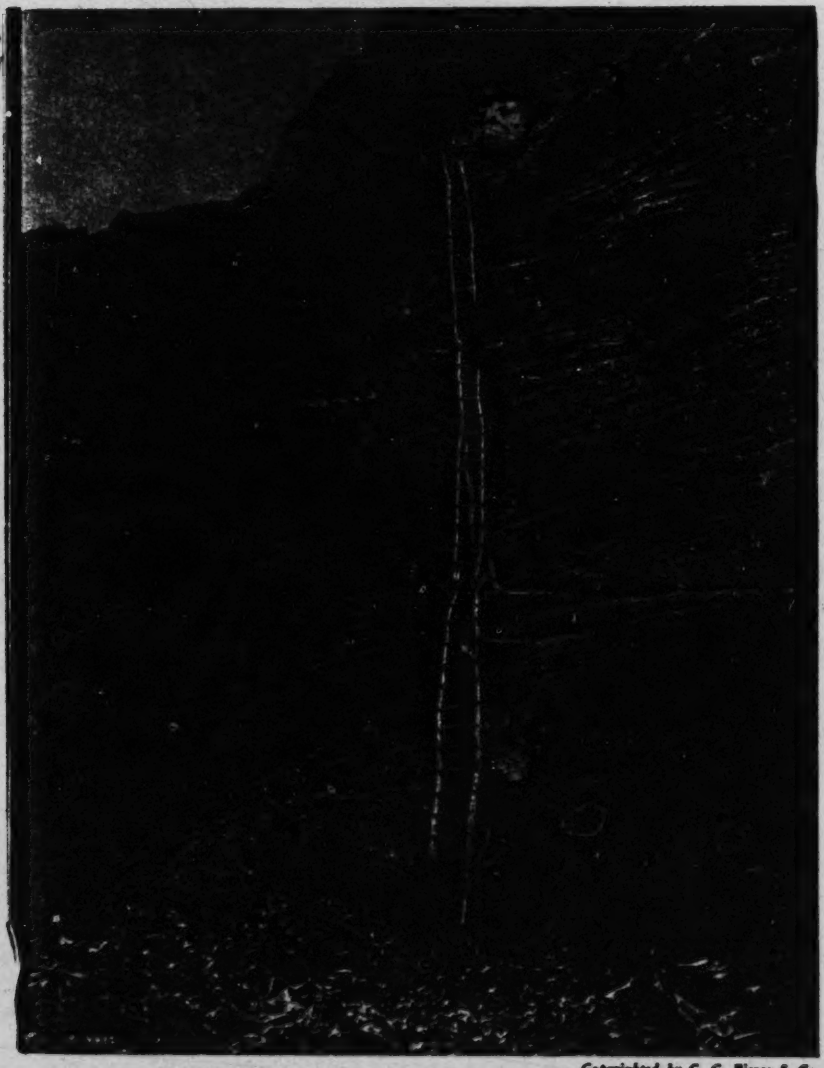

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Crude ladder by which the Indians descended to the pool below Mooney Falls, which is out of the picture to the left

[p. 116 M]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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The old basket weaver's home, built of poles, bark, brush and discarded clothing

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Mother carrying her baby in a burden basket. Her home is typical of the Havasupai house of a generation ago

[p. 116 N]

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Stick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

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American Museum of Natural History

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2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tunnels NT14
Havasupai

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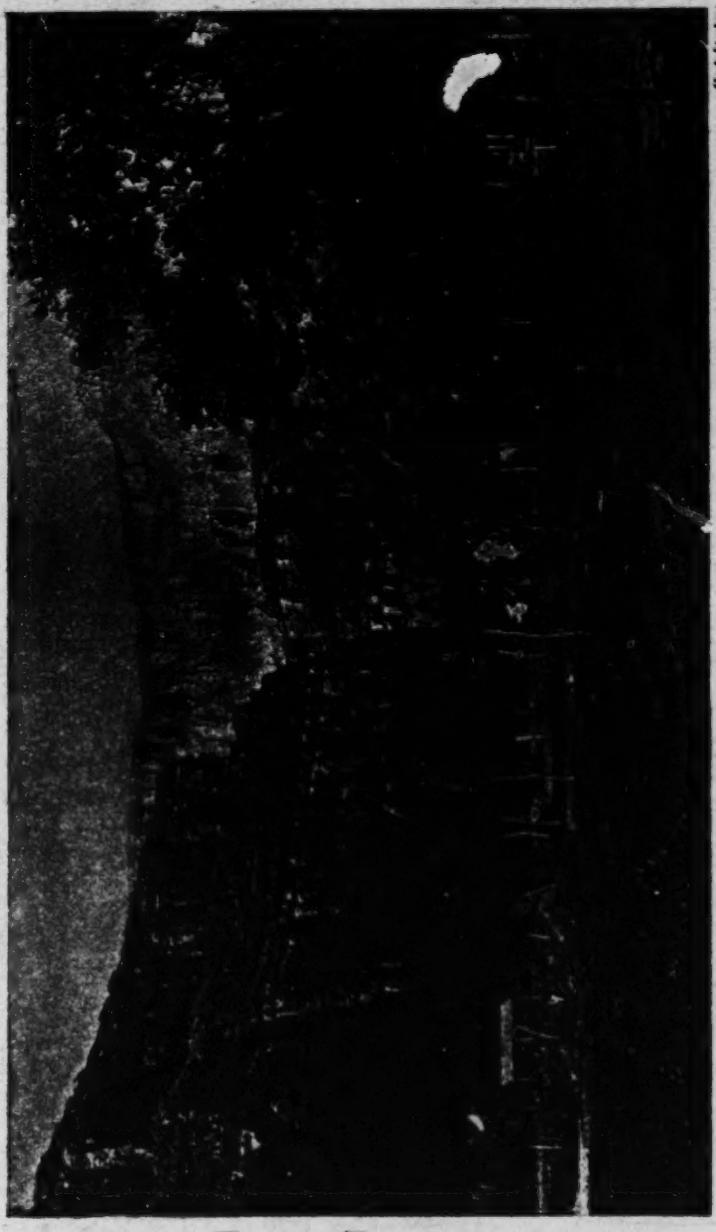

Al Alcorn

Havasupai homes of today with fenced plots for gardens or corrals. Note the limestone cliffs of the outer walls in the distance

[p. 116 P]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

Zdiff Y-8 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

000 At last Mr. Ewing had the report, months late. But neither he nor the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would ever know what a good time I had had collecting information that never went into it.

657 'We were led to believe that such reports were never read by the officials in Washington. This one was read. It brought results. The Havasupai enjoyed the nearest thing to Christmas they had ever known when a large shipment of gardening tools arrived for them.

2dIIff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

"I Too Mad"

[625] 159

Lanceman, the son of Sinyella, was the younger of the reservation's two policemen. According to his father's estimate of his age, he was in his early thirties. Taller than many of the men, and stockily built, his regular features and light complexion gave him a handsome appearance, which somewhat justified his vanity. He had mastered enough English to meet his needs but his courtly manners were his greatest asset. "Lanceman, the gentleman," he was dubbed by a visiting tourist, for all who met him were impressed by his graciousness.

No one seemed to know Vesnor's age. Counted in years, it might have been forty or fifty, but the dark wisdom in his gloomy eyes made one feel that he had witnessed savage cruelty and lived with danger until he no longer knew the meaning of fear. He was thin and wiry, his muscles taut springs, his skin dark and wrinkled, but there was a sureness and swiftness about him that inspired confidence. Whenever I was in my office, Vesnor was there, ready to jump astride his pony to bring in a bad Indian at a moment's notice. Occasionally, when not too pressed for time, I laid aside my work and we talked, sometimes quite frankly. Vesnor's questions sprang from whatever thought was uppermost in his mind, and he probed into my personal affairs with native simplicity—as if he were with one of his tribesmen. He wanted the straight truth, even though the Havasupai themselves delighted in making false statements to an inquisitive white person. One afternoon when

2:HAF Y-6 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [52] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

2:111ff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

his mind was fumbling for words. "One day Jesus come. Stand by bed. All white. Dress, everything all white. Shine like sun. He say pretty quick get well. He go 'way. I get well quick."

That was all. Vesnor had no more to tell. Perhaps he saw the astonishment in my face, for his thoughts recoiled and tucked themselves away in a secret place back of his inscrutable eyes. My imagination conjured up the scene: a sick Indian lying on his blanket on the dirt floor of his home, by his side a Shining Presence. Vesnor, an untutored Indian, had experienced the miracle of healing much as John G. Whittier had so beautifully written of it:

> The healing of His seamless dress
> Is by our beds of pain:
> We touch Him in life's throng and press,
> And we are whole again.

This was Vesnor in a new version. His story left me awed and puzzled. Where did he get his concept of Jesus, the Healer? No missionary had ever worked among these people. The school employees held a Sunday service for the children, and the adults had received some instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith. But, it was arresting to learn that Vesnor, his mind ruled by spirits and strange gods and filled with the medicine man's lore, had had that priceless revelation.

The Indians respected and obeyed Vesnor. His background and experience made him a valuable policeman. Lanoman, however, gently sidestepped any errand that might involve ruffled feelings or bring unpleasant repercussions. If word must be sent to the men of the village that we had a load of freight at Hilltop, and would pay cash to the packers who brought it down, Lanoman was the man to send. He could escort tourists or forest rangers to any part of the canyon, and win their hearts while doing it. Everyone liked gentlemanly Lanoman. It was hard to believe that he had no white blood, or had never been taught the white man's social customs. Yet under that suave exterior was a mind steeped in the

Sniff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1956 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

159 traditions and superstitions of his people. He had been healed,
625 dramatically, by the medicine man. Leslie Spier, in his "Havasupai Ethnography," relates the story as told to him by Sinyella, Lanoman's father.

159 "Once about 1883, when Lanoman, my oldest son, was about
755 seventeen years old, he was pretty sick." He then explained that he had appealed to a Walapai shaman who decided that the illness was too difficult for him to heal. Sinyella continued:

> Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there, too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman," and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy: "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars," and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights and said that the boy would not get well.

Next, Sinyella appealed to a shaman of his own tribe. His verdict was: "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness." The shaman proved his point by declaring that Sinyella's grandfather, now deceased, who had been a shaman, had sent his spirit to take Lanoman to the spirit world. However, he recommended his younger brother A'mal, also a shaman, for whom Sinyella sent a messenger. Sinyella related what followed:

> The night he arrived, he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed them to us in his hand. . . . He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf, he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs. He did this two nights. Then the boy

Bliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly.

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task.

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet

2:11ff Y-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Phineas Yamaga NT14
Havasupai

buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lano-man, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

Bilfiff Y-5 (ca. 1931) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

He stooped and carefully examined the earth, "Maybe woman's," he volunteered.

"Yes, you said in the beginning that women had destroyed your corn. You will have to tell me their names."

He frowned deeply as he viewed the broken stalks, but finally admitted, "I think two womans: Billy squaw; Prince squaw."

"I'll have Vesnor warn them not to bother your corn," I assured him. "I'll also investigate this myself. They must have a reason for destroying your crop."

I took my departure, and Little Jim joined his family, his wife E-e and two small sons. They formed a circle about the food for the evening meal—burned squash, cold and unpalatable. E-e broke off hunks of the sodden stuff and handed them to the children who devoured them hungrily while she and Little Jim shared the unappetizing fare. E-e was an indifferent housekeeper and one of the poorest cooks in the village, but she was a good-natured wife and her cheerful companionship pleased Little Jim.

Vesnor was waiting for me at the office as usual, so I sent him to instruct Prince and Billy that their wives destroy no more gardens. I also told him to bring the two women to my office on Monday evening for a hearing.

School had not yet convened Monday morning when Billy appeared at the building, carrying in his hand seven stalks of newly cut corn. He held them out for me to see.

"That my corn," he said angrily. "E-e cut with knife."

I examined the seven stalks. They were cleanly cut. "What has happened in the village that causes the women to destroy one another's gardens?" I asked Billy.

"No un'erstan'," he said, still angry.

"You know that your wife walked on Little Jim's corn. He has a family and needs all the food he can raise. Did you tell her to leave his garden alone?"

"Vesnor say. She hear." Billy looked chagrined. It was a different story when blame fell on his own household.

"Did Vesnor tell your wife to come to my office this evening?

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

578 We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am
691 going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

800 I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

578 Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were
691 waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the
695 door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

203 At that moment a woman, her *suiam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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to make go hungry. I walk thirty stalks his corn. I plenty mad." She gave E-e a glance loaded with malice and hesitantly took her seat.

Billy stepped forward and voiced his complaint. E-e had cut seven stalks of his corn. He found the stalks lying in the field. He explained that he needed the corn for food for his family. He would not have seed, he could not fill his storehouse, if his crop were destroyed. His face had lost its jovial expression and was puckered with concern.

E-e, the accused, came forward reluctantly. The look of lazy contentment had drained from her face; there was fear in her dark eyes. She spoke haltingly, with many gestures. "I pick up brush." Her quick fingers went through the motions of gathering and piling brush. "I dry. I want fire. Billy's squaw throw brush. Scatter everywhere." Again her fingers spoke, making the gesture of tossing brush to the winds. "I no find. No make fire. No cook bread. She break Little Jim corn. She make brush scatter. I plenty mad. I walk little on corn. I cut little. I too mad."

I managed to keep a straight face, but was chuckling inside. Those precious, mischievous women. They refused to submit to the deadly monotony of their lives, and added a touch of excitement by playing sly tricks, each striving to be more cunning than the other. I wanted to pat them on their plump shoulders and send them happily home, but when a garden is no larger than the floor of a room, and a family depends on it for food, it must not be the pawn in a game.

We discussed their crimes with great seriousness. They were quick to agree that the destruction of food must stop, and they expected to be penalized, but I hadn't the heart to levy against their pitiful possessions. So I asked them, individually, if they would drop the feud and never revive it, if allowed to go unpunished.

They all shouted in their eagerness, *"Eh! Eh, will* (Yes! Yes, you say it!)"

The case was dismissed. I heard of no more such pranks, but

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their love of excitement undoubtedly would prompt them to find some other way to keep the village astir and themselves interested.

Long after the dispute was settled, Billy's wife's reiteration, "I too mad," stayed with me. It helped me to appreciate the basic honesty of these children of nature: no soft words covered angry thoughts; no smile hid a broken heart. They expressed their emotions, with zest and energy and, if the occasion required, with violence, as did the Bear, the Coyote and the Deer who, from the Days of Old, had taught the Havasupai the wisdom they themselves had gleaned from the wilderness when time was young.

2:11iff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

To the Mouth of the Havasu

576 Late one evening Frances and I were lingering at the supper table talking over the events of the day, when there came a sharp knock on the door. This was surprising as a Havasupai did not knock. He framed his face with his hands and looked in through the window or threw the door open and stalked in, accustomed to latchless doors. Also, after darkness fell he stayed close to his own 775 campfire and the living, for the ghosts of the dead walked at night. The person outside our door was not an Indian.

006 Frances and I were the only white people in the canyon. Miss Goenawein and Mr. Burnett had driven to Seligman on business. The night was dark, and neither of us felt too brave when we opened the door to a stranger, since we were completely alone, the policeman being at home a mile farther down the canyon.

George Wharton James, author of several books on Indians of the Southwest, introduced himself.

Mr. James had established his headquarters at the home of a village Indian whose friendship he had won on previous visits to the tribe. This time he had come prepared for a trip he declared no white person had ever made—the descent of the Havasu Canyon to its junction with the Grand Canyon. He had engaged Ute, a very old Indian, blind in one eye, as guide. He suggested that the ride might be interesting for us.

We couldn't miss this adventure! I had determined that I would not leave the school until I had followed the Havasu stream from

Sedliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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its turbulent source to its end, where it tumbled into the mighty Colorado. So when Mr. Janes returned to his camp, Frances and I began assembling the supplies we should need for the two-day journey.

Early the next morning the supervisor of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve and a ranger arrived at the house. They had come to investigate conditions at Mooney Falls. Our trail would lead by the falls, so we invited them to ride with us that far.

Frances planned to ride the only trustworthy burro in our herd, a quick-stepping, sturdy animal. I intended to hire a horse in the village, so went down early to select one that could travel rough country. When the Indians learned that we were attempting the route to the Grand Canyon, trailless below Mooney, they shook their heads, declaring that no horse could make it. I suspected this was a buildup for bargaining as to price, so reminded them that old Ute had scouted out the way in order to serve Mr. James as guide. They admitted, "Mybe one, two Indians go; maybe horse break leg on rocks." As usual, a crowd had gathered to consider, craftily, whether or not the venture was feasible. As the leisurely discussion continued, the price asked for a horse soared until it almost equaled the value of the animal.

Then Walapai Bill, a square-shouldered man of middle age, spoke, "You take my horse. I bring your house pretty quick." He and I made a bargain, while the crowd murmured at his reasonable price of five dollars, which I quickly accepted.

When we were ready to start, I put Vesnor in charge of the school property until Mr. Burnett returned later that morning. Then I thrust my foot into the stirrup and sprang to the back of Walapai Bill's big, bonyhorse—only to discover that I was not being a lady! Ladies were assisted in mounting, I remembered, too late, when I glanced down at the cupped hand of the gallant young rancher and saw the surprised look on his face.

As we followed the trail through the village, the Indians were free with their comments. It was common knowledge that an Indian could endure hunger, thirst, and exposure. But Hicos were

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Havasupai

soft. They joked, hilariously mimicking the picture we would make on our return—wilted as a squash vine severed from its root.

We jogged on until we came to the mile-long strip the Indians used as a race course. Without an instant's warning, my horse took the bit in his teeth and ran like the wind. At the mile's end, he stopped, heaving and gasping for air. He was, I discovered later, Walapai Bill's best race horse.

Our party of three and the two men from the forest reserve followed old Ute along the widening stream, which was so highly charged with minerals that every root, branch or leaf obstructing its flow was coated with solid stone. I gathered some of these leaves from the stream; each tiny vein and serrated edge was plainly marked in the stone coating. The debris along the banks had been transformed into a filigree of great beauty, concealing hollow places and deep caverns that became a danger when one walked too near the edge.

We passed Navaho Falls, so concealed in its jungle of tangled growth that we could not see it, but only heard its roar as it dashed over cliffs and boulders. This was the first large falls, and by some considered the most beautiful, perhaps because of its isolation.

The stream dropped rapidly, but we continued at the same level, traveling on a wide shelf that flanked the chasm. On the rim above Bridal Veil Falls we halted and looked down on the impressive scene two hundred feet below. Here the canyon formed a bowl or amphitheater, centering attention on the falls. The river spread across a high, wide cliff, dropping like a wind-tossed, gossamer veil into a deep blue pool. Thick mysterious folds of mist churned up from the pool, curtaining the gnomelike caves. Weird mineral formations, deposited by the water on shrubs and vines, covered the canyon walls on either side. Shaded by tall trees, the floor of the bowl was a tangle of bright green grass, climbing clematis, mosses, ferns and columbine.

In the past weeks we had visited this amphitheater several times and entered the caves back of the falls, finding giant stalactites and stalagmites and long stone-coated tendrils of maidenhair fern,

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

fragile as old lace. Branches of trees, roots and trailing vines, heavily encrusted with mineral, hung over and almost concealed the entrances to the caves. We broke off some of these and found the wood, in some instances, still green and alive underneath.

As we continued down the trail we rode to the rim again and again, unable to resist the wild beauty of our river, roaring with such violence through its narrow gorge.

We passed Crematory Gulch, a western branch of our canyon where the Indians had cremated their dead before accepting the practice of burying in a canyon nearer the school. A former employee once told me that he had visited Crematory Gulch and was surprised to find large Navaho blankets, undamaged by fire, medicine gourds, saddles and, most gruesome of all, the partly burned club of a man's graying hair. He fully realized the danger of desecrating an Indian cemetery, but slipped away with a shaman's gourd rattle. At the time he told me of his venture, he was hoping for an opportunity for a second visit, but whenever he made the attempt, an Indian appeared with disconcerting suddenness, and stood, watching, until he gave up the quest.

We rode to the brink to look down on Mooney Falls where the river roared in a solid column over a ledge higher than Niagara. The noise of its crash into the foaming pool below was deafening; the picture it made, hundreds of feet below us, was like a bit of toyland. Mineral accretions were plastered, like the halves of umbrellas, against the sides of the precipice. I knew that just below our feet were the dangling remains of the frail Indian ladder down which Lanoman and his friends had tenderly lowered his young wife to her funeral pyre. There, too, rested the bones of James Mooney, a sailor turned prospector, who with a few companions had tried to descend below the falls to locate abandoned mines, about which he had heard such fantastic tales. The rope they lowered over the precipice had been too short, and Mooney, the first to make the descent, fell to his death. As a tribute to his memory, white people gave the falls his name, but the Indians continued to use "Mother of the Waters." I thought of those two,

800 resting there in the shadowy gorge, where nature rioted and roared; and yet, in the cool, protected place where they slept, there was an inner quietness and soul-resting peace. Reluctantly we turned our mounts back to the trail, leaving the park officials to make their observations at the falls. We did not suspect it then, but later we had reason to believe that their visit resulted in an invasion of the canyon that filled the Indians with terror.

132 The sun's rays had by now reached us. And the parching waves of heat which the walls reflected filled us with almost unbearable thirst. A large fat dog that we had not been able to prevent following us, crept under bushes or ledges of rock for one precious moment of shade, then ran, panting, to catch up with us. Finally he crawled under a rock and his pitiful moans told us that for him the journey had ended. On our return, we found his body huddled far back under a shelf of stone.

133 Beaver Canyon, a narrow crack in the terrain over which we were traveling, cut across our path. A short bridge would have spanned it, but when we peered into its depths it seemed bottomless; we made the twenty-mile detour around it. We had had no 000 food since our early breakfast, so after rounding the canyon's head at four o'clock, we dismounted and prepared supper. Ute slid over a steep incline into the gorge, and filled two canteens from a spring. Our fried chicken, hard-boiled eggs, green beans, peaches and cocoa disappeared so rapidly that we were appalled when we discovered that Ute, who had agreed to bring his own food, had only a green watermelon (which he declined to cut) and a few peaches. We shared with him, and he was quite pleased with our contribution. We had yet to learn that an Indian carries a minimum of food and travels long stretches without water.

When we had finally completed the long detour around Beaver Canyon, Ute led us to a "rain tank" and the horses had their first drink since we had left home. Then darkness settled down rapidly and it was time to make camp. While we ate a hasty lunch from 609 a shelf of stone, Ute cut his green watermelon and devoured it noisily in addition to the food we gave to him. He held himself

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aloof in true old-Indian fashion. A younger Havasupai would have made himself one of the party and pointed out places that had made tribal history, but Ute wrapped himself in profound silence. Later, when mosquitoes, gnats and flies came from out of nowhere to torment us, he built a fire and tended it all night to keep them at a distance. Frances and I spread our blankets near a boulder, and I slept until the dazzling moonlight awakened me. The night was too gorgeous to waste in sleep. I lay awake for hours on the hard sand, under the deep blue desert sky, watching the brilliant stars and a majestic moon riding the heavens.

We ate breakfast by moonlight, and packed the burros for an early start. The day would bring heat and burning sand, and we had only one canteen of water left. There was no trail now. Frequently we forced our horses up banks and over boulders, while we walked to make the climb possible for them. Old Ute led the way, and I kept close to his horse's heels. His one good eye was quick in locating landmarks and in finding the faint imprints of his horse's hoofs, made on his scouting trip. When we approached a rough stretch, he motioned for us to dismount. This passed, he would give an upward fling of his hand as a signal for us to climb on our horses. Once when he gave the signal to remount, he turned to me and his wrinkled face broke in a grin as he spoke the Havasupai word for mounting a horse. Before that, he had been just an elderly guide, unkempt and uncommunicative. The friendly gesture and his willingness to teach the Hicos changed his status—old Ute became human and likable.

I brought my horse as close to his as the rough ground would permit, and repeated the word. He made me say it over and over until he approved accent and pronunciation, then he asked, *"Hico, cavin?* (White people say what?)" I told him, "Mount horse." He jogged along, repeating "Mount hoss, mount hoss," until he had the words memorized. We took other words, the names of plants, animals and things, which he taught me, then I gave him the English equivalent, each of us playing the game with relish.

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Mr. James and Frances brought up the rear, taking turns in releasing the young pack burro from the catclaw bushes into which she repeatedly rammed her way—packsaddle and all—in order to thrust her head into the cooling shade. Occasionally I interrupted my lesson with old Ute to take my turn at extricating the animal from a thorn bush.

About eleven o'clock that morning, old Ute pointed ahead and shouted excitedly, "Hackataia! Hackataia! (Roaring noise!)"—the Colorado River. In the distance we saw the red north wall of the Grand Canyon. We rode on as far as the horses could travel then tied them to some bushes and climbed a mile to a point where Havasu Canyon joined the Grand Canyon.

I had promised myself that I would not leave the school until I had traced the Blue Water from its source to its mouth. This was the end of the stream. In one of his books, Mr. James had expressed the hope that he might make this trip we had just completed; so he too had realized an ambition.

So far as we were able to learn, no white person had ever before stood on this point—two thousand feet above the rivers and several thousand feet below the upper rim of the canyon. We could neither climb down the precipitous wall to the water nor make our way over the canyoned white limestone to the plateau, but must return by the route we had come.

The Colorado—two thousand feet down—was no more than a brown ribbon, twisting, and threshing its way through a crooked gorge. At this point it made a turn, and into the apex of the curve the Havasu River poured its torrent of blue, sparkling water. Its clear, strong current could be traced for a long distance before it disappeared in the muddy water of the larger river. Havasu Canyon was filled from wall to wall with a dense, green jungle, forming a vivid contrast to the bed of sand and stone through which the Colorado roars.

I took my camera and went to the rim. Below were outjutting rocks from which I could get a picture of the junction of the two rivers. I eased my way down but the heat curled the film, making

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it useless. The rocks were scorching hot, the canyon terrifyingly deep; I became so dizzy that I crawled back to the rim with great difficulty.

After lunch we started home. The heat increased; we suffered with thirst, for both canteens were empty. After several miles, Ute led us to a "rain tank" in a side gulch, to which we could not take the horses. We lay flat on the ground and drank our fill of the stagnant rain water that had collected in the concave surface of a layer of stone. Then we noticed a half-dozen lizards, white stomachs turned to the sky, floating on its surface. Within a few minutes I developed a blinding headache and could not sit in the saddle. I lay in the shade of a mesquite while Frances bathed my face with some of the water which we had reluctantly poured into the canteens, and massaged the tight cords in the back of my neck until I was able to ride again. This was as near sunstroke as I ever wish to be.

Late that afternoon we returned to the pool where we had watered the horses the previous day. They were wild for water. Ute's horse reached it first, and drank until he began to bloat and groan in agony; so Frances and I took ours away before they could satisfy their thirst. We urged the horses on, conscious of that long detour around Beaver Canyon. Finally we arrived at our quarters, tired, hungry and dirty, but filled with a vision that time cannot erase of angry waters fighting their way through stone walls.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Havasupai Home Life

595 I had discovered by this time that there were polygamous marriages among the Havasupai, and often wondered how much they disturbed the serenity of the homes involved. And then one day during a visit to the village, Head Chief Manakadja led me to one of two brush wickiups set in the same yard. Entering, with me, he pointed to an elderly woman sitting in a corner, shelling corn, and said laconically, "Old wife." Returning to the yard, we entered the second wickiup. A woman much younger than the "old wife" sat within, weaving a basket. In the same matter-of-fact fashion Manakadja pointed to her and remarked, "Young wife," then hurried through the low doorway to identify, by name, his children playing in the yard, several of whom were enrolled in school.

595 648 The innocent way in which he had called my attention to his two households made it difficult for me to break the news which surely would be a staggering blow to him. But I could not ignore the Commissioner's order to field officials regarding polygamous relations without taking a chance of being called to account. So I explained, "The Great Father in Washington made a paper talk; he said an Indian may have one wife, only one. You have two."

Manakadja stood for a bewildered moment just staring at me, then he asked, "What they do, wife, chillen, I no keep? Where go?"

[p.138]

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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

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Havasupai

thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women saw to that,

Bailiff Y-8 (ca. 1951) 1954 HT14 Pistons Tucson HT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

Bliff T-8 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smoke or hunting

BIUF T-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 HT14 Plateau Yuman HT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

Bailiff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
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the custom among the Walapai. One day, in fact, I came upon a wickiup housing four generations. They were all assembled in the yard that afternoon: blind great-grandfather, sprightly grandfather, father and son—talking and laughing, the older men smoking their pipes. Near by, a partially blind elderly woman, who had lost her husband, kept house for her grandchildren. Others, childless and too old to work, were living out their lives comfortably in the homes of relatives.

This village with its abundance of food and carefree atmosphere formed a strange contrast to the Walapai community, where hunger nibbled at the edges, and poverty and sickness stalked within. Contentment, even happiness permeated the village. Secure in their homes, crop failures unknown, storehouses filled, the People of the Blue Water very naturally remained loyal to their gods, who, from the Days of Old, had watched over the Havasupai families and provided for their welfare.

Saint Y-6 (ca. 1961) 1964 HT14 Plateau Tumame HT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a head-scratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

Necessity had devised this clever instrument, for even though we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the head-scratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

Billiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill. 155

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick. [609]

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanceman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set 156

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756 man, a good mixer, jolly, with none of the defensive reserve and ostentation of the ordinary shaman. Rock Jones was a stolid, good-natured man. Both he and Bob occasionally rode up to the school for a social visit.

These two had a common distinction: each claimed that a dying shaman, a blood relative, had instructed him in the art of healing and had bequeathed to him his own shamanistic spirit, his songs, gourd rattles and the other paraphernalia he himself had used in his practice. This was the easiest and quickest way by which a man could acquire the knowledge and skill a medicine man must have. Otherwise, he must seek one of the animal spirits created by the mythic people of the Long Ago who had hidden it away in a world reached only through dreams. This took time and the result was uncertain, for if the spirit refused to enter his body, his ambition was never realized.

756 If an aspirant dreamed of hunting deer, it indicated his sha-787 manistic spirit was the deer spirit; or his dream might be of a wolf, coyote or some other animal. The animal that came in his dream was the one whose spirit he must own if he were to become a healer. Night after night he concentrated on wooing this spirit, discouraged when it coyly approached only to vanish, but continuing his efforts until he had it safely within his body. Then it was his to command. He could dispatch it on missions to ferret out information of an occult nature, things human beings could not learn for themselves, or he could send it scurrying through the body of the sick to discover the cause of the illness. While on such missions, the spirit could be heard talking to the shaman; when it returned, you could see the shaman gulp it down and hear it talk or sing, telling him all that it had seen or heard.

Those who had not inherited a dying shaman's songs must dream their own. First, a rattle was made by removing the pulp from a gourd, inserting pebbles, and attaching a wooden handle that would withstand vigorous use. This was placed within easy reach while the man slept. When a thread of song ran through his dreams, he roused quickly, seized his gourd and, rattling an

Cliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1883) 1884 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 liquid, and asked anxiously, "Heap good? You think heap good?"

My first impulse was to tell him honestly, "No, I do not think heap good, but it is the only medicine on these shelves that I know how to give, except quinine and castor oil." But honesty would have destroyed the spark of hope his face still held, so I replied, "It will ease Jasper's cough, and I hope will help him to get well."

After he had gone, I looked upon the rows of bottles and tins with positive loathing; drugs enough to stock a drugstore, but useless to us. Most of the containers had never been opened. Who had requisitioned them? Why had such a requisition been honored when the school had never had a doctor nor a nurse nor anyone who was legally qualified to dispense drugs? A visiting official had exclaimed, "You have enough drugs to last the city of Chicago for ten years. What can you do with them?" The Indians asked for medicine only on rare occasions; their suspicion of the white man's drugs was greater than their doubt of their own medicine men's skill. Giving this no thought, I had sent medicine to Jasper. If they gave him a dose or two, and the boy died, it would be a matter of cause and effect, and the blame would be mine.

Two days later, Manakadja was back; hope had given way to despair. "You give 'em new uniform, bury my boy," he requested.

Surprised and shocked, I asked, "Is Jasper dead?"

"Pretty quick die," he said, his face tight and gray with suffering.

"Did you give him the medicine?" I asked, anxious to learn what had been done with the cough sirup.

He shook his head. "I taste. No good."

I was so relieved to learn that Jasper's relapse could not be laid to the cough sirup that I gave Manakadja a new school uniform without waiting to learn whether or not I had authority to issue government clothing for the dead.

163 It was the custom to gather about the sick and mourn, telling

2:Hiff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *tukaiwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Iliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

2:Iliff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
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it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realise how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilization.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tokolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devastating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tions to healing by diagnosis and medicine, but no medical doctor was available. Washington was too far away to recognize its opportunity to teach the Havasupai and their shamans a better and a safer way to cure illness.

The people themselves had not lost their peculiar intuition. They gathered about the sick and freely expressed their opinion. Sometimes it would be, "Pretty quick, die. Maybe sun go down." If they formed a favorable opinion, the announcement would be, "You get well, four, five suns."

When I was taken sick shortly after my arrival, I found comfort in the more cheering of the two verdicts.

I could not diagnose my ailment; even had I been able to do so I should not have known which drug of those we had on hand would be the proper remedy. Perhaps each twinge of pain was intensified by the knowledge that no matter how ill I became no doctor would come to help me. But the Indians came. News went through the village that Hico (white person) was sick, and they flocked to see me. They stood off a short distance from my bed, each uneasily making his careful scrutiny. They were looking for the sunken eyes, the pinched nostrils, the pallid skin—symptoms that had a special significance. They shifted their positions, pointed and gestured and talked in low voices, then the spokesman pronounced their opinion: "Pretty quick, get well. Indians sick all same, get well all right." They had not seen "the look of death" in my face. They filed out as silently as they had entered, and their visit did me as much good as one from a medical doctor. They had said I'd get well. And they usually were right about that "look of death."

Years after I left the canyon, the doubt Navaho had planted as to the shamans' integrity began to diminish. The medicine men took courage and resumed their calling. Men again placed gourd rattles by their beds and lay dreaming, avidly awaiting the coming of the spirit, the revelation of the songs. Some of these new seekers had been pupils of mine. Among them was a boy named Mark, who learned to rattle the gourd, to sing and to suck from the flesh the spirit that caused the sickness.

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156 On the other hand, Bob lost faith in the shamanistic spirit he had inherited. When he himself became sick, and it failed to heal him, he ordered that at his death the tools he had used in his practice be destroyed. With scrupulous honesty he refused to bequeath his shamanistic spirit to another or to teach his songs to a tribesman. Like *Those of Old*, Bob was an uncompromising realist, and I have often thought that in his integrity he was unconsciously pointing the way to a brighter future for his people.

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Talking Stones

An evening with an old storyteller sitting by his outdoor fire, pipe in hand, means a tale worth remembering. In this setting, the old man passed on to the children the legends of the tribe's wanderings. Of course each narrator spiced his tale with a little of himself, his imagination, his whimsy or his logic. But the theme never varied: always the gods led the Havasupai. When memory grew dim, these storytellers need only tread again an ancient trail, peer into a long-abandoned cave, or read the messages on boulders and stone walls to recapture the story's flavor and sequence of events. Of these legends, one, at least, certainly had the ring of truth.

Evidence other than Indian lore indicates that, generations back, the Havasupai lived in the region of the Little Colorado River. They may have settled there after the god Tochopa, on account of the crowded conditions in Matthewedits Canyon, dispersed the tribes. However, this new location again placed the tribe within raiding distance of the savage Whajes (Apache), who relentlessly drove them from their cliff dwellings and gardens to wander in an unfriendly wilderness. The tribe crossed the desert to the San Francisco Mountains, but even here they could not live in peace, so again took the westward trail, seeking the home to which their gods would lead them. A canyon cut across their path. They worked their way down its rugged walls to the floor—an oasis of greenery cut by a rollicking stream of blue water.

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Bliff Y-8 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

Desert weary, they tarried by the stream, reluctant to leave a spot that had everything they so much desired, but their gods had not yet spoken. Discouraged, they began the long climb up to the plateau and westward. A child cried. The procession halted and the child's voice was stilled. Each effort to resume the journey brought that cry of protest. The wise men quickly issued their edict: "The gods speak to us through the voice of the child; this is the home to which they have led us."

Joyously the people unpacked their loads and began building houses and making gardens.

Handed down through many generations, this old tale expresses the Indians' desire to lay in the laps of the gods every problem that affects their lives. On the canyon rim overlooking a wide section of the floor, they found the god-spirit in two gigantic pillars of stone. So they built their houses on either side of the stream of blue water where the gods could watch over them night and day.

The Indians' accounts of the god-spirit residing in the two stones turned our attention to the walls of the gorge. Miss Goenawein, the only old-timer employed at the school, had visited every point of interest within walking distance, so she acted as guide.

From the Indians she had learned of the Black Man. After Sunday school she took Frances and me to a side canyon where we gazed up at the shiny, black form of a giant stone man, lying prone as if he had dropped down and fallen asleep. We stood in the hot sun, trying to discover what force had caught and held the black mineral while the red sandstone built its layers around it. Doubtless the old men had a tale about this phenomenon, had we asked them. But in the discomfort of the intense heat and the sunlight striking our faces as we gazed upward, our interest in the Black Man quickly vanished. So we wandered over to examine some pictographs on a boulder, beautiful primitive art that could hold one entranced indefinitely.

The boulder stood in the center of the canyon; the base, worn away on one side, left a projecting ledge some four feet above the ground. Stooping low, we crawled under the ledge, straining for

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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a view of the ceiling. It had been polished smooth, then completely covered with pictures, doubtless the key to the tribe's history, the handwriting of Those of the Long Ago.

Several animals which we could not identify were artistically outlined; also done in outline was the buckskin-clad figure of an Indian. Two small right hands, evidently those of a child, had been placed palms down on the ceiling and outlined with white native paint. There were circles, divided into segments which contained symbols. We twisted our necks until they ached, tracing and studying, but the pictures were as meaningless to us as the written words of our language would have been to the people who placed them there. In various other parts of the canyon there were hieroglyphics in strategic places on stones or walls, some depicting the Great Serpent, which must have played an important part in tribal legends. The tribe's old men explained these paintings by saying that when the Apaches and other enemy tribes slipped in and drove the Havasupai out of the canyon, the Havasupai hastily placed them there as messages. These gave the direction the tribe was traveling and its destination for the guidance of those separated from the main body. That may have been true of some of the pictographs, but those on the under side of the boulder were the work of a painstaking artist, possibly created for a hunting shrine, where men offered prayers for success in the chase.

The sun had long since dropped below the rim and deep shadows filled the gorge. We had tramped six miles and were dreading the walk home. Then we saw an Indian pony nibbling at the sparse grass. It lifted its head, gave us a questioning look and came toward us. I took off my petticoat, tore it in strips which we tied in a rope. One of us rode while another led—the gods had been kind to us too! When we released the pony at the school he went running back to his pasture.

Our next exploring trip wasn't just a jaunt by three women; we had an escort, Mr. Burnett, the farmer, and his constant companion, a big yellow dog.

We had heard rumors of a secret crack in the canyon wall through

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Havasupai

which the Indians fled to the outside when pressed by enemy invaders. Immediately we planned to investigate. When Vesner learned that we intended to go through the passage, he shook his head gravely and cautioned, "Indian moccasin walk trail all right. Think white man shoe no good." Before we were through with the experience we agreed with him.

After a walk of several miles, we stood in a side gorge and gazed up at a long triangular crevice that split the wall to an incredible height. A ledge of stone, fifty feet above the canyon floor, seemed to form the base from which the crack rose to an apex. We realized that this might prove a little more dangerous than some of our other ventures—but if the Indians went through, so could we. It would be worth the climb to stand under the open sky free from sharp, enclosing walls.

Two Indian ladders (logs on which crosspieces of heavy sticks were tied with leather thongs) took us up to the stone ledge. The loose rungs, giving under our feet, swayed the logs threatening to spill us. Shaky from our tussle with the ladders, we pulled ourselves up, single file, onto the stone ledge and faced the entrance to the crevice through which ran the old Indian trail. And behold! this was not the base of the crack at all, but its center—the fissure continued downward so deep into the earth that we could not see the point where its sides met. The trail, a mere edge of stone clinging to one of the close-set walls, ran through the narrow crevice midway between the top and the distant bottom.

Mr. Burnett took one look at the precarious trail, then scrambled down the ladders as fast as he dared to solid ground, where his dog anxiously awaited him. How deserted we felt when he left us to face the dark passage alone! I began to realize that we might encounter unsurmountable difficulties in that thin crack before it landed us somewhere "up above." We stood peering into its darkness, wondering what force had cut this vertical chasm through solid stone. Had a river come in from the plateau, carving its way through the sandstone wall, then disappeared? Or had an earth tremor split the stone apart? A few yards ahead the jagged walls

Bailiff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

seemed to reach across and touch, but the entrance was fairly wide. Rather than turn back, we started the climb. 487 133

The trail grew narrower as we advanced toward the earth's interior, the light from the entrance dimmer, the walls damper. Then, in the darkness, we came to that tricky section that is dreaded by those who use the trail. The ledge we followed disappeared. There were only rounded knobs on the wall for footholds, slippery with the slime and water that oozed over them. Oh, what a fall we might take! We did as the Indians must have done, leaned across the narrow chasm, pressing our hands against the opposite wall to brace ourselves, and cautiously stepped from knob to knob. We tried to keep our nerves steady by refusing to look down at the close-set, ragged walls which fell away to such terrifying depths. I wanted to get down and crawl, but the knobs were too small, spaced too far apart.

Vernor had warned us, so we had put on shoes suitable for climbing, but I kept thinking of the moccasined feet that had worn this path, and the surer ease with which they walked. I knew that one misstep would plunge me to those sharp points far below, or farther down to the bottom of the slimy crevice.

After what seemed endless hours, a dim light appeared ahead. It grew brighter as we worked our way toward it. Presently we emerged in a deep, bowl-shaped depression, but a stone roof above the bowl shut out the sunlight.

Miss Goenawein used the Indians' footholds, while Frances and I boosted her up to the surface. Then she pulled and Frances boosted me out of the hole; together, we pulled Frances up. We were bent double under a boulder that would have completely covered the bowl from which we had just climbed, had not this section of its base been broken away. Crawling out into brilliant sunshine reflected from miles and miles of sparkling sand and red bluffs, we were careful not to stray far from this boulder that hid the mouth of the crevice, for there were thousands of others like it strewn over the barren land. We lacked the Indians' instinct to mark a spot so surely that it could never be lost.

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Havasupai

Over at the rim, we looked down into the canyon we had so recently left, trying to locate the farmer and his dog, but they were not within sight. We stood about, discussing the Indians' frantic escapes through the crevice, and the fact that now it was a short cut for men who had a few ponies grazing on this level. Then one of the girls, just to hear the racket it would make, pushed a small boulder over the edge. Others followed. As they clattered over the wall, striking projections and bouncing far out into the canyon, the farmer came into view, running for his life, his dog leaping at his heels. We were as frightened as he, for we still could hear the falling stones crashing their way down, and knew that if one struck him, the blow would be fatal. We returned, as fast as the slippery crevice would permit and descended the wobbly ladders to the canyon floor.

The farmer confronted us with blazing eyes. "Those stones you rolled down would have killed me and my dog if we hadn't run with all our might," he exploded.

We tried to explain and apologized, but realized we could never again persuade him to accompany us on an exploring trip.

At our cottage, old Gentle Annie in her accustomed place at the foot of the cottonwood, waited for me. She wore a strawberry-red dress, my dress. She had wanted clothes, but could no longer see well enough to make them. So each time I came within reach, she grabbed my skirt and begged, "Dress, you give 'em." I was obligated, in a way: hadn't she shared her mescal slab with me? So I had given her the brightest dress I owned. She had been effusive in her appreciation, put it on over her other dress and walked proudly home. As I watched her, aged and tired, making her slow way down the path, I thought of the young wife she had been, standing by her man's side, fiercely defending their possessions, their home and her own body from the grasping hands of the enemy. One of these battles was particularly vivid in her memory.

In their younger days, Annie and her man had lived for a time in a cave high up on the canyon wall. In the dark hours of a summer morning, they were awakened by the soft scuff of moccasined feet.

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Havasupai

Dimly they saw the hurrying forms of the enemy slipping stealthily past the mouth of their cave toward the village. Escaping through a rear opening, the young couple were working their way down the wall, leaping crevices, scrambling down cliffs, hurrying to warn their tribesmen, when, with a triumphant yell, the invaders gave chase. Gentle Annie and her man outran their pursuers and reached the village already alarmed by the commotion and frantically arming for defense.

At nightfall, when the thieving marauders retreated laden with booty, fighting their way up the trail, many dead, both enemy and tribesmen, lay on the canyon floor. Houses had been emptied of their dried corn, pumpkin and venison. Warm blankets were gone. Corrals held no ponies. Children had been orphaned. Bitterness was in the hearts of the Havasupai at the loss of their tribesmen, and the prospect of the almost impossible task of again providing against the cold winter.

In trying to describe the bitter fight, in the few English words at her command, Gentle Annie's knotted hands clenched and her dark eyes flashed with the violence of her emotions in living again the cruelty and hardship. "We work, we make—they take," was the simple statement that ended her story. The strawberry-red dress was a small gift but it had brought momentary happiness to an old woman in whom the fire of youth had not completely died.

On this visit, Gentle Annie was not thinking of wars; she had business to transact. She carried a little basket containing five fresh figs; offering them to me, she said, "Figs, pive cent." I bought her figs, split them open and laid them on my window sill to dry. Within a few days they would be rich and sweet.

One day Miss Goenawein mentioned some small rooms or caves excavated in the sandstone wall beneath the gods, that held secrets of the tribe's exciting Days of the Long Ago. My old urge to explore flared. I wanted to learn what possible use the caves had been to these canyon dwellers. Were they granaries such as honeycombed the walls on either side of the village? Were their interiors brightened with pictographs recounting the tribe's turbulent past?

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Havasupai

[33] Were they carved there by Those of Old? A short trip might give the answer.

We scrambled up the talus on one of the steepest trails I had ever climbed, followed a ledge until we came to many openings in the face of the wall, each a tiny doorway. Stooping, we passed through one of the doorways, but could not stand erect under the low ceiling. The sandstone walls were bare. The floor beneath our feet gave a hollow sound for the caves were in tiers; a row of such cavities was immediately below the ones on this level. The ledge formed a path on which the occupants could pass from one cave to another.

We returned to the ledge and looked down on the peaceful scene so far below: the village, bathed in dazzling sunlight . . . men drying buckskin . . . women weaving baskets or gambling fiercely under their porch shelters . . . a wide pool, dark with the bodies of frolicking children. What need had these people for dome-shaped holes in their canyon wall, holes that bore no evidence of recent use? Yet across the canyon on a flat-topped bluff stood a [112] foot; through the postholes in its masonry, the canyon could be defended from wall to wall—with help from these ledges.

726 714 With the battlefield a panorama below us it was easy to visualize the battles that had been fought on the canyon floor, Gentle Annie and others of her generation unwilling participants. In preparation, the Havasupai armor-bearers hastily scrambled into their armor—buckskin robes falling from their necks almost to the feet protecting the body front and rear, a wad of buckskin in the left hand to protect the face, a roll of it about the neck, the right hand free to wield hatchet or club. The shield-bearers, carrying strong wooden sticks from which buckskin aprons depended, accompanied the armor-bearers in the forefront of the battle or, in retreat, covered the rear. The shield-bearers were of particular importance, for the enemies' arrows clung to their buckskin shields or fell harmlessly from them. Armed men, crouched in the protection of these shields, sent their salvos against the enemy at every opportunity, while the armor-bearers clubbed and beat the invaders.

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Havasupai

Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert regions, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted sagebrush leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took up the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance; as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

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Havasupai

It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Bloody scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, putting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

9.01ff 7-5 (ss. 1961) 1804 HT14 Plateau Tumsm HT14
Havasupai

conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vernor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vernor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately these tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

[illegible] Y-6 (no. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tamam NT14
Navampai

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Day the Mail Did Not Go

At four o'clock one morning I was awakened by a loud pounding on my bedroom door. Miss Goemaetin was calling excitedly, "Miss Gregg! Miss Gregg! Come here—hurry!"

I sprang out of bed, shoved my feet into slippers, pulled on a robe and ran to her room. There in the open doorway stood Spoonhead, the mail carrier, the mail pouch clutched in his hand. His long, queer head looked more than ever like the bowl of a spoon as I stared at him, wondering what mischief he had cooked up to get me out of bed at this hour.

His pony stood in the yard, bridle rein dangling. The saddle was decorated like a Christmas tree with Spoonhead's numerous bundles: food for himself and his horse, extra clothing for the cold nights on the mesa, and those mysterious knickknacks he took on such trips. I did not notice the absence of the large, red Navaho blanket he always carried neatly rolled and strapped to the back of his saddle, until he began gesticulating wildly and shouted, "My blanket! He steal 'em. He go there." He pointed to the base of the canyon wall.

There I saw a short, heavy-set Indian with a blanket thrown across his shoulders, crouched low, running stealthily from bush to bush, seeking cover for escape. In the dim light we caught only fleeting glimpses of the man. I could not understand why Spoonhead did not give chase and try to retrieve his property.

Bliff T-6 (ca. 1961) 1964 HT14 Flagstaff Tuba HT14
Havasupai

"Go after him and get your blanket!" I exclaimed, almost as excited as Spoonhead was.

He did not move. Instead he was watching me brightly, sure that the Hero would settle the difficulty; why else was she here? When he realized that I had no intention of chasing the thief, his elongated face grew inches longer.

"Tell me that man's name," I said. "You know who he is."

"Plenty dark. No can see," was his naive reply.

Later, I learned his reason for evasion. If he betrayed the thief, he would betray himself. Spoonhead wanted his blanket but with no questions asked. He had no intention of catching the thief, and when he made up his mind that I had none, he said, "No take mail. No go. Get no blanket. Plenty cold up there." He dropped the mail pouch to the floor.

"Get on your horse. The mail must go," I told him. "I'll get you a blanket."

At that moment the thief dashed from behind a boulder to a mesquite bush, and I recognized him.

"That's Walapai Bill!" I exclaimed. "You knew all the time it was he. Find Vernon and tell him to meet me at Walapai Bill's camp. You go there with him."

In the excitement I too was forgetting the sanctity of the United States mail and the tradition that come hell or high water nothing must interfere with its transportation.

The morning still held that drabness that precedes the dawn, and the usual thick fog hung just above the ground, so I went to my room to put on warm clothing.

Like a damp thread the narrow trail wound through dense underbrush so high that it met overhead, with every leaf and twig dripping water. Along the path I caught glimpses of watching eyes that moved through the brush as I moved, but drew back and vanished when I looked directly at them. The village was astir and palpitating with the news that an old feud had flared up anew. Like curious, impetuous children the Indians peeped from bushes and doorways, unwilling to miss an instant's excitement that could

Bliff Y-8 (ca. 1961) 1964 MT14 Plateau Yumans MT14
Havasupai

be caught and later exaggerated to entertain relatives and friends.

Walapai Bill's house was a low mound of earth with a door in one end. He was in the yard chopping brush in short lengths for his cooking fire.

"I want Spoonhead's blanket," I told him shortly. My patience was not improved by the fact that I was cold and soaking wet.

"Didn't see blanket," he said, his graying head bent over the wood. "You look my house, you no see blanket."

I pushed open the rickety board door that hung on leather hinges and entered. The dirt floor was worn to a saucerlike depression, the sides sloping to the flat circle in the center. A search did not reveal the blanket, which was too large and too vivid in color to be concealed easily. His wife also had disappeared. I went outside as Vesnor and Spoonhead rode up on their ponies.

With his usual astuteness, Vesnor knew exactly where to find the blanket. He pursed his lips and pointed to the canyon wall. "Over there, I think," he said. "Maybe wife hide 'em in storehouse."

"Bring the woman here," I told him, "and make her bring the blanket."

He sprang through the brush, climbed the talus, and followed a trail on a shelf of rock until trees and shrubs hid him from view. The Indians crowded in, forming a half-circle about the hut, eager to see the culprit brought in.

Vesnor returned, his hard right hand firmly grasping the woman's wrist. She followed, pulling back angrily with each step, the heavy blanket across her shoulder. Her lord and master had ordered her to hide his loot in their granary and she had had no choice but to obey.

I sent the Indians home except those actually involved in the theft. I told the women to give their children food and get them ready for school, then I investigated the affair.

Walapai Bill's cockiness melted rapidly when he was told that he could be sent to jail for theft, and that his interfering with the transportation of the United States mail was no light matter. His

Z-1187 Y-6 (ca. 1951) 1984 NT14 Flagstaff Yuman NT14
Havasupai

fat shoulders slumped and his bold daring changed to indecision. He prized above all else his freedom to go where and when he pleased, so built up his defense.

"Long time ago, I go on mess. I hunt seeds, nuts; make good food. I hunt rabbits, deer. Gone long time, maybe so many"—he held up four fingers—"moons. Come home, door all break. Somebody go in house, take saddle blanket. Little one. I think Spoonhead steal 'em. That why I steal Spoonhead blanket. He steal me, I steal him. That way Indians do. Make play like little game; little mad, too."

Spoonhead angrily met the accusation, for not all of the truth had been told, and the blame had been shifted to him. "Long time, Walapai Bill, me, gamble. He lose. One dollar. He no pay. I take blanket. Little one. Worth maybe one dollar," he shouted.

Walapai Bill sheepishly admitted the truth of Spoonhead's statement. Each of them was entirely willing to return the other's blanket for they now realized the gravity of the situation. Spoonhead went to his camp and returned with the saddle blanket which he exchanged for his big Navaho. It remained only for Walapai Bill to pay his debt of honor to wipe out the long-standing feud. Unless this were paid, the good-natured pilfering would start all over again. I suggested that he take care of it. I was not sure that he had the money; if he had, where he kept it was a mystery.

He ducked through his doorway, very reluctantly lifted a rug from the center of the floor, dropped to his knees and began digging in the dirt with both hands. He clawed out the hard-packed soil, tossing the dirt back as a dog throws it when digging a burrow. I watched his queer antics in bewilderment, amused at the concentration with which he worked. Then his pudgy, brown fingers scratched metal and he drew from the hole a rusty baking powder can, with the word "Royal" still legible on its paper cover. He twisted and turned the lid until it came free; then, fumbling around inside, he took a silver dollar from the coins in the can. He handed the dollar to me, and the woebegone look on his face told how hard was the parting. I gave the money to Spoonhead,

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Havasupai

who stuck it in the pocket of his jeans, grunted loudly, mounted his horse and rode off. Now that he had his blanket, he would ride up the trail tomorrow and across the mesa to Seligman, the mail pouch tied to his saddle.

We settled our troubles as they came to us, so the Postmaster General never knew that a game of chance, played several years before, had that day delayed the delivery of the United States mail.

Walapai Bill took the matter seriously when he realized that his crime could have landed him behind bars, and was grateful for the settlement. He offered his hand in friendship, grinned broadly and said, "You ride my horse. I think good you ride him."

The big bay was in a brush corral near the house. His long bony head and long legs reminded me of that dash across the race track on our way to the Grand Canyon. I declined as graciously as possible, for the morning had taken on a new beauty and I wanted to walk home. The fog, that rose nightly from the stream, drifted upward between the red walls, trailing long streamers. The white clouds it formed sailed majestically eastward across the wide strip of blue sky above the village. Rills of sparkling water traced patterns from the stream to the thirsty gardens. The people were tilling the soil, irrigating their crops or eating their early meal.

Kate sat by her outdoor fire, eating toasted sunflower seed from a shallow basket. She grinned at me and I squatted by her fire; its warmth on my cold, wet clothing was something to appreciate. She did not permit my presence to interfere with her breakfast, but scooped up a handful of the crisp seeds, poured them into the right corner of her mouth, moved her jaws for a few seconds, then let an uninterrupted stream of hulls drop from the left corner. Repeatedly she scooped up more seeds, poured them into her mouth without disturbing the outward flow of hulls. It was as mechanical as a gristmill.

"How do you do it, Kate?" I asked, laughing.

She thrust out her tongue. "*It*," she said, moving her tongue across her mouth from right to left. "You try," she invited, pushing the tray toward me.

2.2.1.1 T-4 (ca. 1961) 1954 NT14 Flatmen Tumaum NT14
Havasupai

I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up.

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face.

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes.

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story.

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good miner; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted.

[i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

E411E T-8 (ca. 1981) 1984 HT14 Pimmes Yumam HT14
Havasupai

Her fear became an obsession. She could not sleep, for she was haunted by visions of her husband returning in the darkness to be at her side. She would cry out to him, not in her native tongue, but in the English he had taught her, calling him by his English name, "Why you come, Tom, why you come?" She would point him out to others in the lodge and ask pitifully, "You no see? He there. Why you no see him?" Their inability to see him only increased her confusion. The hallucination tortured her night after weary night. And her repeated question as she stared and pointed crazily at the apparition no one else could see caused the Indians to give her the new name, "You No See," which soon was shortened to Yumoi. For this affliction Bob had asked me to prescribe medicine, but sleep, cough syrup, castor oil or quinine offered no hope. I sent him away empty-handed.

When I saw how great her suffering was, I longed to help her find peace. As tactfully as I could I explained my belief about death, but she sat like a carved image, with terror in her eyes. Watching her weave her intricate design, I took comfort in the thought that in this tribe of too few women, Yumoi would be wooed again and in establishing a new home, the hallucinations would surely be forgotten.

Yet as I walked back along the trail, I could not shake the memory of Yumoi's terror. Childish feuds over trampled corn and stolen blankets were one thing, but this first encounter with a fear so deeply grounded in myth and superstition made me realize how much a part of their living culture it was; and it would become the heritage of our school children, unless counteracted by education.

But the sun's rays were creeping down the white cliffs. Before long Vesnor would be herding the children into the schoolhouse. I would need a more substantial breakfast than a few sunflower seed to fortify me against the further problems of a day in that crowded classroom.

Stitt Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Pioneer Woman NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

175

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care.

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and buried themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast.

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin.

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

E416F T-5 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tumaco NT14
Havasupai

the canyon. Tourists always brought news from the outside—and how welcome that was! And, too, we caught some of their excitement in entering what was, to them, a wonderland. But, since my arrival, so few had come.

One hot summer day, three lads from Princeton, spending their summer vacation hiking across the United States, had walked out from Williams and climbed down the Lee Canyon trail. They were full of fun—and short on food, so we sold them what we could spare from our supplies. They took a quick look around, then went gaily up the Walapai trail to new adventures, leaving me with the feeling that, compared to them, I was very much encompassed by stone walls. Later, the wife of the Governor of Arizona came down with a party of friends to catalogue the flora of the canyon. They camped under the cottonwood, eating their meals from a boulder, quickly finished their work and departed. Their visit heightened our interest in the delicate plants tucked away in cool grottoes as well as in the more abundant hardier ones. And we had met a governor's wife who sacrificed physical comfort for the advancement of science.

Then there was the family from Chicago. They had driven their team across the desert, climbing down the zigzagging Walapai trail and stopped at our door to demand shelter. The frail wife and sick daughter sat their horses, wanting nothing in this world but a bed on which to lay their aching bodies. While I assembled the beds, they rewarded me with a description of the Pacific Ocean as they had seen it that summer, a sea of pale blue fire. Too many fish had perished in some catastrophe in the deep, causing the phosphorescent glow.

Then there had been George Wharton James's visit to the Indian village.

Each one had brought his bit of excitement and information, leaving us the richer for his coming. But now, when we longed only to see again a face from a world that was beginning to seem so remote, to hear what its people were doing, no one but Indians came down the trail.

2AIGH Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

BANC F-S (ca.1981) 1984 M716 Platero Tumaw M716
Havasupai

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these pesne creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

Schiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional 796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralining ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the 527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

796 The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing. 527 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former, 574 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja. Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much 527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past 541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

canyon keeping us awake until weariness deadened the sound. But with the announcement of the first race, the people surged forward, crowding for a place near the track, laughing, shouting and betting on their favorite horses.

Walapai Bill's bay lined up with a dozen other horses for the first race. Had I cared to bet I would have placed my money on him, remembering my wild ride on that same mile-long track. Riderless horses, always betting favorites, were also trained for these races. They started on signal, kept their places in the race and—on occasion—won. No doubt one or more of them had been entered today for excitement was at a peak.

The signal was given, the race was on. Women rushed forward waving their *sutamis* and screaming at the horse on which they had placed bets, "Win race! Win! Win!" Men tossed their hats into the air and shouted.

In the midst of the hullabaloo, I remembered the stack of letters that must be answered before the mail went out the next morning. Unlike the Indians I was not free to work only when it was "little light" and play when I felt like it. Unlike the Indians, too, I had no storehouses bursting with food. My subsistence depended on my efficiency. I had no choice but to leave the merry-making at its height, but not before I'd had a chance to watch Walapai Bill's horse nose up inch by inch and win the race.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Trial by Water

Whenever opportunity offered that hot summer, I slipped on an old dress in lieu of the bathing suit I did not have, and took a plunge in the wide pool only a few yards from our cottage. Completely screened by dense bushes and trees lining its banks, I floated lazily across its surface, catching enchanting visions of red walls and blue sky through the overhanging branches. God put something in running water and in trees that rests the soul; this secluded spot had that quieting touch. In its delicious coolness, I forgot the heat that beat back from the walls, the problems, the feuds, even the suffocating air in the crowded classroom. But duty refused to take a holiday, even in soaring temperatures, so the pool gave only momentary relief. One hope was left to us—the summer rains.

132 We knew that Arizona had a rainy season which broke the heat of its long, dry summers, but none of us realized that nature could react with a deluge out of all proportion to the need.

I doubt if anyone except the Indians knew what a flood would do to the canyon and to the houses and gardens on its floor. The Havasupai had an uncanny weather sense. If we had asked them, they would have interpreted the significance of the signs all about us and told us what to expect. But we didn't ask. The Indians must have been convinced that the Hicos knew everything worth knowing or we wouldn't be there trying to teach them, so they didn't bother to instruct us on the means of escaping from a water-filled canyon.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There was no letup in the heat. It was reflected from the walls in visible waves. Work in the classroom was almost unendurable. Heads nodded sleepily when the hot, still air in the low-ceilinged room became heavy with the smell of campfire smoke and sweat. There had been several sudden, pelting rains that passed quickly, leaving the air momentarily fresh and sweet and a little cooler. Now, we watched our narrow strip of sky for clouds, hoping for another shower. Even the occasional cool breeze that swept through the canyon lost its coolness when it came in contact with our torrid walls, so the nights, too, were hot.

Out under the cottonwood in our front yard, hung a weather-beaten hammock. Night after night Frances and I had tried to sleep in our poorly ventilated, sultry room; so one night I moved out under the tree. I found that making a bed in the tippy contraption was something out of my line, but managed to hold things down until I got in. It was like riding a bucking bronco; the more I struggled to maintain my balance, the more the bed tipped.

The commotion brought faint, squeaking protests from the tree; the small creatures that lived there resented the intrusion. We had amused ourselves many times trying to locate the bats sleeping among the leaves during the day, but I was to have a nocturnal view. At first, a thin squeaking line flew off into the darkness. Then the entire colony rose from the tree, soaring about on kitelike wings, to begin their nocturnal foraging. As if they had held a conference and agreed on the strategy, they swooped down, their bony wings brushing my face and hair. I was outmaneuvered and ran indoors.

The next day was a holiday, dry and hot as any day had been that summer. For a brief space in the afternoon the sunshine grew dim and watery; then, again, hot and bright. A change in weather was impending. We scanned our narrow strip of sky and hoped for one of those refreshing showers. There was only a hazy sky, and now again that peculiar misty sunlight.

Vera, one of the older schoolgirls, had come from the village to make a dress for herself on a school machine, and was hurrying

132 to finish before dark. She was nervous about the weather, but wanted the new dress to wear to Sunday school, so went on with her work.

A hot wind blew through the canyon, bending the trees and swirling the sand about in clouds. Then came a breathless stillness. Vera threw her work aside, and ran out of doors. We followed. With a quick glance at the sky, the girl exclaimed, "Very bad storm up there, very bad!" Vera knew the canyon in all of its moods. She was terrified. So were we. Something sinister was brewing and our strip of sky did not tell us what to expect. If only we could see beyond the rim of that high canyon wall! Suddenly masses of black, heavy clouds boiled into view, rolling and tumbling ominously, the lower folds surging violently upward, those above shooting down in writhing, twisting masses. Through the blackness we caught occasional glimpses of a high greenish ceiling. What would the storm bring? If only wind, the walls would protect us; a hurricane could not negotiate so narrow a gorge; but if the clouds were loaded with water, we were in grave danger.

133 The topography of the surrounding country was against us; the plateau spread, like an open fan, to the south, the east and the west, forming a drainage area of hundreds of square miles which poured its water into our canyon. We didn't realize then that the indentations in the rimrock were old watercourses, which this drainage had cut through the outer limestone walls on its way to our chasm.

132 The stage was set for quick action. The clouds rolled and boiled, but in the canyon there was only stillness, pressing down. The big cottonwood leaves hung limp; the dead air warned of disaster. Then again came that inrush of hot air. The tension eased a little when big, misshapen drops hit the ground with vicious spats. The rain had come, but it was an unnatural rain that filled us with awe.

We retreated to the house and stood in the doorway watching the torrential downpour. Suddenly Vera burst into tears.

"Look! Look!" she cried, pointing to the high canyon wall back of the school building.

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It was covered from top to bottom by a sheet of water. Vera knew what that meant. The canyon might fill to any depth, depending on the quantity of water that poured over the walls added to the amount that fell in the canyon. She wanted the security her own people could give her; they had weathered countless floods. We realized our helplessness, so put a coat about her shoulders and told her to run to the village. She flew down the trail like a frightened deer. Weather-wise as the Indians were, she may have sensed that a cloudburst or storm of destructive violence was imminent. She had barely time to reach the village when the clouds opened, pouring down water in a solid column. 132

The entire west wall as far up and down the canyon as we could see was now hidden behind a curtain of water. Then the east wall, only fifty feet away, was likewise hidden—more drainage from the mesa! Those curtains, hundreds of feet high, were pouring tons of water into our gorge each moment. The thundering noise made conversation impossible unless we shouted. The confusion bewildered us. We tried, hurriedly, to plan, but still held to the foolish hope that the water would drain off as fast as it came in.

Then came a new danger—something beyond our imagining. With startling suddenness, a full-grown river, boiling with sand and debris, leaped over the east wall with a force that shot it far out into the canyon and a roar that drowned the noise of the storm. We knew then that the plateau was pouring its accumulated drainage down on us. We realized the volume and strength of the current when a large evergreen tree rode its crest and fell, beaten and crumpled, almost at our feet. Nothing could stand against that roaring waterfall. It hurled a boulder over the rim, spun it crazily and smashed it on the ground with an impact that shook the canyon. Other rivers dropped over the rim. Surely the end was near. How long could the gardens, the houses and the people take such a beating? How long could our building stand? Would the sturdy old cottonwood go down?

Our stream of clear, blue water had disappeared. A maelstrom of dirty suds, tumbling stones along its bottom, swept down the

132 Havasu's bed, spreading across the canyon from wall to wall. Each moment its power was augmented by the increasing drainage from the mesa and by the river that roared down from the upper end of our canyon. We were convinced that the house would go, and could think of only one means of escape—the trails.

We hurriedly decided to try the Lee Canyon trail, fifteen miles long, but not so dangerously steep as the Walapai trail. The rain was coming now in wind-blown sheets. If the trail remained passable, we could reach the mesa. Miss Goenawein and Frances were rushing around preparing to leave, so I put on my raincoat. When we closed the door behind us, we were almost beaten down by the storm; I had the forlorn feeling that this was the end. The mouth of Lee Canyon was a long distance from the school; we would struggle against water and rolling stones just to reach the trail's lower end. After that, the climb to the outside. Any Indian could have told us that boulders and landslides would block both trails; that torrents would tear out their weaker parts, leaving sheer precipices. However, the Indians were looking after themselves; there was not one within sight. Even though the village stood in a wide section of the canyon where the water had room to spread out and would do less damage, the Indians were moving their possessions and their families to places of greater safety.

By keeping to the higher ground in the center of the canyon, we avoided the waterfalls plunging over the rim on either side. The water deepened as the gorge narrowed, but we pushed ahead. Not until we heard the roar did we remember the hazard of the Gap where the passage narrowed to fifty feet, thereby increasing the river's force. The Gap was filled with churning water ten feet deep, thick with mud and tumbling stones. The flood spumed out in front of us, divided into two streams that flanked the center ridge and rolled on to create more havoc below. There was no way to pass this barrier; we stood quite still, staring at it, beaten.

"The Walapai trail!" Francis shouted. "We can't stand here. Stones are cutting my legs."

So we retraced our steps, wading back to the mouth of the

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Walapai Canyon, and followed the trail to the Corduroy Bridge over which our mounts had stepped so gingerly that July day, weeks before. Here too was a gap, narrower than the one that had just turned us back. The torrent leaped over the bridge to the ground, a fall of thirty feet. It cut off our last chance to escape by the trails. We had traveled in a circle, up to the Gap and back, only to meet defeat. Then Frances began climbing the talus of sand and stone banked at the foot of the canyon wall. Here was safety, within a few yards of our house! The talus took us above the flood water. We still got the full force of the storm, but soaked and bedraggled, we felt intense relief in being safe. Our greatest fear had been of being caught in that current, carried over the tremendous Havasu falls and dumped into the muddy Colorado. From this point, we watched the water plunging down the canyon bed, striking tree trunks, boulders or angled walls and shooting long streamers of spray high into the air. It surged against the buildings, ran up the walls, then fell back heavily. Fearful for their survival, we watched our sturdy cottonwoods twist and bend before the onslaught. If they went down, the buildings would go; the canyon would be swept clean.

Then quite suddenly, we sensed a change in the storm; the rain struck with less force. The clouds rolled away and never before had our strip of sky looked so serene, so blue, so beautiful!

We shivered in our wet clothing while the water subsided, which did not take long due to the sharp incline of the canyon floor. Frances began laughing and crying in hysterical relief. To divert her attention, I said, "Imagine how hungry you'd be, Frances, if we had climbed to the plateau; I didn't bring a thing but the clothes I have on."

"I know I brought food," she said. "I remember thinking we might be gone a long time, so crammed a lot of things that we'd need in my pockets."

She pulled a bunch of hairpins from one pocket and from another a few well-soaked slices of bread. All three of us shouted

132 with laughter, released at once from the numbness of strain and fatigue.

We walked back to the buildings, admitting, with chagrin, that we would have been safer and drier had we never left them.

I took my camera and went out to get pictures of the rivers that still cascaded over the rim in five or six places between the school and the village. They were rapidly diminishing in size, but some of them drained in until late the following day.

731 The Indians' gardens and orchards that had been in the path of the main current were washed out and swept over the falls. The houses that stood on low ground were destroyed; however, the sagacity the Indians had acquired through long and bitter experience with floods enabled them to escape without the loss of a life, and with only minor losses of clothing. Each family had a crevice in the canyon walls that made a safe shelter. Here they set up temporary housekeeping.

I expected the children to appear for school Monday morning half-clothed, but only one pair of pants was missing. Six-year-old Dan, face clean, hair brushed and dripping wet, wore his uniform blouse, shoes and stockings, but no pants. He was a comical sight, but no one laughed.

133 731 The Indians warned us that nature would deal us another blow before we could settle down with our usual feeling of security—which wasn't very secure, after all. Many columns of stone stood out from the parent wall, separated from it by fissures in which water from rain or melting snow collected. Freezing weather turned the water into ice, increasing the pressure which widened the crack. This freezing and thawing, over a period of years, left the column unattached. A flood brought such sections tumbling down. This new danger was almost as exciting as the flood had been. It was always a gamble with us, not with the Indians, as to which section would topple over. The one directly back of the school building leaned out threateningly, but when I asked Bob for his opinion, he shook his head.

"Him no fall yet," he assured me, and since Vesnor agreed, we

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continued our school sessions. The men pointed out another pillar, farther down the canyon, that endangered neither school nor village, that would come down "four suns, maybe five." 133 131

From the day of the flood, falling boulders and landslides had kept us in an unsettled state, but on the fourth day, as the men had predicted, the big column fell. It leaned out from the wall, toppled crazily, its center buckling, and burst apart with a roar as if the gorge itself had split open and was shaking itself to pieces. A bedlam of sound struck the angled walls to be tossed back, echoing and re-echoing until it seemed there would never be an end to it. We hurried down to view the ruin, arriving before the dust had settled, while the stones were still sliding over one another, groaning and grinding as they shifted to a lower level.

The Indians patiently repaired their houses, dried out the furnishings, rebuilt fences, replanted gardens and orchards. How many times in the past had they undertaken this same task, I wondered. I wondered, too, at the leisurely way they worked, stopping to gamble a little, to visit and make merry for awhile, or to eat food some neighbor brought. If a task could not be done one way, try another; if it could not be done today, try it tomorrow. They had never worked by a clock, nor permitted time to become their master, so they, as a people, remained cheerful, unhurried. 131 461

Portions of the Walapai trail had been wiped out. The Indian men, using their native methods with brush and stones, soon had it passable but dangerous, so we were greatly surprised when several men rode down from the plateau and stopped at the school. One of them, Mr. Jacobs, an engineer in charge of a surveying party on the government reserve, expressed his surprise in finding us alive and the buildings standing. He said, "We watched the storm from our camp a few miles back on the mesa. From there, it looked as if a cloudburst hit right in this canyon. We expected to find this place swept clean as a whistle." 131

According to his report and that of his men, our danger was as real as it had seemed. But now that it was over, I was prepared.

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The next time I was caught in a flood, I'd climb to a crevice and live like an Indian.

Several years later the canyon was again flooded, and this time the destruction was almost complete. The teacher and his wife, the only white people at the school, were no more prepared than we had been. They too had failed to learn from the Indians how to survive a deluge in comfort and safety, so they scrambled to the roof of their house—the same cottage in which we had lived—and climbed from that into the rugged old cottonwood. The old tree weathered the storm, saving their lives. They watched the maelstrom beat against the stone houses until they disintegrated like so many lumps of sugar. Today, the Indians can point out only one stone remaining on the site of the old buildings.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Gods Speak Again

With shocking suddenness we learned that the Blue Water was to be commercialized. Mr. Ewing wrote that an Eastern firm had been granted authority to harness Mooney Falls to manufacture electrical power for distribution to cities in Arizona and neighboring states. Engineers, surveyors and workmen swarmed into the canyon where so few white men had ever ventured. Miners had once worked the ledges on the walls for silver, but never had the Indians' authority over the Blue Water or its canyon been questioned. These white men who were now tinkering with old Mooney Falls did not consult the Indians. They were authorized to complete the project, they explained to me, and, intent upon this, they kept pretty much to themselves. We sensed an intimation of things to come. 648

Did we owe this quick but orderly invasion to the visit of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve supervisor that day he had accompanied us to Mooney Falls? Had he determined then the power which the falls could generate, and by his report encouraged this firm to speculate? While we pondered these questions and I protested to Mr. Ewing repeatedly, the men quietly but determinedly went on with their work.

The Indians realized now that, before they were through, these white people would fill the canyon. After the machinery was installed, men would remain to attend the plant; their families would come. To whom then would the canyon belong, and who would be

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648 forced to go? Who always went when the Indian had land that the white man coveted?

The white men had plenty of cash with which to allay the Havasupai's fears. They bought alfalfa from them for their horses, [482] paying five dollars for the load a woman could carry suspended from a strap across her forehead. They gave a silver dollar to those who posed for a picture. But this proved little compensation for the Indians, who could only stand by and watch as heavy machinery rumbled in along the widened Lee Canyon trail, and old Mooney began to lose her wild timbered beauty. This trail, these falls, everything here had belonged to the Havasupai since the day the gods had led them into the canyon. Lanoman, gray-faced and angry, went about his duties. The foreign men were desecrating the "Mother of the Waters," sacred to his wife and those other dead whose spirits could sometimes be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The Indians feared these invaders as they had never feared the Yavapai or the Apache. They could meet the latter and deal with them as they deserved, but these white men—working like ants, building roads, making permanent improvements—had taken possession without need of battle. Mr. Ewing wrote that the contract had been negotiated in Washington; he was powerless to interfere. And in increasing numbers the white men continued to come.

The Havasupai recalled the story the Navaho had told them of how the white men had elbowed them out of their ancient home. When, in retaliation, they killed those who had stolen their hunting ground, the Great Father in Washington sent soldiers with fire-sticks, who punished the Navaho, and took the guilty to some far place.

648 The people again gave thought to the warning of the Chemehuevi Indian who had come to them as an evangelist, reminding 175 them of the old ways and warning them of the penalties of forgetting the customs of their ancestors. Mr. James, in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, recorded the Chemehuevi's impassioned appeal to the Havasupai at a dance where an agent from

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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *tobolwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

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from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

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481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [189 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

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was following the trail through the village when laughter and shouting broke the silence. At a home a short distance off the trail, Chickapanyegi, hot and tired, with headband askew, stood by his horse, unlashing from his saddle the carcass of a small deer. My first thought was of the violated game law. I said to him, "You know this is the closed season. Why did you kill that deer?"

He wiped the sweat from his face on his sleeve before he replied, "Indians, deer, here first. White man no here. Now white man make law. We got no meat. My family hungry."

"Eat your meat, now that you have it, but don't break the law again. I can't protect you. You will be taken away from your wife and children and sent to jail."

The crowd had grown while we talked, but they were silent, knowing well enough what was wrong and wanting to see what would be done about it.

They and the deer were here first; a close relationship existed between them. They killed only for food, and the deer spirit understood that. If one of them killed wastefully, the spirit that protected the deer would punish him with sickness and death.

I explained to the forest ranger the Indians' idea as to his ancient relationship to the deer and reminded him that the white man killed for sport, taking the legal limit and leaving to spoil the meat he could not carry away, while the Indian killed game for food and this was a sacred privilege. The ranger was as helpless as I. We both were obligated to demand respect for the law, regardless of our sympathy, but I wanted him to understand their idealistic attitude. The time would come when these Indians would need a friend at court.

"My sympathy is with the Indians too," he admitted, "but that will not keep them out of jail if they break the law."

So Vesnor and Lanoman went through the village, warning every man of the penalty of breaking the game laws.

Life among these people had taught me that we could not force them into an alien mold. We must teach them, lead them, give them time. Suspicion and superstition went hand in hand, con-

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trolling their actions. I realized that if, quite innocently, I made a decision or gave a dose of medicine and tragedy followed, I would face the same Indians, armed with the same knives and guns, who had demanded that a former teacher retract an order. Two hundred fifty against one was too great a hazard. The pleasure of working with these people had not dulled all thought of needful caution on my part. I still believed that it was better to be safe than sorry. Aside from this, I respected their deep-rooted traditions and primitive customs. So it was easy to make my administration one of give and take. I had violated an order by encouraging Manakadja to keep his two wives; my "take" had been his good will—a powerful influence in my favor.

Not long after I left the canyon, a decision by the man in charge of the tribe resulted, apparently, in the suicide of a young man. The Havasupai could not tolerate suicide. Murder—yes! What could a man do but kill to avenge a wrong? But a man should not destroy his own life. The body of a suicide could not be burned nor buried with those of their respected dead. Again they reasoned: cause and effect. And they proceeded to take action against the official who had made the decision. A hurried call to the outside for help quieted the rebellion. The old spirit of self-assertion had not yet been completely crushed, but again, as in times gone by, they felt the restraining hand of the white man's law.

All too well the Havasupai realized how government control had affected them and their way of life. Their right to kill game for the purposes of food and their freedom to roam would never be restored. One old man expressed the sentiments of all when he cried bitterly, "We are no longer men, but are little children who must *ask* when we go out or come in!"

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Exodus

In November, Mr. Ewing and an inspector arrived. The matter of quarters became a problem, but we lodged the inspector in the dispensary, although he complained loudly of the odor of drugs, and Mr. Ewing shared the farmer's cottage.

Our first task was to count every item of government property from nails to buildings. While we were taking the inventory, Mr. Ewing told me that he was leaving Truxton. "How would you like to remain here in this position?" he asked. "The Indians want you to stay."

"I have just survived a flood—and falling stones," I countered. "Do you know what a flood is like down here?"

"I've heard. They're bad," he admitted.

"Well, I've learned how to escape floods. You simply scramble up to a crevice in the wall. But I'd like to return to my work at Truxton and transfer some of the older Havasupai children to that school. They are eager for the industrial training we could give them in the shops, and it would relieve the congestion in the school here."

The inspector's eyes twinkled when he said, "The truth is, Miss Gregg, the officials in the Indian Office are not sure that you have aged sufficiently to manage the larger school they have planned at Truxton. But don't worry. I have recommended that you be appointed."

I didn't worry, much. The Indian Office had kept me in this

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canyon several months, instead of the one month originally planned, because they could not find a man with the necessary qualifications who would accept the superintendency at the salary paid. Educators were not clamoring for a chance to work in a canyon, isolated even from the privilege of buying from a grocery store.

Later my appointment as principal teacher of the Truxton Canyon Training School for the Walapai came through. What an imposing title for a new boarding school out in the middle of the desert! I knew that the Indian Office had combed the woods for a qualified man, for the responsibilities of this position were much greater than I had carried in the day school. I knew, too, that the inspector's recommendation had tipped the scales in my favor.

My reports and the school were ready to be turned over to my successor, but before I left the canyon I had a chance to witness the final event on the Havasupai calendar.

As jealously as the Havasupai guarded their canyon and as passionately as they loved it, the tang of autumn in the air turned their thoughts to a winter home on the mesa, and started them packing their possessions with a happy abandon. All summer they had planned for this—harvesting, preserving their food, and setting aside a portion to take with them.

Even though it was depressingly hot, the employees as well as the Indians were obliged to work harder through the summer, so that this winter outing might take place. I had taught at Truxton until school was dismissed for the summer vacation, and had quite naturally expected to be free from such duties during July and August. But no; here I must hold school through the summer and fall so that the Havasupai children's vacation might come in the winter. Nothing could be permitted to interfere with this jaunt to the outside.

The Indians used various arguments to prove the necessity for the migration. They claimed that there was not enough wood in the gorge for their cooking fires and to warm their houses. Yet

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Havasupai

they had wood to sell. They needed the wild seeds, fruits and roots 221
that grew on top, they insisted. But, when I saw their childish delight as they made their departure, ponies loaded with cumbersome bundles, I knew that they were motivated by the very human desire for change, to get outside, where they could look about, with the full sweep of the vaulted sky above, with endless miles in which to wander.

Not an Indian who was physically able to ride but longed for this trip to the mesa. Only our policemen and the few persons needed to care for the sick and the aged stayed on through the winter.

It was a strange procession that finally departed up the trail. A single file of horses so encumbered by household equipment, clothing and food—all topped by a member of the family—that it looked like a train of bundles, walking off on four feet.

And what mysteries those bundles contained!

Near the village that fall I had watched a young woman glean 222
the ripe fruit from a sprawling bed of prickly pear cacti by catch- 262
ing the fruit between two gathering sticks, and with a quick twist break it free. After removing the spines by swishing the pear with a fiber brush, she tossed the clean pear into the burden basket on her back. At home any remaining spines would be wiped off [257]
before the fruit was split and laid in the sun to dry. She had approached her task fully prepared with gathering sticks, brush and burden basket. Tied in those huge bundles that obscured their ponies, I knew, were the crude, homemade tools they would use in gathering the many edible wild plants that grew up above.

The pigweed on the mesa should be a luscious bush loaded with small rich seeds. Its leaves, boiled, were eaten as a vegetable; the ripe seeds were toasted, ground and cooked into a mush. Mormon tea would be gathered, dried and stored to be brewed in a refreshing drink. The dry pods of the mesquite were sweet and nourishing; they were chewed for their food value or, reduced to a powder and mixed with water, used as a drink. Fall ripened the fruit of the yucca, which was an important food. After frost, the Indians

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would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

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from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

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000 the Indians out on the mesa, and no school to teach, perhaps the new man would have time to do just that. I envied him. Yet I knew that this was his first association with the Indian people, and he would need the time to become acquainted with those remaining in the village and to understand the Indians' slow transition from primitive life to the complexities of modern civilization.

648 On the day of my departure the few friends who were still in the village came up to say good-by. Vesnor and Lanoman, Walapai Bill, old Captain Gabe came—and precious, old, Gentle Annie, wearing my strawberry-red dress, much dimmed by constant washing in the stream and exposure to sun. We shook hands. Questions were asked, "Why you go? You no come back?" Gentle Annie's gnarled fingers clung to my hand. "You no go," she insisted. "Pretty good you stay."

They were anxious about the future. The one in charge of the reservation could assume almost any authority over them that he pleased; and strong men that they were, they resented being told when they might "go out or come in."

000 Few farewells have been so difficult for me.

At Hilltop that night we cooked our supper on a stove that had been set up in the warehouse for use during inclement weather. We ate outside in the frosty air, only a few yards from that bowl-shaped abyss which had so filled me with awe the last time I stood on its rim. I had been uncertain then as to what I might find at the end of the trail. Now I knew that there were floods, and falling columns of stone; that the thermometer soared to one hundred and seventeen degrees and forgot to come down. But I [181] knew also that a kindly, trusting people lived there—a people gifted with native wisdom, warm with laughter and carefree play; and children who needed an uncrowded school, offering better opportunities for adjustment to the alien culture we were thrusting upon them. And there were canyon walls with their guarded secrets—one of them a sealed cave filled with the ancient arms and tools of Those of Old.

I climbed to the wagon seat for the two-day drive to Seligman,

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facing the painful fact that my exodus, unlike that of the People of the Blue Water, would be final. When the snow melted, and the old cottonwoods felt the touch of the warm sun, the wanderers would return. I had a pang of regret in realizing that my successor would have the fun of hearing the exciting stories of the winter's exodus and witnessing their eagerness to work again in their gardens while it was "little light." Yet I found consolation in the thought that a larger field of service awaited me at Truxton where some of the older Havasupai children would join us to share the greater opportunities.

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Havasupai

The Indians
of the
Painted Desert Region

Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais, Havasupais

By
George Wharton James
Author of "In and Around the Grand Canyon," etc.

[TITLE Page]

With Numerous Illustrations from Photographs

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[pp. i-ii, iv-xxii not processed]

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *pai* (people) of the *wasa* (blue) *hakha* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

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133 a "draw," the real head of the trail was reached. We walked in the closing dusk of day to the edge of the precipice and looked off to where our guide told us we must shortly be travelling. Far below, almost a thou-
133 sand feet, without the sign of a trail, it seemed as if he
491 must be hoaxing us. Soon, however, as we followed him,
487 we found ourselves on a rocky shelf, and then began the most stupendous series of zigzags I had ever been on. Back and forth we wended, our trail a mere scratch on the rocky slope, here descending rugged steps, where a misstep meant sure and awful death. Higher and higher the walls rose around us; darker and darker grew the night; more weird and awesome the wind and weather carved figures sculptured on the sides and summits of the walls, and still down we went. At last we reached a vast cavernous-like place where Topocobya Spring is located. A small flow of water comes from the solid rock, and there we watered our horses and filled up our canteens prior to advancing on our seemingly never-ending descent. At last we reached the level, and there, lighting a fire, made camp and rested before penetrating farther into the deep and mystic recesses of the Havasupais. Early in the morning we began the farther descent. Mile after mile we traversed, first riding on the dry bed of the winter stream, then entering the narrower walls formed by the erosion of centuries through first one stratum of rock, then another. Now we were riding on a narrow shelf, on one side of which was a high wall, and on the other a deep, narrow ravine, in the bottom of which the erosive forces have cut a number of holes,— small troughs or bath tubs in the sandstone, where during the rainy season pools of delicious water may be found. In a short time

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we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

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133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of 133 241 the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with 311 here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through [487] the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are [312] also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small [291] groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again

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the curling line of bluish smoke of the camp-fire reveals the hawa, and we gladly avail ourselves of one or the other of these marks of identification to make ourselves more familiar with the real home of the Havasupais. After investigation we find there are several distinct types of houses, all simple and primitive, and yet each different from the other.

Chickapanagie's summer home is a type of the simplest character. Two upright poles with forks at the top, standing about six feet high, are placed in line with each other fifteen feet apart. A cross-beam is placed on these uprights. Then a row of poles, about eight to nine feet in length, is sloped against the cross-beam. These are covered with willows, and there is the completed hawa.

What queer dwelling-places men have, and ever have had, and possibly ever will have. At the Paris Exposition of 1889 one whole street was devoted to a history of inhabited dwellings. At one end were the earliest "homes" of the paleolithic age, caves and huts, followed by the Lake Dwellings and the wickiups, tepees, or tents of the present-day Indian, the latter being the same primitive structures the aborigines have ever used. The other end of the street was devoted to the domestic architecture of our own day, and there, in a few hours, one could study almost every known form of home structure. But who could ever reproduce some of the homes these Havasupais live in? Wicker huts in the open, and caves in the faces of solid sandstone walls two thousand feet and more in height, these in turn surmounted by domes and obelisks and towers and cupolas that no modern architect dare attempt to rival.

These massive walls absorb the heat of the sun in

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and
[137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep
132] the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of
491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer-
499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend
133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

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down, the Cataract Canyon trail goes over a portion of this talus to avoid the creek, which has here crossed from the other side of the canyon and has become a rapidly flowing stream some two feet or more in depth. Attached to this talus is a large mass of solid concrete made of pebbles, rocks, and sand that have been washed down in the creek and made cohesive by the lime from the water. Here the canyon narrows again and the stupendous walls seem very near to the willow-fringed stream and the small fields. A few hundred feet farther it opens out again, and as one rides on the trail he gets exquisite views of the gray stone walls superposed on the red sandstones to the northwest. These gray and creamy sandstones, with their numerous and delicate tints and shades, afford most delightful contrasts to the glaring and monotonous red of the walls beneath. From this point we gain our first view of the so-called Havasupai stone gods, named by them "Hue-gli-i-wa," the story of which is told elsewhere.

These rocky pillars with their supporting walls seem as if they were once a part of a great wall that entirely spanned the canyon, the towers being sentinel outlooks to guard from attack both above and below. The portion of the wall to the right, as one descends the canyon, has been washed away, but the tower-crowned mass to the left still preserves a broad sweep into the very heart of the canyon as if it would bar all further progress. Following the sweep of this curve and passing the wall immediately underneath the outermost of the two towers, we view from the trail which ascends a mass of talus at this point another widened-out part of the canyon, which seems entirely covered with willows, here and there overshadowed by a few straggling cottonwoods.

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HAVASUPAI FORTRESS AND HUE-OLI-I-WA, OR ROCK FIGURES.

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Havasupai

133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
798 take place.

796 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the canyon from the Hue-gli-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

000 One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated
[648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

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should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

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173 648 From leading Havasupais I learn that many years ago the various tribes of this region were at war one with another, until finally a treaty of peace was entered into and boundaries defined. The Paiutis were to remain in Nevada and Utah and not cross the Colorado River, the Wallapais had their region to the west of Havasu Canyon, the Mohaves, Hopis, Pimas, Apaches, Navahoes, Chimehuevis, and the rest their prescribed limits, over which they were not to go without permission from the chiefs into whose territory they wished to pass. And, generally speaking, this treaty has been observed.

ooo Of the exquisitely beautiful waterfalls that give the commonly accepted name to Havasu Canyon, viz., Cataract Canyon, I have not space here to treat. I have already somewhat fully described them in my book on the Grand Canyon.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE HAVASUPAIS AND THEIR LEGENDS

IN almost every case one finds a variety of differing legends related by the Indians of any tribe upon the same subject. As the Wallapais and Havasupais are cousins, one would naturally expect their legends to have some things in common. How much this is so will be seen by a comparison of the following story with that of the Wallapai Origin Legend.

"The two gods of the universe," said O-dig-i-ni-ni'-a, the relator of the mythic lore of the Havasupais, "are Tochopa and Hokomata. Tochopa he heap good. Hokomata heap han-a-to-op'-o-gi — heap bad — all same white man's devil. Him Hokomata make big row with Tochopa, and he say he drown the world.

"Tochopa was full of sadness at the news. He had one daughter whom he devotedly loved, and from her he had hoped would descend the whole human race for whom the world had been made. If Hokomata persisted in his wicked determination she must be saved at all hazard. So, working day and night, he speedily prepared the trunk of a pinion tree by hollowing it out from one end. In this hollow tree he placed food and other necessaries, and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must go into this tree and there be sealed up, he took

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a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the tree, and then sat down to await the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, deluges came, making more noise than a thousand Hack-a-tai-as (Colorado River) and covering all the earth with water. The pinion log floated, and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh, while the waters surged higher and higher and covered the tops of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), and all the other mountains of the world.

"But the waters of heaven could not always be pouring down, and soon after they ceased, the flood upon the earth found a way to rush into the sea. And as it dashed down it cut through the rocks of the plateaus and made the deep Chic-a-mi-mi (canyon) of the Colorado River (Hack-a-tai-a). Soon all the water was gone.

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"Then Pu-keh-eh found her log no longer floating, and she peeped out of the window Tochopa had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and almost dark, she could see in the dim distance the great mountains of the San Francisco range. And near by was the canyon of the Little Colorado, and to the north was Hack-a-tai-a, and to the west was the canyon of the Havasu.

"The flood had lasted so long that she had grown to be a woman, and, seeing the water gone, she came out and began to make pottery and baskets as her father long ago had taught her. But she was a woman. And what is a woman without a child in her arms or nursing at her breasts? How she longed to be a mother! But where was a father for her child? Alas! there was no man in the whole universe!

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Havasupai
Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

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"Day after day longings for maternity filled her heart, until, one morning, — glorious happy morning for Pu-keh-eh and the Havasu race, — the darkness began to disappear, and in the far-away east soft and new brightness appeared. It was the triumphant Sun coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. Nearer and nearer he came, and at last, as he peeped over the far-away mesa summits, Pu-keh-eh arose and thanked Tochopa, for here, at last, was a father for her child. She conceived, and in the fulness of time bore a son, whom she delighted in and called In-ya'-a — the son of the Sun.

"But as the days rolled on she again felt the longings for maternity. By this time she had wandered far to the west and had entered the beautiful canyon of the Havasu, where deep down between the rocks were several grand and glorious waterfalls, and one of these, Wa-ha-hath-peek-ha-ha, she determined should be the father of her second child.

"When it was born it was a girl, and to this day all the girls of the Havasupai are 'daughters of the water.'

"As these two children grew up they married, and thus became the progenitors of the human race. First the Havasupais were born, then the Apaches, then the Wallapais, then the Hopis, then the Paiutis, then the Navahoes.

"And Tochopa told them all where they should live. The Havasupais and the Apaches were to dwell in Havasu Canyon, the former on one side of the Havasu (blue water), and the latter on the other side, and occupy the territory as far east as the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco Mountains. The Wallapais were to roam in the country west of Havasu Canyon, and the

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Hopis and Navahoes east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiutis north of the big Colorado.

"And there in Havasu Canyon, above their dancing-place, he carved on the summit of the walls figures of Pu-keh-eh and A-pa-a to remind them from whom they were descended. Here for a long time Havasupais and Apaches lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a most beautiful Havasu woman, and he fell in love with her, and he went to his home and prayed and longed and ate his heart out for this woman who was the wife of another. He called upon Hokomata, the bad god, to help him, and Hokomata, always glad to foment trouble, told him to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to cross the Havasu, kill the woman's husband, and steal her for his own wife.

"The Apache heeded this evil counsel and did so.

"When the Havasupais discovered the wrong that had been done them, and the great disgrace this Apache had brought upon the tribe, they counselled together, and determined to drive out the Apaches from their canyon home. No longer should they be brothers. They bade the Apaches be gone, and when they refused, fell upon them and drove them out. Up the rocks near Hue-gli-i-wa the Apaches climbed, and to this day the marks of their footsteps may be seen. They were driven far away to the south and commanded never to come north of the San Francisco Mountains. Hence, though originally they were brothers, there has ever since been war between the people of the Havasu and the Apaches.

"Then, to remind them of the sure punishment that comes to evil-doers. Tochopa carved the great stone

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figures of the Apache man and the Havasupai squaw so that they could be seen from above and below, and there to this day the Hue-gli-i-wa remain, as a warning against unlawful love and its dire consequences." 773 539

Here is another story told by a shaman of the Havasupais of the origin of the race. It is interesting and instructive to note the points of similarity and difference.

"In the days of long ago a man and a woman (Hokomata and Pukeheh Panowa) lived here on the earth. By and by a son was born to them, whom they named Tochopa. As he grew up to manhood Pukeheh Panowa fell in love with him and wished to marry him, but he instinctively shrank from such incestuous intercourse. The woman grew angry as he repelled her, and she made a number of frogs which brought large volumes of water. Soon all the country began to be flooded with water, and Hokomata found out what was the matter. He then took Tochopa and a girl and placed them in the trunk of a pinion tree, sealed it up, and sent them afloat on the waters. He stored the tree with corn, peaches, pumpkins, and other food, so they would not be hungry, and for many long days the tree floated hither and thither on the face of the waters. Soon the waters began to subside, and the tree grounded near to where the Little Colorado now is. When Tochopa found the tree was no longer floating he knocked on the side, and Hokomata heard him and came and let him out. As he stepped on the ground he saw Huehanapatcha (the San Francisco Mountains), Huegadawiza (Red Butte), Huegawoola (Williams Mountain), and he said: "I know these mountains. This is not far from my country. And the water ran down the Hack-a-tha-eh-la (the salty stream, or the Little Colorado) and made Hack-

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a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon of the Colorado). Here he and his wife lived until she gave birth to the son and daughter as before related."

The way the Wallapai became a separate people is thus related by the Havasupais:

"A long time ago the animals were all the same as Indians, and the Indians as the animals. The Coyote he lived here in Havasu Canyon. One time he go away for a long time and he catch 'em a good squaw, and by and bye he have a little boy.

"The little boy grew up to be a man, and he went up on top (out of the canyon, upon the higher plateaus), and there he found two squaw. It heap cold on top, and he get two squaw to keep him warm when he go to sleep. Then he came back to Havasu, and when his papa (the Coyote) saw his two squaws he said: 'I take this one. One squaw enough for you.' But the boy was angry and said one squaw was not enough. 'When I lie down to sleep I heap cold. Squaw she heap warm. Two squaw keep me warm.' The Coyote told his son not to talk; he must be content with one squaw and go to sleep. And the squaw was proud that the Coyote had made her his wife, and she began to taunt the boy, and when he replied she asked the Coyote to tell his boy not to talk. And the Coyote was mad and spoke angrily to his boy.

"When he awoke in the morning his son was gone. And ten sleeps passed by and still he did not come back, so the Coyote tracked him up Wallapai Canyon, and went a long, long way. He reached the hilltop and still he did not find his son. At last, a long, long way off he saw him, and he changed him into a mountain sheep. Then a lot more mountain

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sheep came and ran with the Coyote's son, and the Coyote could not tell which of the band was his boy. He looked and looked, but it was all in vain. He tried to change his boy back again, so that he would no longer be a mountain sheep, but, as he could not tell which was his boy, his efforts were in vain, and he had to go back to Havasu alone.

"For a long time the boy remained as a mountain sheep, until the horns had grown large upon his head. Then he changed himself back to a man, and he found his squaw there, waiting for him, and that is why, to this day, the Wallapai is to the Havasupai the A-mu-u or mountain sheep."

The origin of the Hopis is thus related by the Havasupais:

"Long time ago two men were born near Mooney Falls. They were twins, yet one was big man, and the other a little big. They came up into this part of the canyon (where the Havasupais now live). It was no good in those days. There was no water and it was 'heap hot.' The little big man he say: 'I no like 'em stay here. Let us go hunt 'em good place to live where we catch plenty water, plenty corn.' So they left the canyon and climbed out where the Hopi trail now is. Here they stayed in the forest some time, hunting and making buckskin. After they had got a large bundle of buckskins dressed, they put them on their backs and began to walk on to seek the country of lots of water, where plenty of corn would grow. But it was hot weather and the load was heavy, and they soon grew so very tired that the smaller brother began to cry. As they walked on he cried more and more,

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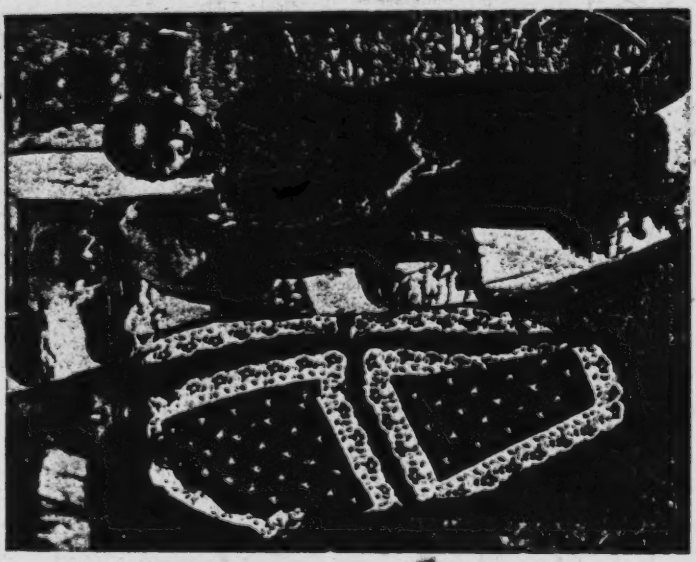

A Family Group of Havasupais.

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Havasupai Mother and Child.

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until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

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In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

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sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

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342 dwelling style of homes. My friend Wa-lu-tha-ma is forsaking his wood and brush "hawas," and constructing a house under the cliffs, where, as he quaintly puts it, he can "keep dry when much rain comes."

174 It seems to me a reasonable supposition that it was
342 from the frequency of the occurrence of these corn-
648 houses in the walls of Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, with the occasional appearance of a few of the larger houses used as dwellings by the Havasupais, that the absurd and romantic yarns had their origin that fifteen, or less, years ago, were current in Arizona and elsewhere about this interesting people. The cowboys, miners, prospectors, and others, who accidentally stumbled upon the upper entrance to the Havasu Canyon, and wandered down its meandering course for ten or forty miles, even to the village of the simple Havasupais, returned to civilization and propagated and circulated stories that out-Munchausened Munchausen. They said these people were cliff-dwellers, living at the present day in the walls of the canyon; they were of powerful physical presence, and possessed great endurance. Their fields and gardens were wonderful, and their peach orchards surpassed those of most civilized cultivation, and they held in slavery a lesser people, dwarfs or pigmies, doubtless, who were cliff-dwellers like themselves, and whom they compelled by great cruelty to perform the most arduous labors.

Others, having heard these stories, but whose spirit of adventure took them no farther than the "rim" of the canyon, claimed to have looked into the village and side canyons, and there seen the truth of these stories demonstrated. They had seen the pigmies and the gigantic Havasupais, had heard the harsh yells of the

latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [857]

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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-se-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tŏd-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

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ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 18|

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [231]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

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541 525 is not so much difference after all in human nature, when one penetrates below the surface. The reserved Englishman, the excitable Italian, the vivacious Frenchman, and the so-called stupid and stolid native aboriginal American exhibit exactly the same traits of character under the excitement of a horserace. But in Havasu Canyon the conditions are quite different from Ascot, Doncaster, or Newmarket. Here are bucks dressed in the breech-clout and excitement, and women [291] gesticulating and waving their si-dram'-as (our large flaming red or other "loud" colored bandannas, fastened over the shoulders and across the breast). [152] Some suppress their excitement, others jabber like monkeys, and as the horses come to the starting-point there is just as much talking and din as after the start is made. One distinct feature is that many horses are raced without riders. They seem to understand, and when the signal to "let go" is given they dart off at full speed, just as if riders were on their backs urging them forward. Compared with our finely bred, beautifully chiselled horses, such as one sees, or used to see, in Lucky Baldwin's or the late Senator Stanford's stables, what ragged, scrawny, wretched creatures these are; and yet when they run how they surprise you, how those ugly limbs seem to limber up, and those sleepy eyes gain fire!

Gambling at these races is carried to an extraordinary extent. Men, women, and children alike gamble all they possess, or even hope to possess. This gambling spirit has grown wonderfully in the past few years, for, during the Kohot Navaho's lifetime he constantly used his powerful influence to discourage it.

Gambling, unfortunately, is not confined merely to

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horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe.

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time.

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive.

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to, or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation

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526 868 confirms this. From earliest childhood they are expert swimmers, boys and girls alike learning the art often before they can walk. I have seen mere babies placed in the creek and ditches by their parents and older brothers, and one can scarcely say they are taught to paddle, for it seems to come instinctively. There is not a child in the village who cannot swim and dive expertly, and there is no greater fun than to expend a dozen nickels by throwing them into one of the reservoirs and having the children dive for them. Sometimes they can be induced to bring the coins up in their teeth, even picking them in that manner from the sandy bed of the reservoir. They are as expert swimmers as the children of the South Seas. No Kanaka going out to meet an incoming steamer could ride the billows more daringly than the boys and girls of the Havasu swim in the rapid currents of their little stream. I have been with them to-day for a couple of hours. The boys dived into deep water and rose and fell like loons. I amused myself by throwing a stone into ten or more feet of water, and four or five of the boys would dive for it and get it almost as quickly as I could throw it. It was no sooner in than it was out again. One of the little girls, a sister of one of the boys, stood watching the sport. She became so interested that, suddenly, without removing her calico dress, she jumped into the deep place and enjoyed the fun with the rest.

526 231 Then, a Havasupai man, riding a burro, brought the animal down into the stream where it was shallow and had a gravelly bed. For an hour he and the boys amused themselves by swimming back and forth through the deep pool, and every now and again one or another would jump on the creature's back and, hanging on,

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overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time.

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

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515 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say,
136 I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in
[462] my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows
[137] suitable for this work.

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The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

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584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the 593 suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

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its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

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595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

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LAHOMAH'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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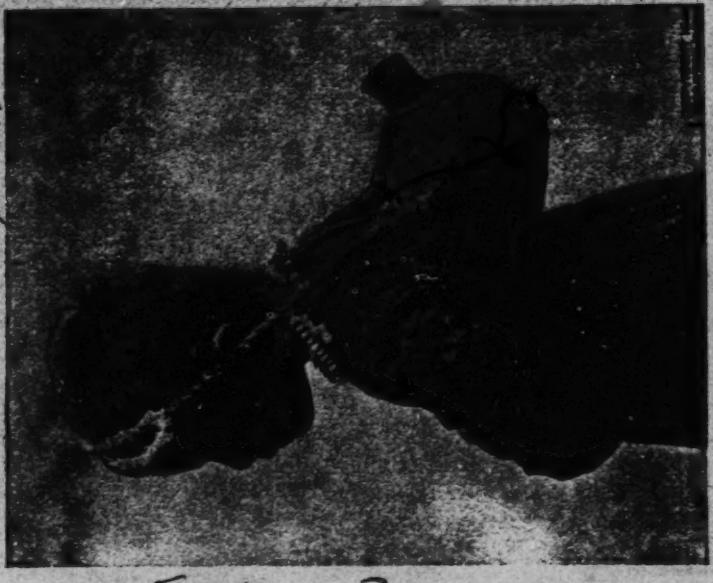

WALUTHANCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EBOWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

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pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

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and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

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for more than one thing at a time. If you wish to buy six articles from the same Indian, you cannot pay a lump sum for the six. Each one must be traded and paid for separately. 437

In most things there is no fixed standard of price. Fictitious values are placed upon articles of no value whatever, but to which the Indian mind has attached singular virtue and importance. On the other hand baskets, which require days to manufacture, taking no account of the time and arduous labor expended in gathering the materials, dyes, etc., for that purpose, are sold at varying prices, but nearly always far too low to begin to compensate them for the efforts expended. 435

Yet they are keen traders in their way. "What can I get out of him?" is the normal attitude of mind, and the price is made to correspond to what the seller imagines is the ability of your pocket.

In dealing with them, I adopted the plan years ago, as a fixed rule, from which I seldom deviate, to state a figure I will give for things offered to me, and that sum, no more, no less, is what I will pay. They soon learn this, and, though at times it seems to be a disadvantage, it gains the confidence of the Indian and he will the more readily trade with me. 437

I once excited the hearty laughter and some scorn of the Havasupais by buying a lot of old baskets, blankets, etc., that they had long deemed of no value. I was seeking their older styles of work and urged them to bring me "any old trash" they had discarded. The usual crowd assembled around my camp, and, as each specimen of dilapidation was half-shamefacedly revealed a shout of laughter arose, directed partially at the would-be seller for her temerity in supposing that such rubbish

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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he 181 has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will [55] tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by 57 the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

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They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article. 157 181 685

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Hue-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track 157 181 541 574 499

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just the same as the white men did, and, when it was completed, train their horses to run on it until they were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais came, they would be able to take all the advantages this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 181

The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

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was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

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609 taking a sufficient supply of extra films. What an idea!
648 To start on such a trip and forget one's camera rolls. There were about thirty exposures left on my film and I was sure I should need two hundred and fifty. Indeed, long before I had reached the Havasupai village all the roll was exhausted, and no more pictures could be taken.

I was disgusted with my own want of forethought, and generally disgruntled, when lo! on sight of Spotty the idea occurred as if by inspiration: "Why not send Spotty for it?" No sooner suggested mentally than I broached the subject. The round trip was a good fifty-five to sixty miles, and much of the road up Havasu Canyon, and I must have the roll within twenty-four hours. Spotty's eye was on the main chance, and he at once expressed his willingness to go provided there was "enough in it." "How much you give me?" he inquired. I considered for a while, and then with a Pecksniffian air of benignant charity offered him "two dollar!" "Al lite, I go! Maybe so I go quick you catch 'em two dollars and a half?" he asked. I studied over it awhile before committing myself, and then queried "When you start, Spotty?" Looking up towards hue-a-pa-a (the man image) on the upper rim of the near canyon wall, he pointed. "I go when you see 'em *ha-ma-si-gu-va'-ta* (the evening star)."

"When you come back?"

"I come back next day all same time you see 'em *ha-la'-ha* (the moon). Maybe so I come back sooner you see 'em, you give me two dollar half?"

A twenty-four hours' ride on horseback — nearly sixty miles — through a solitary country where his only company would be coyotes, mountain lions, and other

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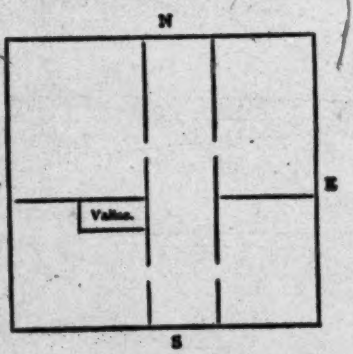
wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal dread of the camera.

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

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609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
194 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

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English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

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A hole is made in this carbonized surface to let out the steam, and, when cold, the fruit is eaten as a great delicacy. I have often eaten and enjoyed it, though it has a sickish-sweet vegetable taste that at first is somewhat unpleasant. The pinion nut, sunflower and squash seeds are also regarded as delicacies. Practice has made the Havasupais dexterous in eating these husk-covered seeds. The novice finds it a wearisome task to hull them, but the expert throws a handful of seeds into his mouth, cracks the shells, and by skilful manipulation eats the nuts on one side of his mouth and expels the shells on the other. When I can do this I shall make a meal on pinion nuts, as they are of exquisitely sweet and delicious flavor.

Sunflower seeds, squash seeds, and a variety of wild grass seeds and corn are parched by the women by placing them in saucer-shaped baskets — or kü-üs′ — with hot ashes, and then tossing them up and down and to and fro until sufficiently cooked. The seeds are then scooped out with the fingers, and ground on a slab of basaltic rock, by rubbing one stone over the other. On the occasion of one of my visits, when I was the guest of Chickapanagie, I made the accompanying photograph of his wife as she thus parched corn in a basket. It was the placing of a covering of clay inside the kü-ü, to prevent its burning, that led Frank Cushing to the belief that here was the explanation of the origin of pottery.[1]

Green squash is cooked after being hacked into pieces in an apparently reckless but most effective manner. With the squash in one hand, the woman takes a large

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[1] See chapter "Basketry the Mother of Pottery," in "Indian Basketry," by George Wharton James.

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butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

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of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

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Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

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231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
978 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

Horse Tank), Havasupai use these water holes when him go hunt deer and antelope. Now white man him come and say, 'D— you, you get away. I've got no water for any blanked Indian.' We no catch 'em water, we no go hunt, and we no go hunt we no catch 'em deer and antelope and jack rabbit, and by-em-by our squaws and boys and gels go heap hungry. Maybe so you see 'em Great Father at Washington and you tell him, and ask him what Havasupai do." 648

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CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

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talking and chattering broke out again, as if the sound of their own voices helped, in some measure, to relieve the painfulness of the solemnity of this not-very-welcome religious ceremonial. I was actually gazing upon the preparations in progress for the sacred peach dance. One by one the notables of the tribe were pointed out to me. There stood Kohot Navaho in proud solitariness, eyeing the preparations with a moodiness which became his serious and taciturn nature. Not a thing of importance passed his eye. His keen powers of observation took in the frivolity of certain young Havasupai belles as well as the actions of the Chemehuevi Indian who was to be director of the music of this religious festival. By his side stood his second son, who, in gentle and mellifluous speech was talking to those with whom he came in contact. Hotouta, the second chief, was by my side, acting as guide, chaperon, and instructor in the mysteries. Here was his daughter, a fine buxom lass of sixteen summers, with merry, laughing eyes, saucy lips, thick black hair, cut with the usual deep fringe on her forehead, and a voice that would have been the fortune of an American girl who desired a place on the operatic stage. Yonder stood Ha-a-pat-cha, a fine athletic fellow with muscles of steel and a chest like that of an ox, whose only costume was the gee-string. He marched to and fro as if consciously proud of his fine figure, came up at a call from Hotouta and seemed to be highly pleased with his introduction to us, although there was an air of condescension in his handshake which suggested that I was the honored person. Perhaps I was! *Quien sabe?*

Near by stood Mr. Bass and a special commissioner sent by the United States Indian Department to report

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796 [657] on the condition of the Havasupais, and seek to gain their consent to send their children to the Indian school at Fort Mohave.

I was too tired that night to stay long. So after an hour's watching I returned to Hotouta's hawa, stretched myself out on the sand — *outside* — in my blankets, and was soothed to sleep by the monotonous chant of the dancers.

796 123 Next day, in a burst of frolicsomeness I exclaimed to my friend, who was commonly called Tom by the whites: "Hotouta, why you no let me dance, all same Havasupai?"

It never entered my comprehension that Tom would regard the remark with serious attention, hence my astonishment can better be imagined than described when thoughtfully he turned to me and said:

"Maybe so! Me no know! Maybe so Havasupai no like 'em you dance. Maybe so they all same like 'em! I see pretty soon."

"Pretty soon" he came back with a cheery "All right! Navaho say you dance. Havasupai like 'em you!"

Here was a fine predicament! I had never danced a step in my life. In the few ball-rooms I had visited I had been a "wall flower." But in this case I had provoked the invitation myself, so, after a brief mental struggle, as gracefully as possible I accepted the consequences of my own rash speech.

When the hour arrived I placed myself under the hands of Hotouta, Yunosi his squaw, and their daughter, in order that I might be properly and appropriately apparelled for the occasion. The first salutation somewhat daunted me. Tom said, "You catch 'em white

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shirt!" The only white shirt I had was a night robe which had done service to such an extent that I had placed it in my saddlebags when we left civilized regions for the purpose of wrapping up specimens of rock to take home. Its "whiteness" may have been somewhat of a memory. But I brought it forth, and waited anxiously for Hotouta's approval. He was delighted, and I felt reassured. 796 123

When it was donned, and a pair of blue overalls, I was ready to receive the painted lines of sub-chieftainship on my face, and the eagle plume in my hair.

Then, in solemn dignity, we started down, Indian file, for the dance ground. At least Hotouta and I were dignified, while behind us Mr. Bass and the special Indian Commissioner were making frantic endeavors to hold in their laughter at the rude and brutal (!) jokes they were making at my expense. We had not proceeded far before Hotouta stopped me and with solemn face said: "You dance, you no laugh. Havasupai no like 'em you laugh!" I promised to be "as sober as a judge," and not laugh, and again we proceeded, to be stopped once more by Hotouta, who explained with perfect seriousness: "Maybe so you dance heap harnegi. Havasu squaw, she like 'em you. You catch 'em one squaw. Then you dance more and maybe so you catch 'em two squaw. She come, all same" (and here Hotouta illustrated how the squaw might come and separate me from my male companion to right or left, and take my hand in the fashion afterwards described). "She take your hand, all same. You no nip. She no like 'em you nip." I promised not to "nip," and with satisfaction Hotouta now led the way to the dance ground.

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796 123 After a formal introduction to all the chiefs and their approval given to my being accepted as Hotouta's brother and a fellow chief with him in the tribe of the Havasupais, the dance began. This is how it was conducted.

796 The "evangelist" sang over a strain of a new song. A dozen or so of the leaders took it up, and as soon as they were fairly familiar with it, the others joined in. Then the women took a hand, literally as well as figuratively, for they came in and separated the men, interlocking the fingers, midway between the first and second knuckle joints, standing shoulder to shoulder, and enlarging the group until a complete circle was formed. Then, with a side shuffling motion, moving one foot to 796 the left and following it rapidly but rhythmically with 152 the other, the while lustily and seriously singing the song they had just learned, the dance continued, — a dull, monotonous, sleep-producing ceremony, until the onlooker was awakened by manifestations he little expected to see at an Indian thanksgiving dance. Very often it occurs that women of the tribe are affected with a somewhat similar excitement to that which seizes the negro when he has "the power." With a shriek, the woman hysterically leaps within the circle made by the dancers, and howls and shouts and dances and jumps, and then, perhaps, throws herself in a heavy stupor upon the ground. Some will run to the centre post, and, hanging on with one or both hands, will swing rapidly around until they fall exhausted to the ground. When the male members tire of seeing these excitable females upon the ground, they unostentatiously step up to the prostrate figures, seize their long thick hair, swing it over the shoulder, and thus proceed to

drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to." 796 152

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future. 796 [781] [782]

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out 796 537

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Hotouta, Chickapanagie, Spotted Tail, and one or two others who had been the leaders in thus countenancing the whites, and administered to them severe rebukes. After this, referring to the offer of the whites to give them farming implements, food, etc., if they would send their children to the Indians' school at Mohave, he urged his hearers to listen to no such proposals. He said in effect: "Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving of willows by their side. He will rob you of your corn-fields and of your peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting-grounds are now all occupied by him, the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of 'Those Above,' and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten." In other words, he endeavored to make it perfectly clear to the assembled Havasupais that the school proposition was a white man's scheme — a dodge — to get their children away so that eventually they

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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

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SINYELA, WITH EDUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

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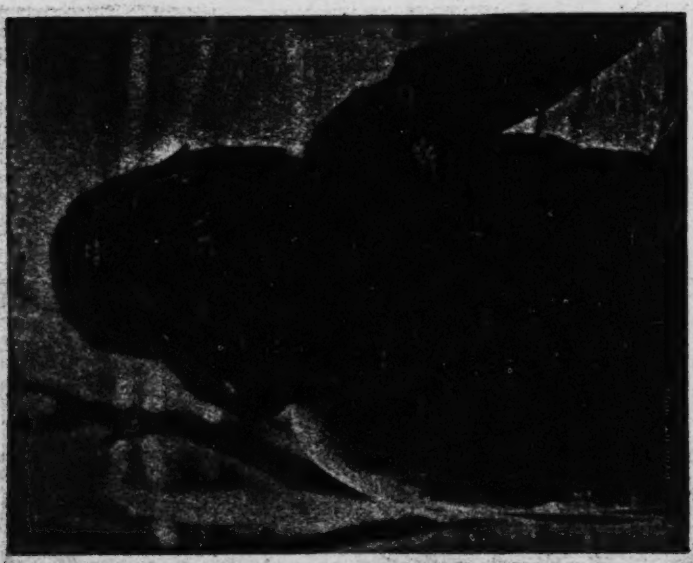

ROCK JONES, LEADING MEDICINE MAN OF HAVASUPAIS.

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787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

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you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars." 756

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness. [755]

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless 164 755 754 755

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to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweatings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!" 756

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power. [761 774] 763 755

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai. 55 576 775

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

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the East, is deemed the only appropriate gear in which to meet the dread summons to Shi-pa-pu. When life is extinct the dressed-up body is wrapped in the best blanket the hawa affords, and is then ready for the period of wailing and mourning. Relatives and friends of the deceased come and sit in the hawa, and as the spirit moves them they raise their voices in lamentation, or, singing the bravery, the daring, the good deeds of the deceased, ask for him a safe journey to the dread secret places of the underworld. Nothing can be more doleful than to hear these sad lamentations in the dead of the night. All is still, except the never-silent stream which steadily keeps up its murmur as it flows over the stones. Otherwise the very Angel of Silence seems to be brooding over the scene, for the babble of the creek merely accentuates the nearly perfect stillness. Suddenly a loud, long, minor wail rises from the hawa in the midst of the willows, and one feels that he can see the sound ascend to the heights of these enclosing walls, striking here and there, and then rebounding to opposing walls, until the canyon is full of voices, wailing one against the other and making a spirit chorus of infinite sadness and distress. The imagination unconsciously suggests that these echoing wails are the sympathizing spirit voices of men and women — former inhabitants of this canyon of the willows — who have come to weep with those who weep for their dead loved ones.

There is no fixed period for this wailing, but as soon as it is satisfactorily concluded the body is tenderly thrown across the best horse owned by the deceased, if a man, — or ridden by her, if a woman, — and, accompanied by other animals conveying some of his or her most desirable treasures, is taken to the burial or burn-

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764 ing ground. Prior to the advent of the white man the Havasupais practised cremation, and between Bridal Veil and Mooney Falls, and also on the rim of the Grand Canyon, at a place since named Crematory Point, the 764 remains of scores of burned bodies of men and women 768 and also of horses were recently to be seen. For it was deemed of the greatest importance to give the spirit of the deceased the spirit of his dead horse, upon which he might ride to the dark abode of the underworld. Before it was burned, the horse must be strangled, and this was done by tightly tying a strip of wet buckskin around his neck, and, as it dried, it rapidly contracted and thus strangled the doomed animal. Then both human being and animal were burned.

But even this was not considered a sufficient offering to the powers of the dead. Returning to the village, a peach tree in the orchard of the dead man was cut down that it might also be "dead" and thus accompany its owner to the spirit world and give him its refreshing fruit there. On the death of a chieftain or great warrior, several peach trees — thapala — are cut down.

Of late years, however, these customs of cremation, strangling of horses, burning of treasures, and cutting down of peach trees have not been as universal as formerly. Hotouta, the oldest son of Kohot Navaho, the last of the old chiefs, had great influence with his people, and Mr. Bass succeeded in convincing him of the extravagant folly of thus wasting on the dead, to whom the sacrifices were of no benefit, that which could be of so much use to the living. Consequently his influence materially helped to change the custom from cremation to ground interment. Later, after Hotouta's death, when several families had gone back to the old

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habit of cremation, others exercised their influence with the Havasupais to lead them to abandon the old custom. These endeavors were all effective to a large extent, and, when Captain Navaho, the last great Kohot the Havasupais will ever have, died in 1898, he was buried instead of being cremated. Late in 1897, however, the son of Sinyela died, and though in many things Sinyela is one of the most progressive of the Havasupais, he and his brother took the boy's body across a horse, tied an axe to the corpse, and started up the canyon towards Topocobya. When they returned the axe had been used, the horse was strangled, and burned bones of human and equine bodies in a side gorge attest the hold the old superstitions and customs still have upon the Havasupai mind.

And again in the summer of 1899 — May or June — when the daughter of the present Kohot and wife of Lanoman (another son of Sinyela) died, Lanoman felt that nothing short of the old and time-honored method of cremation would be suitable for the daughter of the new chief and the wife of so smart and bright an Indian as himself. For Lanoman knew more English, perhaps, than any other Havasupai, and was afflicted with the not uncommon complaint of great self-esteem and conceit. Accordingly, the body was clothed in the finest blankets of the wardrobe, and many precious things were taken with it to the Havasu Canyon below Mooney Falls. Tenderly the body was lowered down the already nearly useless ladder, and after suitable wailing, the funeral pyre was built, the body placed thereupon, more wood heaped around and over the body, and then the whole fired. When the body was destroyed, the mourners returned, kicking

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764 down the upper portion of the ladder as they did so,
768 that no other Havasupai should be burned there, and also that no white foot should again desecrate the sacred precincts of the lower Havasu Canyon. Then, that the favorite horse of the woman thus honored after her death should follow her to the underworld, it was taken to the edge of the plateau above, from which the descent to Bridal Veil and the upper portion of Mooney Falls is made, the wet strip of buckskin tied around its neck, and, as the cord dried and tightened, and the poor animal began to reel and totter in its death struggles, it was given a push, tumbled over the edge, and — instead of descending to the lower canyon at the foot of the Falls where the burned body was — fell on the shelves of limestone accretions which terrace the canyon at the side of the Falls, bounded from one terrace to another, and then, to the infinite disgust of the mourners, lodged there. And there it still remains — or what is left of it, for, as I passed by in July, 1899, though I could not see the animal, the frightful odor of the carrion ascended to the very heavens.

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The Havasupai Woman

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Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI WOMAN

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University of Utah

[Title page]

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Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

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114 papers, resulted from his field work in 1918, 1919, and 1921. My debt to Professor Spier will be self-evident to Southwestern scholars.

No attempt has been made to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task, since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier is cited where his monograph includes material not in my notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observations differ in any degree from mine or that a culture change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar example, and where Spier is directly quoted. In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhaustive search of literature, most of which is not indexed), only one example from Spier or other sources is cited, although additional references to the subject may occur in a publication.

122 I wish to express my appreciation for assistance received from the University of Utah Research Fund. It made possible much of the field work on which the present publication is based.

I am indebted also to my husband, Harold Murray Smithson, who financed my first and fourth field trips.

000 Members of my thesis committee were generous in their efforts to evaluate and to improve the original paper. They include Professors Elmer R. Smith, chairman, and Henry Frost and Robert Anderson, committee members. Professors E. Adamson Hoebel and Edward Norbeck also acted for a time as committee members.

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Fig. 1. Cataract Canyon, looking south from the old Apache trail. Twin monoliths, the Wegaleva, extend from the canyon wall at right. The Whitewall rises on the horizon in the distant background. The rock promontory, jutting from cliff in right foreground, has ruins of fortifications once used for defense against raiders.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural backgrouad, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed . [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Mirks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [618]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural groupinhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [133]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

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Fig. 2. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wealeva at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

system on the north and west. From the top of the San Francisco Peaks to the bed of the Colorado River, and within a span of about 60 mi., there is a difference in elevation of roughly 10,000 ft. Elevations on the plateau are between 6000 and 7000 ft., while the Havasupai farmlands lie on the floor of Cataract Canyon at an elevation of 3200 ft. This altitudinal range is accompanied by a change in climate with significant differences in flora and fauna. 133

Geology

The geology of the Grand Canyon, which contains one of the most complete stratigraphic exposures on earth, is a striking feature, but beyond that it is of particular importance in relation to the water supply.

The Coconino Plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which exhibits some karst topography and is extremely pervious. The mountains to the south and east are mainly basalt, being of volcanic origin, and a number of smaller cinder cones dot the landscape. The San Francisco Peaks have no permanent surface streams draining from their slopes, and it has been speculated that subsurface drainage from this area may be one source of the springs which emerge from pervious geologic strata in Cataract Canyon.

The Cataract Canyon drainage system, one of the major tributaries of the Colorado River, drains a region roughly rectangular in shape, approximately 50 mi. wide and some 60 to 70 mi. long, comprising an area of about 3500 sq. mi. Its southern boundary extends from Mt. Floyd and Bill Williams Mountain on the west to the San Francisco Peaks on the east. The area includes a major part of the Coconino Plateau.

Although, in this semiarid climate, the thirsty soil with its struggling plant cover and the underlying pervious limestones of the plateau absorb much of the precipitation, the torrential rains and sudden winter thaws so characteristic of desert country produce flood conditions in the lower canyons, an ever threatening hazard for the Havasupai. [132]

The Cataract Canyon drainage system originates in shallow valleys and deeper arroyos eroding the surface Kaibab limestone. The trellis pattern of arroyos on the plateau channels all run off into two canyons, Lee's and Walapai, which are the major tributaries of Cataract Canyon. The two main horse trails entering Cataract Canyon also follow these two tributaries. [487]

Cataract Canyon is formed by a broad upper gorge defined by the massive Coconino sandstone standing in sheer walls 1000 ft. high. Locally designated the Whitewall (Fig. 1) this prominent cliff has a talus composed of the Hermit shale which gives way to the Esplanade, a broad shelf sloping gently to the rim of the canyon's inner gorge.

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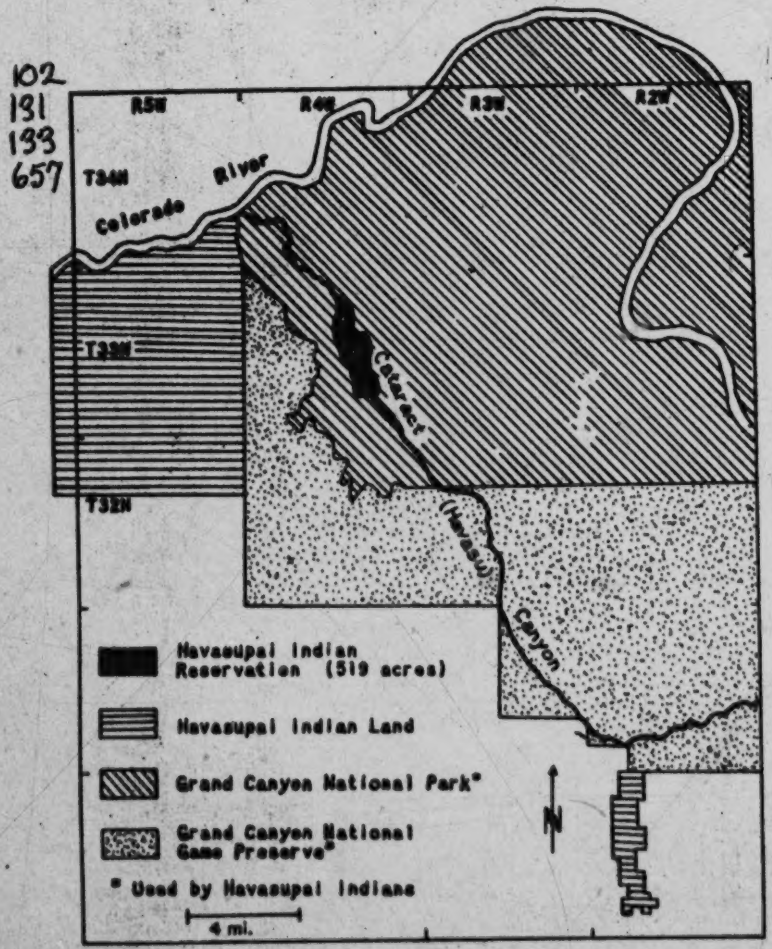

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below. 133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers. 221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasuapi in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation. 241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house. 133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usuage among residents of the area. [103]

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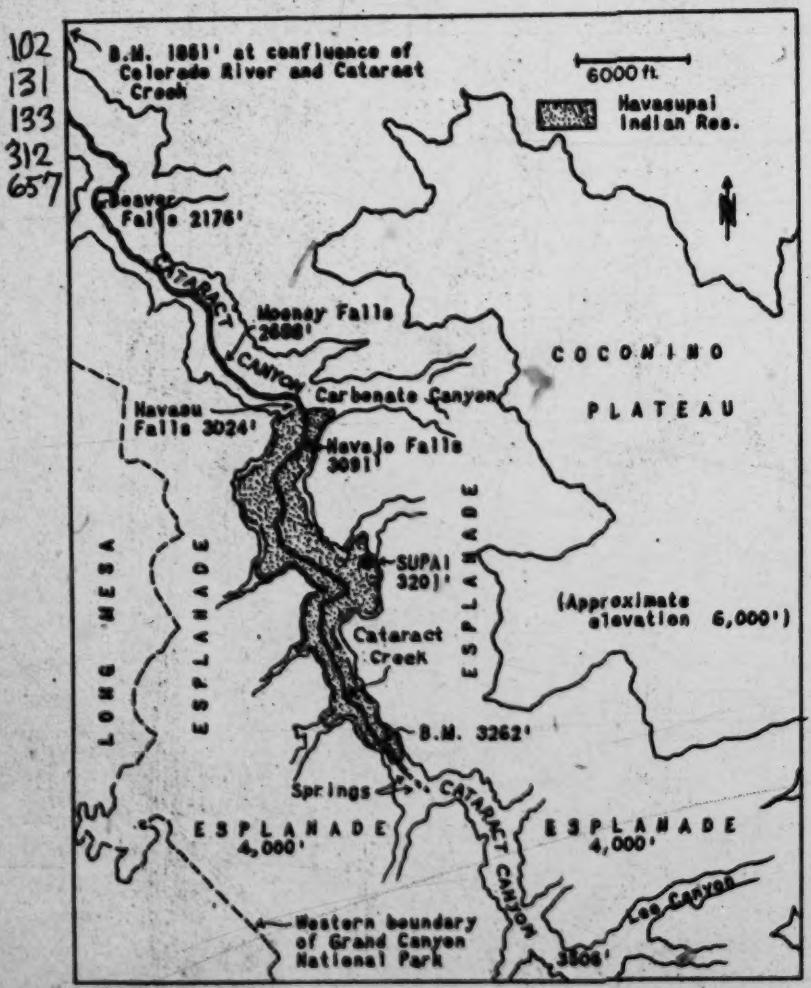

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

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Fig. 6. Fields in Cataract Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

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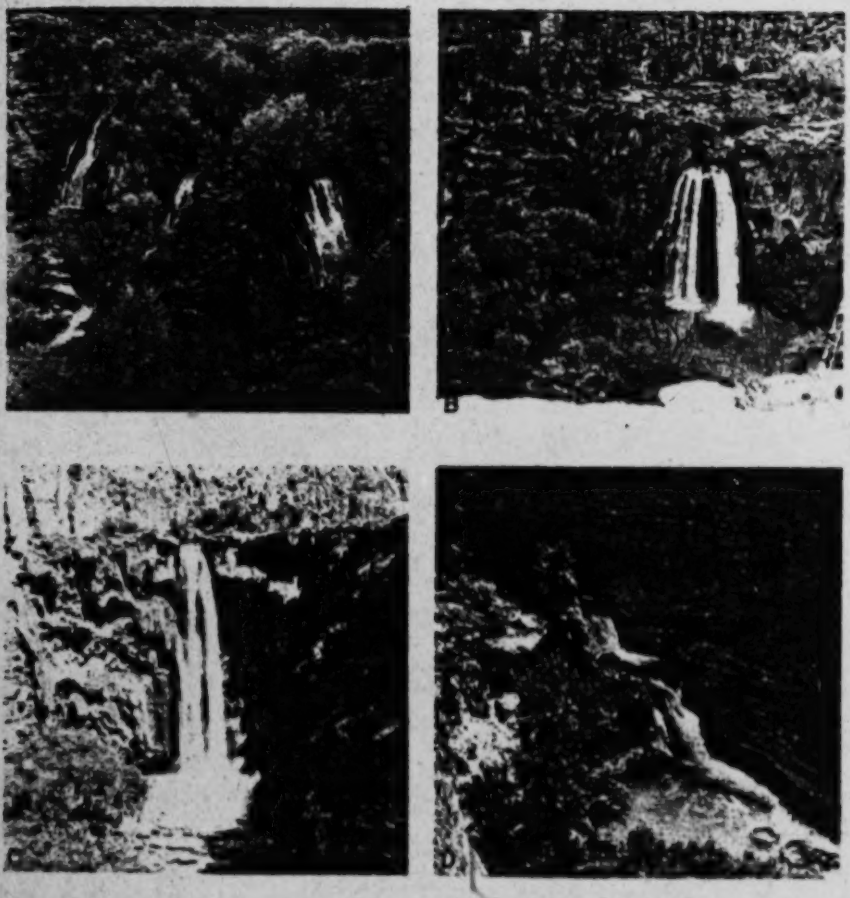

Fig. 7. Waterfalls below village. A, Navaho Falls, 80 ft. high. B, Havasu or Bridal Veil Falls, 110 ft. C, Mooney Falls, 220 ft. D, Beaver Falls, about 25 ft.

193 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 58).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

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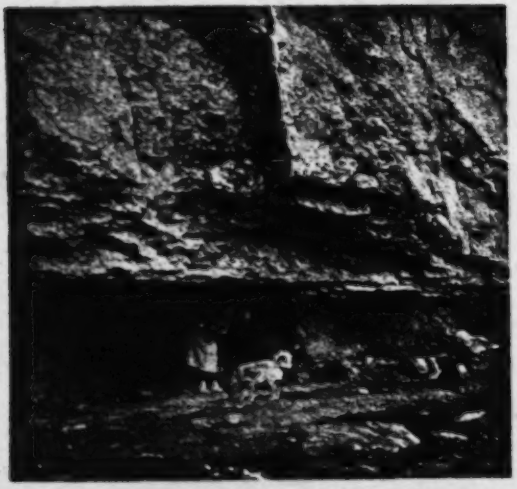

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Fig. 8. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, com- [361] [221] bined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the [372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet [276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in 361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields 312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 30 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 89), and 177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs.

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai do not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1958, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1958, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix, Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

657 871 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence [762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1953, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 56). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

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Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A. Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B. Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C. Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

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Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Cameron to A. Topocoba Hilltop, where B. it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C. the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 800 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 114 172 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 114 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 114 197 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasupai and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 35) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 3) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is vasúwa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasu were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1948, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai vasúwa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axá in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1858 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land

were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls. Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 58) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $45; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.
465

In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
231 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
511 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their
434 cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
464 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
166 relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe
[574] remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [637]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

776 177 787 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. [844] Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 362 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcopal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the woman have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B. Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 25 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [34] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 857 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [901 1304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby.
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus: [852]

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [824] 524 177

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin corameal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 146 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
574 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old.
[834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.3 individuals (Spier 1928, 310). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 5793 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 [591] [848] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal [591] grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he earns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Hers is a doll."

Economic Training

857 866 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 868 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 524 533 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

857 868 492 older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some [553] distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

857 868 492 [535] Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may nate, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
[591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 603 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. [587] During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

586 593 [587] Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived [428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion [787] supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer wanted her. 586

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipitated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working. 586 603

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance. 586

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these nonlineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly. 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

Training at Puberty

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A girl usually is prepared in advance by her mother for the physiological phenomenon of menstration. Apparently the experience is seldom traumatic if it occurs while a girl is living with her parents or relatives. However, among women interviewed on this subject, those who were in boarding school when the first menses occurred, almost without exception reported that they were frightened and did not know what to do, although most of them were not taken by surprise either in the occurrence of menstruation or its characteristics. On the other hand, women who observed puberty at home seemed unable to recall an initial reaction of fright or emotional distress. If they remembered their first reaction, it was described as excitement or nervousness.

While hysteria or extreme trauma was not reported for girls away from home, a few women reported that they were so frightened that they "cried at first," "cried all night," "went off alone and cried," or something similar. Usually, a girl confided in or sought assistance from a friend or matron.

It may be that the nature of the social environment, rather than the physiological phenomenon itself, is the primary cause of the different responses. Whether or not a pubescent girl has prior knowledge of menstruation and its traditional accompanying ritual appears to be a factor of somewhat less importance.

Although a consistent check was not made to determine how much advance knowledge a girl has of the puberty ceremony, and what her attitude toward its observance may be, most pubescent girls probably are aware that certain customs are followed such as a yucca suds bath and shampoo, body and face painting, and lying for a period of some days on a bed placed over heated rocks.

Upon appearance of a girl's first menses, her immediate awareness that the traditional ceremony cannot be performed for her because of her presence at boarding school may contribute to her emotional distress. Another disturbing factor may be the absence of her mother and other close relatives, and her own absence from the environment where she gained her earliest feelings of security. She may be further disquieted if she happens to be poorly adjusted or unreconciled to life away from home.

If a girl's knowledge of the traditional puberty ceremony is meager, older Havasupai girls in the school may instruct her in proper observance of taboos. If they give her a full description of the customary ceremony, with reasons for observance of its various features, this information probably adds to the pubescent girl's apprehension concerning neglect of the proper ritual.

881. 84 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
881 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
864 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak
841 frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔhu ɣ tʃga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔhuʔt' and red as ʔhuʔ'ta by this investigator.

Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
841 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
864 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for
362 herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
[641] because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
415 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 328) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, ślič (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[839] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant
[842] phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[841] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

291 ship period.
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[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and
[768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-8), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

864 894

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [183]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensiblyrather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 538 867

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct. 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 577 183 Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609] In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 183 609 Woman, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional [591] period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of [836] occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of [834] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 836 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural *abhorrence of death*. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married. 582 [586]

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 12, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognised.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son- [626]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy. "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[849] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[636] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 80 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter.
[431] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistence, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
586 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
584 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
178 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
177 acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 223), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 768

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also
[181] usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused,

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlicka, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age 55 among all Indian tribes.) 162

Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age 10, the group total was 55 males and 28 females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of 10 and 50, a nearly balanced sex ratio exists in all age brackets. [163] [165]

Spier (1928, 209) found that above and below the ages of 20 and 45 the sexes were nearly equal in numbers in 1918, and equality in these groups has continued to the present. (The individuals whose ages were below 20 in 1918 would have been 28 to 48 in 1950, and those over 45 would have been over 73 in 1950).

Among possible causes of excess in males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out, because the inequality did not appear above or below the age group in which the excess appeared in the 1918 population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century. Thus, it would have no bearing on the 20 to 45 age bracket of 1918. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is a measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905--if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, we have no record of individual deaths for that time. [165]

Above the age of 50, the longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of 20 to 45, and which, in 1918, had a male-female ratio of two to one. Thus, the present imbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets, and is not a recent development, except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of 20 the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last 30 year period and that, in the group now between 20 and 50, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis, since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of 162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems 000 in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postpone- 582 ment of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that 582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former 127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this and other information.) 582 127

In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 26.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 25, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the eldest 18. 582

For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the elder, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 24.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 36 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106]

Table 1. Mean age of spouses at marriage.

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A. Mean age at marriage for couples, regardless of whether either party had been married or unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (7 couples)	26.8 years	15.0 years	11.8 years
1950-54 (9 couples)	30.5 years	19.1 years	11.0 years

B. Mean age at marriage for couples in which both spouses were unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (5 couples)	22.4 years	15.0 years	6.6 years
1950-54 (5 couples)	24.6 years	17.0 years	7.6 years

582

C. Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

[587]

D. Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years	
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0

E. Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.

Husbands	Wives
	13.0 years
35.6 years	22.7 years

Table 2. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

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Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1950-54 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally [114] favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

582 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed
587 or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five [584] of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households apd some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary
591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 234) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
694 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [586] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 562 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband. 593 578

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence. 593

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 826 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Although a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 826 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 774 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

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Havasupai

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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant 1:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

[439] "Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in dan-
756 ger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
844 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [353 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were de-
165 scribed in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended,
[177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth.
165 In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The
177 next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the
177 bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. 844
It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest-if anything irregular happens 177
to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been air-
lifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone
service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the sum-
mer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother
to leave Supai for delivery; only a small percentage of births still occurred
in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with 593
household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers 461
about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she 855
can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a
brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the
outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother
spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small
children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise
they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married
woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate
her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their
time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works [854]
she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal.
She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl
and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's
play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two
merely because she has less work to do and other children are not compet-
ing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some as-
sistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from
other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes
the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always
some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to
do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

603
Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or inter- 593
feres with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, 578
resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 604

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
[586] children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

D

Fig. 18. Old age. A, Bapai Shorty Mantoya, about 74. B, Allen Aimba, about 74. C, Spoonhand, age 86. D, Bapai Mary Wasongame, age 66. Both Spoonhand and Bapai Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official advisor to the youthful head chief.

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
591 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[778] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

889 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neigh-
736 boring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just de-
[145] scribed, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair,
[481] and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate
[153] and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have some-
[562] what greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported [764] by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 282-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held [177] for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead [768] person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees [114] may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes [423] that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property.

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been [114] held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established [171] among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that [765] "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the [769] Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives [551] of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his [787] relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the [755] land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de-

764 ceased away thus saving the dreamer from death.

[562] There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a consequence of the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [476]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[184] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
439 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white familes in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [372]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, [768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was 423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con- 428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male 562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among 428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela- 177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title 562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em- [423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of 423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of 562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.) 423 428 562

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry. [587]

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.
428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
423 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
428 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
562 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died
578 but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

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Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putsoy, Lisa Mitiava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back. Spier (1928, 127) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tarasco NT14
Haywood

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[314]

Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lina Iditicawa displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

4: Smithson. Bull. (1931-1936) 1934 ST14 Pickens Tennessee ST14
Newspaper

852
192
(231)
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402
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Fig. 29. Women grinding corn. A, Edith Pickney prepares ground corn for johnny cake type of bread. B, Mamie Chisk grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, aqilea (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath ner, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djk). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 262 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

[251] Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

[177] In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

252 262 177 Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi contact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ' -vâ' i -ñût. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 262 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

612 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained much eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

[542] Spier reported that in 1930 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
597 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [581]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

867 562 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 [573] Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [896] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 578 156 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 839 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

562 967 181 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

181 562 967 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

421 562 [221]

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

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THE HAVASUPAI and THE HUALAPAI

FLAGSTAFF

[TITLE PAGE]

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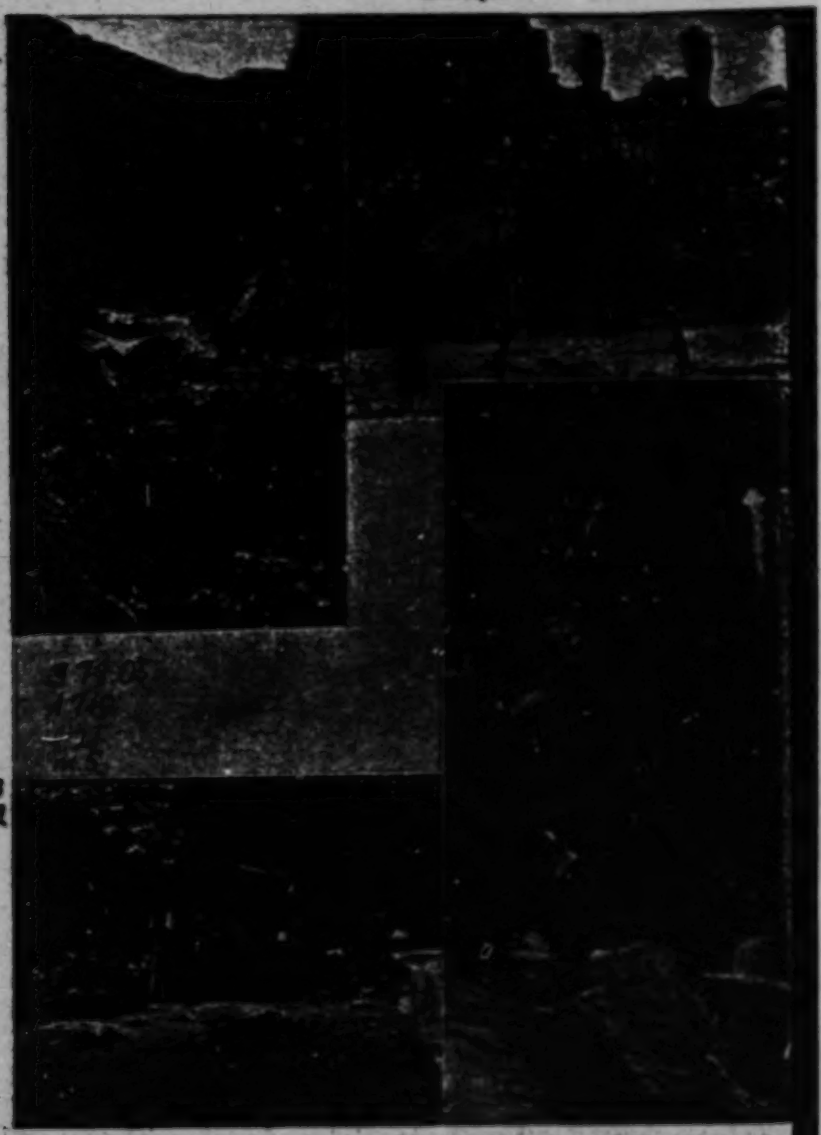

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Cremation Knoll in the lower "basement" section of the canyon, where the dead were cremated in the early days. Top right shows the Twin Falls opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai Indian and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall in Lower Mooney Falls.

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THE HAVASUPAI
and
THE HUALAPAI

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Foreword

AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Tormey, President

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1929 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [171]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chlorids. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 158

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [197]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 173 048

boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1882 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red speckled bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Most in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by kinship ties. This grouping is based on or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the property are regarded as a distinct unit. Some young couples build a house soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a house of their own.

Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

skis, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practised from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [315]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [340]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [437]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [37] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, grabbing them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is pounded on the metate, pressed into large cakes and cooked later.

Much of the beef and game is dressed and boiled while fresh, but some of it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin pieces and hung to dry over a fire. It is generally necessary to parch this meat with a little water, if it is cooked and dried it is commonly stored with other supplies of dried food. Some flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter months on the plateau. The pinon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground on the metate into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow-leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 [254]

The Havasupai house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or hogan. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 369 [254] [255] [256]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

plaster. Marks were made on each meal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the food supply safe from the fleas that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, impacting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocoba Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are dished from the stove with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while much is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting pinon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are parched.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and pinon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, pinon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 212 224 [142] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 225 [113] [147] [142]

The best material for making twined baskets is the sumac, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [124]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 295 445 521 [142]

285
[illegible] water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
531 them with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

534 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[illegible] The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
537 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

574 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 clan or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate rel-
602 atives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

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The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 598
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a man [154
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 578
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *namadjidjia*, your mother, *namadjitaika*, your father, or *hamagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 584
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 843
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 845
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. Fearing that she
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old woman attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [847
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their activities, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 523 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 771 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 121

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-kah-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-kah-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another.He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the house of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place
in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the super-
natural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water.
When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face
as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
777 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
785 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only shamans see
ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost
appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will
soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forerunners of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
789 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 378.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 778 [768]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [795]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localised. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 787 775 [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 754 [948]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. 797 [925]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sticks out the 755 756

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

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THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

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where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1500 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

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that during Period I the Cohonina were but slightly differentiated from their Cerbat cousins to the west (Fig. 1) (this assuming that the two "tribes" split from the same basic stock). 172

The adaptation to the new conditions was probably achieved by small family groups, the techniques doubtless being the result of a combination of Kayenta methods and old traditional patterns.

The Cohonina of Period I were laying a foundation for a new type of life, one which was to serve its people for many generations to come. These people were leading a frontier existence and were pioneers in the strict sense of the word.

Period II — Growth

By 700 A.D. the Cohonina knew enough about their newly-settled country so that a period of growth could begin. The population tripled by 800 A.D. and doubled again by 900 A.D. (Schwartz 1955b). Settlements now covered most of the Coconino plateau and by this time were even found around the northern part of the San Francisco Peaks to the southeast.

The flood-plain method of farming (Bryan 1929) was probably the most widely practiced technique, for this was a time of excellent growing possibilities because of the relatively high amount of moisture. Farming was also more extensively practiced now because of the greater population, but there is no evidence as yet to suggest a seasonal occupation of the plateau or that there were any non-Cohonina settlements in the area.

Other changes were also taking place in Cohonina culture. Architecture began to take on a more permanent nature, with the development of stone masonry, but perishable structures were still an important dwelling feature. Ceramic influence from the Kayenta country became increasingly significant. Not only were Kayenta pots obtained in trade, but their designs were copied on Cohonina products. As a result of this influence from the northeast, and through internal growth, Cohonina culture was well on the way to achieving its first climax.

Period III — Climax

The next two hundred years of Cohonina development, 900 A.D. to 1100 A.D., were plainly such a climax. The population reached its peak, and the cultural inventory began to ramify through many paths of experimentation. These new attempts are most noticeable in the architecture, where a number of distinct construction styles can be observed: masonry surface granaries, patio houses, rectangular forts, and the old stand-by, the brush dwelling (McGregor 1951).

All the available land on the plateau was now being used, and since the population was probably still growing, new locations were needed in which to farm. It was apparently as a result of this population pressure that the canyons of the great Colorado River system were first used on a permanent basis. The most striking example of this,

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172 and certainly the most successful of the experiments in this new way of life, was the occupation of Cataract Creek Canyon. Perhaps this canyon had been explored previously, but now its virgin fields were being harnessed to produce food for a growing population. The few bold families who established homes in the canyon at an elevation almost a mile lower than those of their contemporaries were the vanguard of a new era for the Cohonina. They were to provide the necessary adaptations to enable the rest of the tribe to survive in the coming period of natural and artificial desiccation which destroyed much of the life of the northern Southwest (Reed 1944).

The agricultural techniques of this period were enriched by the addition of irrigation, which must have been necessary for life in the canyon. The farmers, attracted to the permanent stream in Cataract Creek Canyon, may have traded with the irrigators of the Verde Valley (Bartlett 1939) and, seeing how efficient this method of cultivation was there, may have applied it to their own area. At this time also there may have been the development of a seasonal economic dichotomy. Those who moved into the canyon to farm undoubtedly found it a wonderful place for summer cultivation. However, it was certainly not suitable for winter living, because of the short winter days, the lack of fuel, the scarcity of wild food, and the high humidity caused by the stream. As a result, it is reasonable to assume that these early canyon farmers went back up to the plateau and joined the rest of the tribe during the winter to hunt and gather. With the events that were to follow in the coming decades, this pattern of seasonal economic change was to grow and become the focus of all Cohonina life.

From the fact that we find no burials, we assume that the dead were disposed of by cremation at this time. This trait probably came into the upland area, with the Cohonina, from the west.

Three main processes were involved in the development from Period II to Period III. These were diffusion, population growth, and the development of new ecological possibilities. The diffusion of new traits, mostly from the Kayenta area, pottery designs, architectural types, economic techniques, and undoubtedly a number of non-material traits, was the initial process which caused the changes differentiating the two periods. The difference in habitation concentration also distinguishes the two periods, the first being one of growth, the second one of climax. The utilization of the canyon, which resulted in an incipient seasonal economic dichotomy, further intensified the differences from the previous period.

Period IV — Defeate

Between 1100 and 1300 A.D. non-Cohonina peoples were in Cataract Creek Canyon, living alongside the original canyon inhabitants. It was near the end of Period III that the Cerbat (Fig. 1), the first of these foreign peoples, came to live with the Cohonina. They represented the beginning of a movement into the canyon which lasted over one

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hundred years and which was to swell its population many fold. Beginning at approximately 1100 A.D., the movement into the canyon also brought Prescott groups from the south, Kayenta peoples from the east, and the remainder of the Cohonina, who up to this time had lived more or less permanently on the plateau. These migrations were probably due to the pressure of raiders. The raiders, whoever they were, may have been forced into their way of life because of the decrease in general moisture which characterized this period and possibly caused them to desert their own land. The population of the plateau Cohonina dropped sharply during Period IV, and by 1200 A.D. they had abandoned their upland home entirely. 172

Only at this time were cliff dwellings occupied, a fact which perhaps reflects the nature of the period. It seems reasonable to assume that protection was the motive behind these population movements, with the canyon providing the logical defense against the intruders.

During the latter part of the period, when there were no more full-time residents on the plateau, the seasonal economic dichotomy, which possibly began earlier, must have been completed. Summer-canyon and winter-plateau life was probably a universal Cohonina trait. Considering the habitation density in the canyon during this period, three times greater than the estimated density in historic times, one is forced to conclude that the canyon's occupants would have used the plateau in the winter to supplement the summer agricultural harvest.

During this time three processes of change were important: diffusion, population pressure, and the necessity for defense. A few ceramic traits are the only items which were definitely diffused to Cohonina culture, but the presence of many foreign groups suggests that other traits were probably also borrowed. Population concentration, which reached an all-time canyon high, certainly affected the dynamics of Cohonina culture, but the necessity for defense was the dominant feature of this period, touching many parts of Cohonina culture and society and possibly changing each.

From the standpoint of rate of culture change, this period might be contrasted with the following one. Change, as well as population density, was extremely high during Period IV, which on this basis might be interpreted as the second climax in Cohonina culture history. Significantly, it followed directly on the heels of the previous climax, and except for the fact that it was in a different location and had a new orientation, it might be considered a phase of the same peak. The Cohonina culture and society of Period IV were certainly distinctive; never before or after was northwestern Arizona to see anything comparable.

Period V — Tranquility

In the latter part of Period IV there was a sharp decrease in raiding, evidenced by the movement of habitation off the cliffs, back to the talus top and probably the valley floor. By 1300 A.D., the beginning

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172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture.

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776, when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Sinclair, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

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the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play, and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually replaced by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete, took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

By LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] American Anthropologist, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

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105 171 emted in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

121 125 In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterising the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterisations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[1] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[2] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from 171 abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[3] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

105 171 Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[1] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[2] Op. cit., 451.

[3] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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	Central California	Southern California
Boats	balsa	canoe
Cradle	trapezoidal basketry sex indicated	U-frame *horizontal ribs
Birth Customs	*limited couvade *meat taboo	*limited couvade *meat taboo
Names	meaningful for ancestors	(for relatives?)
Social Organization	*some patrilineal moieties	patrilineal sibs ceremonial phratries
Marriage	*polygamous purchase *temporary matrilocal levirate sororate	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal levirate sororate
Kinship System	Omaha type	*Yuman type
Political Organization	rich chiefs *hereditary	*chiefs *hereditary titles for chiefs
	herald	ceremonial leaders
Money	shell money	
Shamanism	*important guest or *dream *some inheritance	*important by birth or *dream
	bear, snake, and rain doctors *disease agent pathogenic	bear, snake, and rain *pathogenic
Religious Concepts	guardian spirits	* mystic, inward view
Rituals and Dances	Hukas cult spirit impersonation initiation foot drum in winter	Toloache rites myth references initiation ground paintings song cycles

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Southern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	West
cause *	balse	some balsas	*
U-frame *horizontal ribs	*U-frame *horizontal ribs	*elliptical vertical ribs for transport	*
*limited couvade *meat taboo	*meat taboo	*limited couvade *meat taboo *sorcerer	
(for relatives?)	reticent *nicknames	*readily used *nicknames and meaningless	*
patrilineal sibs ceremonial phratries	patrilineal inheritance of group names for women	*sibless	
*polygamous *agreement patrilocal levirate sororate	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal	*polygamous bride service *temporary matrilocal levirate sororate	*
*Yuman type	*Yuman type	*Yuman and Mackenzie types	
*chiefs *hereditary titles for chiefs ceremonial leaders	*tribal cohesion generous chiefs *hereditary war leaders dance leaders	*chiefs; advisory hunt chief *speaker	
*important by birth or *dream	*dream *shaman killed	*important men and women *dream *shaman killed	
...ears bear, snake, and rain) *pathogenic	soul loss	*pathogenic	
*_ mystic, inward view	*_ myth-dreams	(guardian spirits?)	
Tolowaka rites myth references initiation ground paintings song cycles	absent song-myth cycles *Mohave dance *circle dance	*scanty *Bear dance *circle dance *reluctance to dance	

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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	Western Mohaveria	Pueblo
ase	*some	*some
al	*elliptical	rectangular?
ribe	*horizontal ribe	wood
sport	for transport also cloth swing	*for sleeping
ssumde po r		
ased and meaningless	*esoteric	esoteric refers to sib changed at initiation
	sibs; some pat- rilineal moieties	matrilineal sibs; some patrilineal moieties
e rvice matrilocal	*polygamous *agreement patrilocal, some temporary matrilocal some levirate and sororate some mother-in-law taboo	monogamous *agreement matrilocal and patrilocal *— *—
Mohavean types		Acoma and Crow types
dvisory f	*chiefs; some hereditary some councils	dual chieftainship priestly councils
	crier dance leader	crier war priest as dance leader
	*important men and women *inheritance	curing fraternities *vision quest absent
illed	weather shamans	
o	*-	*pathogenic *— *rain fertilization color and direction symbolism
spirits?)	moderate curing dance *harvest dance ground paintings some tablets	numerous; calendric ceremonial fraternities initiation *masks tablets
e nce e to dance		

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	Central California	Southern California	Lower Co
Food	wild seeds and small game	wild seeds and small game	*agricult mostly w
			*planting
			*side-ser fish
	fish	rabbit net	
		curved club	curved c
	*mortar	*mortar	wooden m
		*grinding slab	*grinding
	*seed parching	*seed parching	*seed par
Houses	earth lodge	*gable-roofed or	square:
	*gable or *conical mat covered	*conical	roofed
		*brush and dirt	wood, b
Sweathouse	sweat slab-house contains fire	*sweathouse fire	no sweat
Basketry	*mush		scarce
	*twine	little twine	some tw
	*coil	coil	
	some jugs	some jugs	
	*conical burden	*conical	carrying
Weaving		*rabbitskin blankets	string
Pottery		rough, brown steatite pots	usually painte
ornamenting			
Dress	d- apron	d-apron	d-apro
	hairnet	*p-two aprons	* p-two
	*p- two aprons	basket hat	
	*rabbitskin robe		*head ja
	*moccasins	fiber sandals	barefoo
	*tattooing	*tattooing	*tattooi
War and Weapons	*peaceful	*peaceful	warlike
	*self bow	*self bow	*self bo
	*backed	*reed arrows	*reed ar
			club
	no scalping	*scalping	*scalpin

Table 1. The element

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ifornia	Lower Colorado River	Basin	Wes
ad	*agriculture mostly women	wild seeds and small game	agri
	*planting stick		*pla
	*side-scraper hoe		*sid
	flesh	flesh	*fle
		*rabbit drives	
		rabbit net	
	curved slab	*seed beater	
b	wooden mortar		
	*grinding slab	*grinding slab	*gri
g	*seed parching	*seed parching	*see
	square; gambrel-roofed	*conical	
rt	wood, brush and dirt	*brush and dirt	
	no sweathouse	*sweathouse	
		*stones, steam	
	coarse	*mesh	
	some twine	*twine	
		*nail	
		*jugs pitched	
	carrying frame	*conical	
lankets	string bags	*rabbitskin blankets	
	unslipped painted	(some rough ware?)	
		smoke tan	
	♂-apron or *breechcloth	scanty; *breechcloth	
	♀-two aprons	♀-skin dress? *two aprons	
		basket hat	
	*bead jewelry	*rabbitskin robe	
ale	barefoot?	*moccasins and sandals	
	*tattooing		
	warlike	*peaceful	
	*self bow	*backed bow	
	*reed and *wood arrows	*wood arrows	
	club		
	*scalping	*scalping	

Table 1. The elements characterizing the several sub-areas of the Havasupai area.

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	Western Hancherie	Pueblo
and	some agriculture with irrigation	*main dependence on agriculture
	wild seeds and game of equal importance	*men and women till
	*planting stick	*irrigation
	*side-scraper hoe	*planting stick
	*fish taboo	*side-scraper hoe
		fish
ves		*rabbit drives
		carved club
r		domestic turkey
lab	*pit roasting	*grinding slab
ing	*seed parching	*wafer bread
	*sub-conical or *gable roofed	communal; rectangular
dirt	*brush and dirt	masonry
	*sweathouse	kiva
wes	*stones, steam	fire
	*yucca	cotton
	cotton	splint
	twine	wicker
ed	splint	coil
blankets	some	yucca; some
	loom, spindle, belt loom	loom, spindle, belt loom
	*some cotton grown	cotton grown
h ware?)	*rough, brown	highly developed slipped and painted (some?)
	*some	
breechclout	*(-breechclout	*(-poncho
ns? *two aprons	*(apron or skirt (skin dress	kilt ?-square of cloth
robe	*bead jewelry	bead jewelry
and sandals	*moccasins and sandals	*moccasins and sandals
		*women barefoot at home
	predatory	*peaceful
	*self bow	*self bow
s	*wood and reed arrows	*wood arrows
		carved club
	*tunic armor	blade-studded club
	shield	shield
	*scalping	*scalping

of the Havasupai area.

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	Central California	Southern California
Rituals and Dances(cont.)	Rattlesnake rite shamanistic displays clown dance house magpie headdress cleft rattle	fire dance stick swallowing circular enclosure turtle and *gourd rattle feather skirt
Puberty Rites	some boys' teloache rites *girls' rites scanty *meat taboo *scratcher	boys' teloache rites girls' rites dance *heating *meat taboo *scratcher
Death Customs	*cremation some burial some mourning anniversary pitch on widows	*cremation some burial mourning anniversary
Pattern Number	*4,6	various
Folktales	animal tales personifications origins for traits	sky father and earth mother *birth and wandering of men *dying god god of ritual
Games	hand game	hand game
Language	Yokuts Miwok Wintun Maidu etc.	Shoshonean *Yuman Chumash

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hern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	Wes
		*dance directors	
dances		*shamanistic displays	*ma
x swallowing			*cl
ular enclosure		(circular enclosure?)	*br
le and *gourd rattle			
her skirt	basket drum	notched rasp	
' tolcache rites	*(drink tolcache)	*beauty girls' rites	gir
s' rites	*beauty girls' rites	seclusion	cer
e			
ing	*beating		
taboo		*meat taboo	
toher		*scratcher	*sc
ation	*cremation	burial	*cr
burial	*house burned	some cremation	bur
ning anniversary	mourning for notables		*ho
	structure burned		
pan	*4	5	
er and earth mother	wandering heroes	*animal stories	*cr
l wandering of man	transformed		*wa
s	*antagonistic heroes		*wo
itual	*dying god		god
	*flood		sib
	sky-rattlesnake		*co
	*tribes located		
	war tales		
game	*hoop and pole	hand game	*st
	*hidden ball		*hi
	*cup and pin		*ho
			*sh
shonean	*Yuman	Shoshonean	Ath
s		Washo	*Yu
ath			Pi

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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basin	Western Anasheria	Pueblo
directors		altars
listic displays	*masks	ground paintings
	*clowns	*prayer offerings
ar enclosure?)	*brush enclosure	fetiches
		images
d rasp		ceremonial chambers
		*clowns
		dance directors
		*gourd rattle
		*drum
girls' rites	girls' adolescence	*(drink tolowche)
ion	ceremony/seclusion	ceremonial washing
ahoo		
her	*scratcher	
	*cremation	burial
remation	burial	
	*house burned	
		*4, *7
stories	*emergence and deluge	*emergence and deluge
	*water-and sun-conceived heroes	
	*monsters destroyed	
	gods	gods
	sibs located	
	*coyote tales	
me	*stick dice	ritual significance
	*hidden ball	stick racing
	*hoop and pole	*hidden ball
	*shinny	*stick dice
		*hoop and pole
mean	Athapaskan	Tanoan
	*Tanoan	Keresan
	Piman	Zuñi
		Shoshonean

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ists like the Pueblos and conduct cultivation in the same fashion, more so than the lower Colorado tribes. There is however an alternation with fall-to-spring seed- and root-gathering activities of the Basin type. The house construction of the Basin and Western Rancheria areas is similar, with the Havasupai showing something of lower Colorado and southern California forms as well. Their sweatlodge and its uses are of the type widespread in the western non-Pueblo area, the Basin, the Northwest, and the Plains. Domestic utensils are large numbers of baskets as in the Basin and in twine technique. Seed-beaters, parching trays, narrow-necked jugs, and conical burden baskets have Basin and central Californian affiliations on the whole. Pottery is specifically the Western Rancheria type, which has analogues in the southern Basin. Dress for women is the two-apron affair of California and the Basin in contrast to the Pueblo garment. Men's costumes resemble the Plains, hence may have no claim to antiquity.

Social customs and organization are of the excessively simple Basin type. Every vestige of sibs is lacking; the family is the sole unit, with some further nucleating because of common patrilocal residence, which in turn is based on patrilineal inheritance of land. Marriage is permissibly polygamous (in contrast to strict Pueblo monogamy) and contracted by agreement. Post-nuptial residence is temporarily matrilocal as in the Basin and central California, in contrast on the one side to the matrilocal western Pueblos and on the other to patrilocal southern California. Kinship terminology is characteristically Yuman. In the readiness with which personal names are used they are unlike the generality of Southwestern and Californian peoples. In their meaningless character, or as nicknames, these resemble the Basin. The slight political structure is also of Basin type: chiefs have advisory function alone and at meetings are provided with speakers. There is none of the pluralistic leadership (hunt bosses, etc.) of Basin type, however, and their bias toward hereditary succession aligns them rather with the Californians. Tribal solidarity of the lower Colorado pattern exists, but we must not overlook that the Havasupai form but a single local group in contrast to the large tribal aggregations of that region. On the other hand

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105 171 they have emphatically the peaceful disposition of the Pueblos, the Basin peoples, and California at large.

Crisis ceremonialism is absent. At birth, there is a limited couvade which connects with the Basin especially and California. Cremation aligns them with the tribes to the west rather than the Pueblos, but commemorative rites of the western region are lacking. Of adolescent rites, those for boys are lacking, as in the Basin; girls' rites and in fact menstrual customs at large are of the Californian type and the Basin, except that there is no seclusion, in which they are one with Pueblos and the Plains tribes.

The relative prominence of the shaman and the absence of organized religious rites is again an expression of an outlook basically of Basin type. Specifically, familiar spirits are possessed by shamans alone, whose power is acquired in dreams. Specialization is minimal; weather shamans, e.g., hardly form a separate class. The absence of the vision-quest is Californian, Basin, and Southwestern; the dream source, Basin and Californian. Disease is due to a pathogenic agent, as in all neighboring areas except the lower Colorado. Pueblo religious concepts appear only in some prayer plume planting, rain producing as an indefinite aim of social dancing, and Pueblo ritualism only in some slight masked dancing.

Dances are secular and specifically of Basin type, the round (squaw) dance and the Bear dance. Ritual dances of the Pueblos are as such absent; nor is the absorption of the lower Colorado tribes in ritual without dancing duplicated here. Masks, altars, ground paintings, god impersonation, ritual chambers, organized bodies, a priesthood, are all absent; on the other hand, song cycles are also.

Their mythology is a neat blend of Western Rancheria types, those of the Colorado and southern California, with a large ingredient of Basin tales. The dying god, the emergence and deluge, the wanderings of peoples, sun- and water-conceived heroes in the forms known to Pueblos and southern Californians are compounded. Familiar Coyote tales of the Basin reappear. There is no color-direction symbolism. The pattern number is four and sometimes seven, but it figures in the tales alone. In the Basin

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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable. 105 171

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos. 171

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain. 171 174

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors' 171 241 x

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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[4] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[4] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 125-142, 1923.

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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

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The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs' references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

101 161 THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has 114 published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted 177 the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

311 423 The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

114 596 [613] The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in [591] the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H—Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Clan*

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423 planted stand in the fields and not cut or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[423 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it wherever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
177 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
648 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
428 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
621 argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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complexities indicates that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious intricacies of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and coöperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgullo, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgullo never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Mischa Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

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428 then a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible 208 423 that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided 311 among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, 423 there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

428 In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, 768 perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai *say* that newlyweds should be given land 423 by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

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relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to *use* the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among

9 Out of 39 intra-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising form the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger exogamous unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

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33rd AND SPRUCE STREETS - PHILADELPHIA

9:Emerick E-6 (1953) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14 .
Havasupai

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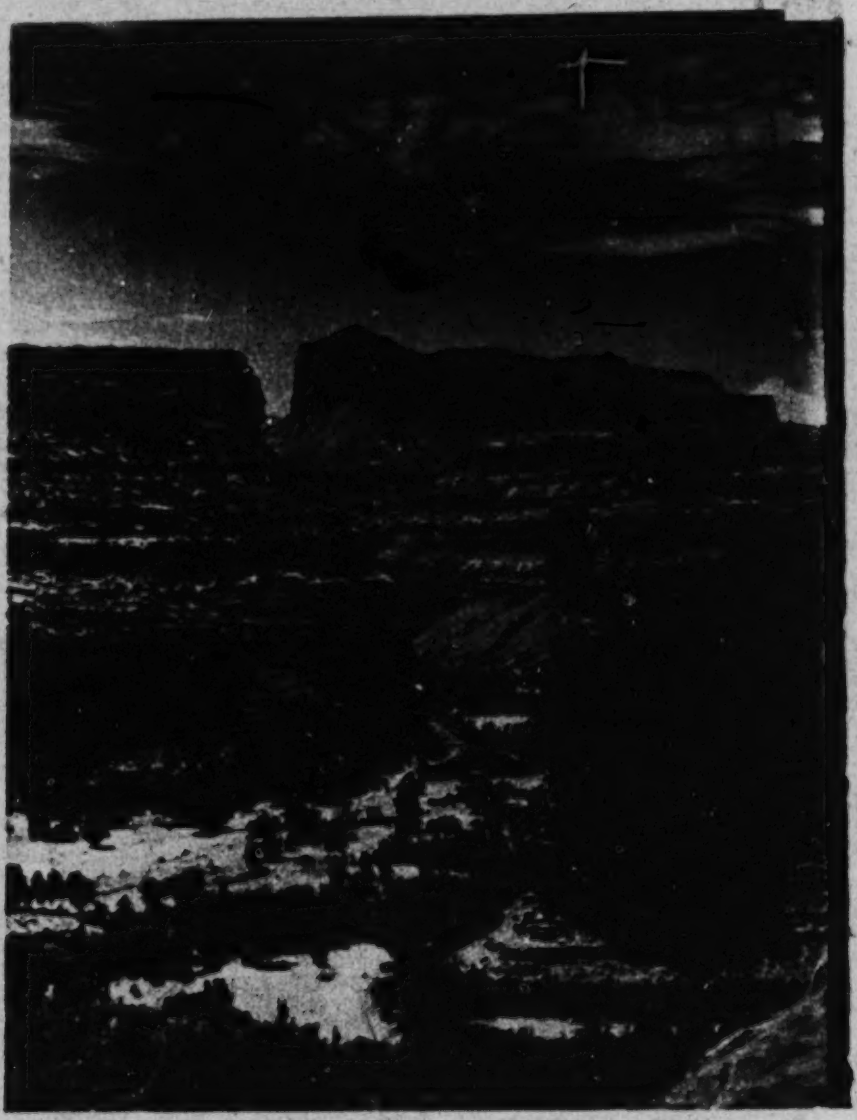

Cataract Canyon viewed from the northwest.

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THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bountcous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

175 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the
487 canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more
487 popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come.

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown.

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians.

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for

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An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

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Mamie Chickapaniga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the lush reward for much tender care.

133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of three magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

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Havasu falls is the loveliest of the three cataracts over which Cataract Creek tumbles and is one of the most memorable sights in the Southwest.

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stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [412] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[431] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

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Reed Watahomigie was once the only Indian postmaster in the United States. His gentle smile is typical of most of the Havasupais.

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Though many Havasupai women use modern metal corn grinders, some still prefer the metate and mano.

Lina Iditicava is one of the oldest as well as one of the best Havasupai basket-makers.

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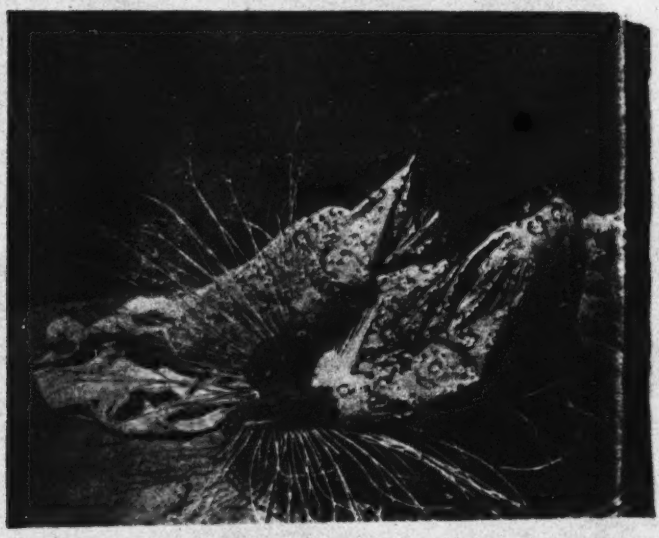

[p. 42]

such items as Lucky Strikes, Carnation Milk and Tide washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati. 177 443 655

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year. 177 485 655

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings. 177 648

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy. 443 177 [285]

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not. 177 648

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

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A sweathouse framework.

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A completed sweathouse showing the nearby pile of stones which are heated and carried inside to produce steam when they are sprinkled with water.

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Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

55 517 [255] blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512 By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

10:Henshaw E-4 (no date) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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HANDBOOK

OF

AMERICAN INDIANS

NORTH OF MEXICO

[Title Page]

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IN TWO PARTS

PART 1

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Havasupai

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Havasupai ('blue-or-green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in n.

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HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. i, 62, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Cosninos" roamed from the

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Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present village, composed of temporary cabins or shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 135 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datils and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

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primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 283 in 1902, 174 in 1906. (H. W. H.)

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11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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Havasupai

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[TITLE PAGE]

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY
R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist. 114

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Coohnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai. [161] [131] [175] [10] 114 [173] 175 114

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory.

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai.

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches.

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254).

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Ash'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191).

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and danger-
ous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to an-
other as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[348] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[861] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the mur-
muring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 party."
175
The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware,
[648] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

000 Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women
[171] and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the Pueblan Indians.

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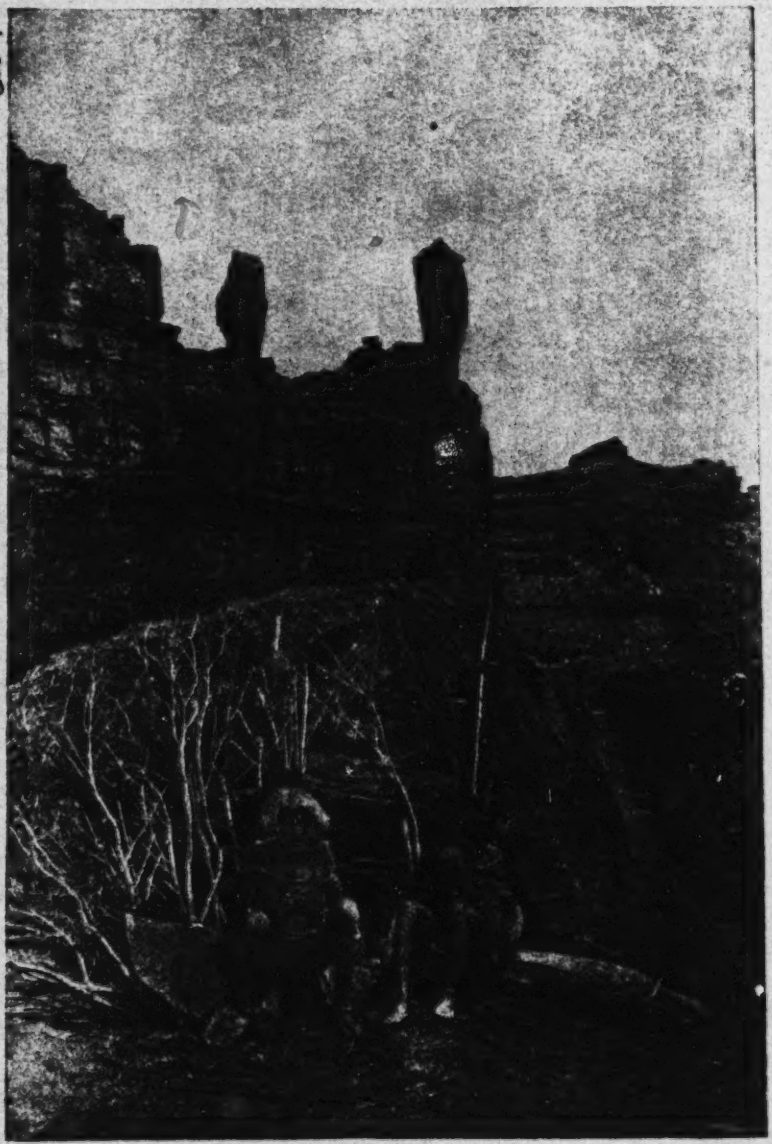

AN AGED PAIR OF HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

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AN HAVESU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

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The Nation of the Willows.
I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched
133 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as
241 we rode along the river trail. These
311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
342 Here and there were little cabins, or
361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

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The Nation of the Willows.
I

123 run forward and warn the tribe — whose
609 voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, [574] a former host welcomed him and us with jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

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THE NATION OF The Willows.

II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

175 More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which it still retains.

131 The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, piñons, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many

[137]

[P. 541A] VARIETIES.

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II

varieties. Upon this strange desert, some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-paí," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cataract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime. The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the material for the mescal, or *ak-na*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-su-paí, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and October.

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October. Quail and smaller birds, rabbits, squirrels, and a few burrowers constitute the sparse fauna, although along its unscaled cliffs still wanders the bighorn, or *Ovis montana*. No fish or aquatic animals, save the Gila monster and a few lizards, appear. Luxuriant vines and shrubbery; willows, cottonwoods; flags, tules, and other aquatic plants, with a marked absence of grasses, save a kind of cane along the river, and of flowering plants, with here and there the amole, or Spanish bayonet, and agave, — these make up the richly growing but unvaried flora.

Only two trails descend this cañon: the one from the southeast, — by which we entered, — with a southern branch, over which the cavalry had passed; the second from the southwest, winding and climbing through a maze of side cañons, a wonderful example of Indian engineering skill, unsurpassed in grandeur, difficulties, or dangers. The passage of either of these trails, especially of the latter, requires the greater part of the day. From the entrance at the head of the little side cañon, tending down from the southeastward, through which the first-described trail leads, forty turns are made, each one leading further downward, and revealing entirely new views of the indescribably grand and beautiful rock scenery. During all this passage of more than twenty miles, scarcely a place is encountered that a stone's-throw or an arrow-flight would not span, notwithstanding the depth gradually increases to three thousand feet. In some places the rocks overhang the traveler's head on either side, leaving only a narrow strip of sky, while at others the opening assumes a funnel shape: the gray lime sandstone, which forms the upper half of the rock walls, gradually slopes back a quarter of a mile, where it suddenly ascends in a ragged series of promontories, buttes, and cliffs; the red sandstone, which forms the immediate cañon-border, more obdurate, re-

[487] tains its primitive narrowness and an-
133 gular beauty, only here and there worn by the blasts of rain and wind and sand. These features are characteristic until the last turn reveals a bending plain, in no place exceeding half a mile in width, formed by the junction of the lesser southwestern cañon with the main southeastern, and reinforced by the wearing of the emerging river for ages, — and this is the sandy, loamy plain where the Ha-va-su-pai or Kuhni kwe dwell,
133 and the groves of cottonwood and wil-
[361] lows grow. Below the little village, which numbers about thirty-five huts, are four beautiful cataracts, from which the stream derives its American name. The first two are inconsiderable, although beautiful, sheltered as they are
[137] by thrifty, irregular growths of cottonwood and willow, the forms of which are reflected, and torn into a thousand fragments of green and silver, by the rippling, boiling, surging, rushing waters. The geologic history of these two is repeated in a third and grander fall, a mile or two below the head of the village. Huge rocks have tumbled down to the very water's edge from the cliffs on either side, which here almost meet each other, leaving only a broken path on the eastern bank, difficult for the passage even of foot travelers. The unaided waters have built for their own adornment a horseshoe-shaped, overhanging dam of carbonate of lime, three hundred feet in height, filling in the basin above, to the very surface of the pool, with a confused jumble of petrified trees, mosses, ferns, flags, and what not, preserving only one deep, narrow, serene channel through the middle. And from their stony, dead ancestry spring ever fresh trees, mosses, ferns and flags; their rootlets and dead leaves continually changing to stone, their branches shooting upward to form a network so green and massive that it hides the waters which are at once their life and destruction. Over the top and very

133 edge of this rock-wall springs a dense grove of cottonwoods and willows, with branches so abundant and green and high that they challenge the blue, cloudless sky, which only here and there peeps through them into the waters. The whole Kuhni River spouts forth in a mass of snow and crystal blue from out this marvelous verdure, sprinkling the leaves with its spray in its downward course, — leaves which reveal only now and then the red and yellow of the rock-wall to which they cling. It flattens itself, splits, midway down, on a huge stalagmite of its own making, and sinks into the vast green pool at the bottom, one mass of spray and foam and mist. It is useless to try to paint these falls, with their crown of perennial verdure, their three hundred feet of crystal glory, their footstools of eternal, circling rainbows, which sink far into the clear green depths of the fathomless pools, or rise on the clouds of mist, and turn to ashes and lime on the leaves of the trees around them. You descend a series of niches cut into the vertical rock-wall, and, after slipping and grappling, and covering yourself with lime, skinning your shins and nose, and meditating for a moment on eternity, you find yourself at the bottom. A huge side-cañon comes in from the right, and, joining the main one, widens your view. But what care you for sky and clouds? Are you not face to face with a fairy grotto under the falls, white as snow and streaked with red and yellow? Are you not among the rainbows, even holding your breath to count the glories around you?

[487]

You turn your face from all this, cross the stream on a crust of lime bridging it below the pool, climb a great mound of fallen rocks under the shadow of thick, lime-frosted trees, and make your way with difficulty along the deep, narrow, almost straight, but impetuous channel of the river, through a low, tangled forest, for a mile or two, when you

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133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [164] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-pai a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [176] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-pai are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-pai by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-pai have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

175 acter of a frontier and Indian tradition;
648 a strange adventurer he, who, possibly in search of mineral treasure, was driving about the Colorado Plateau in a buckboard, the remains of which may yet be seen, it is said, at the head of the eastern trail. Lost and nearly exhausted, he sought water and refuge in the cañon, and came upon the Ha-va-su-paí village; he narrowly escaped with his life, to tell his tale only to incredulous frontiersmen, and then to pass out of knowledge.

Some six or seven years ago, a party of prospectors, three in number, headed by the adventuresome Mooney, penetrated the cañon, in search of mineral. Mooney's survivors, unable to reach his body, returned to Prescott to tell the story, not only of their comrade's death, but also of the mineral riches they had discovered, and of the strange people, whom they called "Su-pais," that they had seen. An article in the Arizona Miner, narrating these things, caused other visits of prospectors to this country. The Mormons attracted by their characteristic zeal for the conversion of Indians, made an expedition to the cañon, under the leadership of the celebrated Lee. The Indians received the little band of Saints suspiciously, and listened gravely to their preaching; then, rising, escorted them to the trail leading out of the cañon, and directed them on their way, but assured them that their visit might be repeated only under penalty of death.

648 The attention of General O. B. Wil-
657 cox, commander of the Department of Arizona, having been drawn to the Ha-va-su-paí by the reports of prospectors and others, he feared disturbance for their lands, as well as for the safety of citizens visiting them; and, with characteristic kindness, he secured for them in 1880 the declaration of a reservation. He organised a cavalry expedition to survey this reservation during the season of my visit. This, under command of

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Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the Nation of the Willows.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-paí men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are

142 small, though admirably formed, with noticeably large knee-joints, which, being more developed inside than out, almost touch in walking. The feet are small and well-shaped, but are very large-jointed in the old. Hair is permitted to grow, as with white people, 142 about the chest and armpits, and some- 302 times a slight mustache is cultivated by the young, while a considerable tendency to beard is frequent with old men. The eyebrows are not marked; but the hair of the head is long, soft, abundant, and a beautiful glossy raven or brown-black. With boys it is kept closely cut, with the exception of a very small tuft at the crown, five to seven inches in length, looking not unlike the plume of the California quail, which I believe it 142 imitates. Their features correspond so nearly to those of the Pueblo Indians, especially the Zuñi, as to make the resemblance in some cases personal, the greatest variety of expression being seen. The heads are short and round, or brachycephalic; foreheads very low and sloping, the supraorbital arch being notably prominent; faces broad at cheek-bones, which, though really quite flat, appear prominent. A rather constant type of face among them is, in common with the Amazonian, decidedly Mongolian. Their noses are straight or slightly aquiline, rather broad, with somewhat heavy nostrils; their eyes small, bright when good, and very prominent in the sockets. They are not, however, generally as good as those of the plains In- [164] dians, cases of partial and total blindness being common, due, probably, to the glaring rock-walls and whitish sandy bottom of their cañon. The ears are well shaped and small; the mouths are large, with only moderately thin lips, the upper generally slightly overhanging the lower. The chin recedes slightly, and the face is well marked with deep wrinkles, especially between the eyebrows and around the eyes; deep lines extend from the nostrils to the corners of the

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather [515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate 181 to children and pets, and very hospita- 609 ble to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control 152 themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

They
never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Their perceptive Faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usual-
[522] ly obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
ono the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

The
18 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[324 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or granaries

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
pai have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned togeth-
er behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

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262 252 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a [251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the 252 more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-paí from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and [482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These [527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 262 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-va-su-paí, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist 262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

262 tion variously,—by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilised as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

412 Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and [439] brass kettles, procured by barter with 415] the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped [264] from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden 415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a 482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. 412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good [177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and maals, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kă-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su- [177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili- [177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig- 614 nificant one in the consideration of the

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with [584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and a dance, celebrating the death of the [727] enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for
[651] his offices, and is usually as wealthy as
556] any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the
[551] most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however
643 severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved
692 by government to San Carlos, one of
648 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supaí. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re-
[696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

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643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save personal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 683 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as 754 is the case with other Indians, the uni-

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most
752 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

460 Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

461 Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
221 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

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221 silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bar-
tered with the Pueblos for blankets and
439 various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

312
331 The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the base of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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491 Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-pai; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-pai domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

521 461 about, the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-pai by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*o-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four [439] days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P 5548] ½ [i.e., horse. Analyst]

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ward evening, it was like bedlam about the hut of my still neutral host. Finally a sub-chief advanced, and told me I must consent to a re-trade. I declined. He then begged me, and my Indians, alarmed, became importunate. Still I refused. Pu-lá-ka-kai pointed to a scar over his eyebrow, which he wore, he said, in remembrance of a former proceeding of the kind, and once more implored me, for the sake of his and Tsai-iu-tsaih-ti-wa's wives and children, to consent. Now and then a man would leave, presently returning with a gun carelessly strapped over his shoulder, and I saw that things were growing serious; but I remained obdurate, paying no apparent attention to my own arms, yet seeing that they were within easy reach. After a little while, I suddenly drew one of the two revolvers in my belt, sheathed it again, and, stepping over to the discontented, one-eyed scoundrel, grabbed him by the arms, and ejected him from the premises. Immense excitement prevailed, but I quietly went back with a smile to my writing. The head chief was summoned. He came, gravely, through the babbling crowd, eating a kind of cake of corn-meal and sunflower seeds. I rose, and greeted him pleasantly, spreading a blanket for him to sit on; and as he sat down, with a smile, he broke the cake in two, handing me the larger piece. I began to explain my writing to him, and, after conversing a little while, he said, "I am about to go. You observe that I am never to be found in crowds of those who wrangle and gossip. It makes a father sad to see the foolishness of his children. It fills me with thoughts to see my people make fools of themselves, to hear them make meaningless noise; therefore I stay away from them. When they have anything to *say* to me, or you wish to *see* me, my hut stands under the cottonwoods, down by the river, and my fields are in front of it." Without a word in reference to our

trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he went away as he had come, a picture of imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

The coming stranger is heralded by the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sac- [775] rifice. Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose [727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

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221 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hua-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

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648 721 They are not so fair-dealing toward the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them.

648 177 "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

"Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

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sun, through a hole in the mountain. No sooner had the leader come out than he was overwhelmed by the bright light and the angry waters, and died; and while the people were weeping and wondering what they should do, the Coyote came, and said to them, 'Burn the body of your father, and scatter the ashes thereof upon the face of the water; then they will begin to dry away and the earth will grow hard.' 'Alas! we have no fire,' said the people. So the Coyote volunteered to fetch it, and forthwith ran far away in search of it. When he had gone, and the people, wondering if he would return, were still mourning, the blue-bottle fly, who was sunning himself on a dry branch, comforted them by saying that he would make fire for them. So, raising his wings, he rubbed them against one another, until the sparks flew out from them and ignited the branch he was perched upon. Then the people collected great quantities of wood, laid the body of the cacique thereon, and set fire to it with the branch the blue-bottle fly had lighted.

"The Coyote, who saw from afar the smoke of the fire they had kindled, was angry, and, running back as fast as he could, came to the place just as the body was consumed. But the heart still remained, and, rushing into the fire, he grabbed it in his mouth, and ran away with it. The fire was so hot that it singed his face and fore-paws: hence, to this day, the faces and fore-paws of the coyote are black. He ate only a part of the heart, burying the rest: hence, also, it is the nature of the coyote to bury his food away in the ground.

"Where the Coyote buried the heart a corn plant grew, and upon its stalks were six ears of corn,—yellow, white, variegated, black, blue, and red: hence, corn, springing from the heart of man, is his life to this day. As the nations of men came out one after another, each was given an ear of corn: yellow to the

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Zuñi, white to the Moqui, variegated to the Northern nations, a very little black to the Apache, and blue to the Hua-la-pai; but the Ha-va-su-paí, coming last, had only a little red ear given them by the fathers [gods].

"Now they did not know how they could live on the small portion that had been given them. So the Coyote, when he heard them bemoaning their lot, came and told them to follow his example: therefore our fathers became a nation of hunters. As the waters of the world dried and flowed away, the face of the earth cracked, and was worn full of deep cañons. One of these cañons was very narrow and filled with rattlesnakes. This was the cañon of the Ha-va-su-paí; and down in a grotto, under the falls, lived a great goddess, Ka-mu-iu-dr-ma-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Mother of the Waters.' She was wooed by the rattlesnakes, and bore two sons, Ha-ma-u-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Children of the Waters.' Upon the head of each was a great flint knife. Now the earth became so dry that our forefathers had but little water to drink, and, wandering about in search of it, came to the brink of the cañon; but they could not enter because of the rattlesnakes. So the two boys slew the rattlesnakes with their magic flint knives, and widened the rocks above the home of their mother. Then they guided them down the cañon, and built little houses high up among the cliffs; for the Apache Mojaves came in, too, and disputed possession with them. As the two children led the people down the cañon, they made their hand-prints on the walls, and painted the animals which should serve as food for their people. And these marks still remain on the rocks, and thither we go when we wish to secure the deer, or to ask for rain. When, at last, they reached the home of their mother, she told them that this should be their home forever; that it was not good to live on meat alone, but that they should build houses

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773 there, and plant the ear of corn they
539 had, and it would be a means of life. So they did as she told them, and the Apache Mojaves lived above them, where the cañon was narrower. For a long time all was well, until a young Ha-va-su-paí man stole an Apache Mojave girl, which caused strife, and wars ensued, so that the Apache Mojaves were driven away. For this reason we live alone in the cañon.

"But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique: hence, [221] only during summer do we live in the [166] home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.

"Do you Americans," said the old

[P. 559A]

TT13 539

man, as he ceased, with a sigh of longing, "never see the Mother of the Waters, when you wander along the shores of the great ocean?"

"Oh, yes," I said, and then I told him the story of the mermaid; and, happy almost to tears, he added, "Alas! I cannot tell you more, for the only books our fathers gave us were our hearts and our mouths."

OVO

A fairy story is this of the Nation of the Willows; and while science teaches us another tale, may we not poetically believe, with these simple natives, that they have always lived here, apart from the world of nations; that ever since they wandered forth from the four fertile wombs of mother earth, this little strip of land and river and willow, and the great rock-walls, so near together, yet so sublime and impassable, have bounded their generations of life, have had shadows cast on them by the smoke-clouds of the numberless funeral pyres of all their unnamed dead?

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 559 B]

13: Curtis E-4, 5 (ca. 1900) 1908 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14 Havasupai

The North American Indian

Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing

The Indians of the United States and Alaska

Written, Illustrated, and
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Edited By

Frederick Webb Hodge

Foreword By

Theodore Roosevelt

[Title Page]

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Field Research Conducted Under the
Patronage of
J. Pierpont Morgan

/97/

The Havasupai

133 The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a
[131] branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and
487 he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky
131 slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an
133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

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1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotŧunína, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the
197 parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.
174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and some-
times with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post
brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and
allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way
as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food
among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for
the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and
spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game,
although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that
the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was
plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is
changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without
asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must
be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little
children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing
corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same.
Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later
ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are
harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to
dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either
alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkŭchěku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
B44 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 Except for differences due to local coloring, the
773 Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

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Havasupai

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
Department of Anthropology

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

NUMBER 69 APRIL, 1964

Havasupai Religion and Mythology

By CARMA LEE THOMSON and ROBERT C. EULER

JESSE D. JENNINGS, Editor
CAROL C. STOUT, Associate Editor

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[Title Page]

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Havasupai

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

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The University of Utah Anthropological Papers are a medium for reporting to interested scholars and to the people of Utah research in anthropology and allied sciences bearing upon the peoples and cultures of the Great Basin and the West. They include, first, specialized and technical record reports on Great Basin archeology, ethnology, linguistics, and physical anthropology; and second, more general articles on anthropological discoveries, problems, and interpretations bearing upon the western region, from the High Plains to the Pacific Coast, insofar as they are relevant to human and cultural relations in the Great Basin and surrounding areas.

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Havasupai

HAVASUPAI RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

by

Carma Lee Smithson and Robert C. Euler

Number 63 April 1964

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Department of Anthropology

University of Utah

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Havasupai

FOREWORD

by

Jesse D. Jennings

Carma Lee Smithson was an ambitious woman, single-minded in her interest in anthropology. As a student she was interested in all the subfields, but in research her concern was only with the living. She selected the Havasupai as the aboriginal group she wished to know. Her sympathy with the Havasupai was recognized by the tribe. Its members proffered such respect and trust that Carma Lee had continuous good rapport as she pursued detailed study of the culture. The professional reception of her Havasupai Woman monograph, of which the tribe fully approved, led her to undertake this record of religious beliefs.

This material is woefully incomplete. The field work was never finished because Carma Lee fell prey to an illness finally diagnosed as lymphosarcoma, to which she succumbed in 1961. Work on this project really never got fully underway. She was able to visit the tribe for only brief periods after 1958. Late in her illness, she arranged a rendezvous with informants at Flagstaff because the journey down into their canyon home-land was then beyond her strength. On this occasion, her informants did not appear and she returned to Salt Lake City having accomplished nothing. It is a measure of her interest in the Havasupai and of her devotion to science that when it was evident she could not finish the task, she requested that her notes be made available to Robert C. Euler.

My own role in the Havasupai studies has been very limited. Aside from encouragement and the raising of funds, I took no part. I most appreciatively acknowledge the patience shown by the University of Utah Research Committee during Smithson's long illness when no progress was being made toward completion and, later, in leaving the unused grant funds available so that Euler could re-visit the tribe in 1962.

In publishing these incomplete notes on religion and mythology, I feel that we are not only adding something to the data of Southwestern anthropology, but are paying respect to Smithson's dedication as well.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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The research reported here was supported entirely by the University of Utah Research Fund. Aside from providing generous financial support, the Research Committee was patient and considerate in the face of long delay in the completion of the study.

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Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same. 101

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. 114

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established. 122 128 115

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices. 114 115

128 My contribution, then, except to clarify portions of the notes, has been largely to put the notes into a more readable style and format, as well as to add comparative data. These data appear in brackets. Direct statements from informants are indicated as quotations.

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RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

771

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

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[823]

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

[756]

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ʔ°bä°djih.

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The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[H87] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [941] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [126] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[758] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was
[788] repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

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If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

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Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

Shamans and Illness

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Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

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Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

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The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

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Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. *The female spirit is Gimal dem gen-wi va* (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wi va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamaristic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[155] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

On one dream journey the spirit (on horseback) took our informant to one of the highest of the San Francisco Peaks. It was very steep and the spirit told him to walk around it, stepping carefully in footholes. Under the ground he could hear a strong wind humming as though it were far away. He put out his hand and patted down the top of the peak, saying, "I'm not here looking for trouble. I came here for a good reason. I came here for a lot of drinking water." The wind decreased and our informant awakened, not knowing why he had uttered his words except that it was upon instruction from the spirit. 756 787

In his next dream he heard a voice and also believed he had shaken his gourd rattle. Then many short red pieces of lightning came out of the ground and lay motionless on its surface. The lightning said, "You have brought me out of the ground." Our informant reported that the lightning did something to him, that he arose in the air carrying his rattle and went to the north side of Bill Williams Mountain. There he saw two tall slabs of sandstone so high they reached far into the sky. He stood on top of one of these and heard a voice from the southwest saying, "I know you are a medicine man. I don't know what kind. You try every trick. You go around to all the places. I am going to test you." The shaman put out his left arm, where his power was, and made a slanted rock with dirt underneath from where he was standing to the ground. He walked along this until he came to a place that had high, red rock walls in a V shape. Then he said, "It has been hard for me going around. You want to test me. I want to see you go my way and follow where I have walked on this rock." The voice did not respond and the shaman thought it was unable to follow him.

Then he walked in the direction from which the voice had come and he arrived at a village that contained a long, straight row of "cabins." In each were two women. Another shaman, recognizable to our informant, appeared and preceded him into one of the houses. There he sat between the two women and put his arms around them. Our informant was angry and said, "I don't know what kind of man you are. I'm not going after ladies. I'm looking for a powerful spirit." Whereupon he left and traveled easterly until he came to two rock walls parted like a V with a plateau on top. He saw "a smoke of clouds" on the plateau. From this smoke there issued various strange types of birds all in a line. This smoke tried to bring about illness and had power like a spirit. A voice from the smoke said that the shaman had persevered and would be able to cure sickness. The shaman awakened at this point, but continued to repeat this dream in his curing songs.

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787 Other spirit helpers came to him in other dreams. For example, one night our informant dreamed of a bird that said, "All my cousins, I don't know which direction they have gone to." Before the shaman realized what was happening, he felt himself flying to the south until he finally came to earth near Rose Well [within the eastern range of the Walapai]. He stood on top of a big hill but could not see the bird. Shortly he saw a man standing in front of him but facing east. From the right side of the man's body white lightning "about the size of a stovepipe" shot toward the sun. The man said, "This is the lightning--powerful medicine--that cures any illness." Then he showed our informant where the bird, which he owned, lived, and said, "When you sing, you must call the names of the bird, its nest, the cottonwood tree and everything I show you." They then traveled north a short distance to a place where ice was like a mirror. The man told the shaman that the ice, "like a window that looks many directions," would aid him in diagnosing a patient's illness. At this point the shaman awakened. Later he sang of this man as "the man who is standing up alive." In his dream the man had not revealed any other name.

On still another occasion the shaman dreamed that he heard a voice calling plainly and repeatedly, "Come here. Let's fight each other." This was a voice from the north, which told the shaman, "I'll return four times and that will be the end of my life." At first the shaman didn't answer, but finally replied, "My lives are eight." He heard the voice no more, but found himself in the air traveling north. He landed where there were many people speaking different languages [different pitches?]. Some had squeaky voices like bats[?] and others imitated various birds. One bird told him to go to Rain Tank [a few miles south of Grand Canyon village]. When he arrivered there in his dream, he followed two tracks leading east. Soon he came to two tall blue rocks. He climbed the south one and, half way up, found some barely visible pictographs that appeared old. He blew on them four times until the pictures became clear. They depicted many kinds of animals and some humans. The shaman proceeded to the top of the rock where one of his spirits told him to look at some plants growing on the ground below. The spirit told him that formerly the plants were edible. Then the shaman was transported through the air northeasterly toward Cameron [a trading post on the western Navajo Reservation where U.S. Highway 89 crosses the Little Colorado River; near the northeastern edge of Havasupai territory]. Near there he saw many people coming from underground, and also talking an unintelligible language. This time there were more people than he had seen in the north. The shaman waited until they were all on the surface. They spoke (but the informant couldn't explain his sudden understanding), and told him, "Over by the San Francisco Peaks there is something to fight sickness, to drive it away and conquer it." This proved to be small red rocks, about a foot long, and cylindrical "like a

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Hiff (1934) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [325] [753] [787]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

782 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[777] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

Concepts of Disease and Illness

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

The victim of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

761 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No
[342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at-
[826] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground;
[761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Hiff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems
[771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Hiff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 288) reported
[757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating (Smithson, 1958, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1958, 123). P42 P47

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 188) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1883, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1883, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [71]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.5m. high set over a circular pit 30 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others. 343 75

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would 343 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Diff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription
343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. [934]
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 137° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 85° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabĭlyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Hava- [766] supai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn- 177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun [114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai [535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1958, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764 [165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [654] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line. [152]

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

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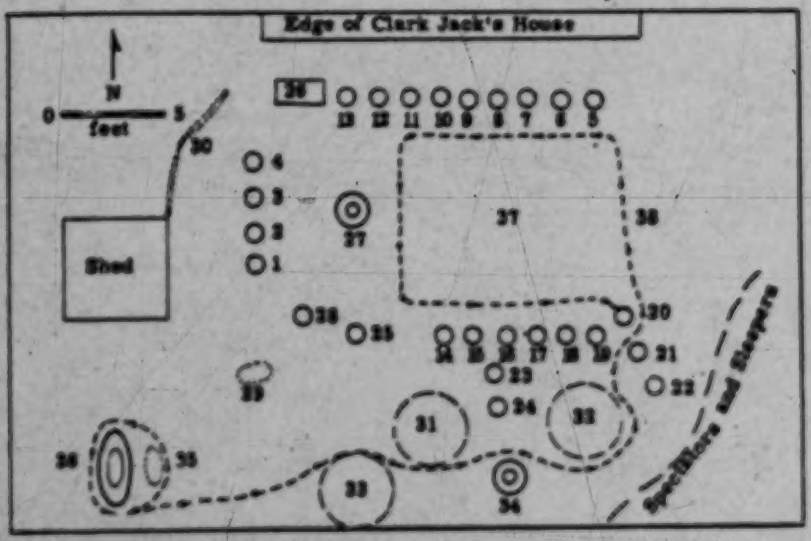

Arrangement of mourners at the funeral of Mexican Jack

1. Arthur Kaska, shaman
2. Mark Hamm, in charge, sometime shaman
3. Assistant to 1 and 2
4. Assistant to 1 and 2
5. Ed Hamidreek alternating with James Wescogame, dancers
6. Teddy Crook, dancer with rattle
7. Louis Simyella, dancer with rattle, leading singer
8. Lemuel Paya, dancer
9. Dan Hamm, dancer
10. Floyd Putesoy, dancer
11. Neil Upualla, dancer
12. Andrew Manakaja, dancer
13. Bela Wescogame, dancer
14. Mocca Upualla, dancer
15. Faye Paya, dancer
16. Clift
17. Virginia, dancer
18. Nettie Putesoy, dancer
19. Hazel Crook, dancer
20. Gertrude, dancer
21. Margaret, dancer
22. Juana Burro, dancer
23. James Wescogame, solo singer with rattle; second position
24. Assistant to 23
25. Clark Jack, son of deceased; mourner
26. Coffee table
27. Fire
28. James Wescogame, first position
29. Where guests piled clothing gifts for the deceased
30. Rock on which clothing was displayed all night
31. Position of mourners during initial wailing
32. Position of mourners during wailing and round dance about 2:00 a. m.
33. Position of mourners and shaman during final wailing, round dance and burning of offerings
34. Fire
35. Where clothing and possessions of deceased were piled while being thrown on fire, 34
36. Fire in which clothing was burned
37. Dance area
38. Line of dancers and direction of movement

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs.

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck.

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief.[4] All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal ge?," ("What is the time?").

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion.

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame
535 and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The
765 152 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

765 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gátágáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Hiff, 1894, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 This indication was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a center pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
533 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost
177 dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

539 "A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to
796 St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that
177 makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night
533 took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Weecogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

4 [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 33 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Cätégáma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Cätégáma also was singing his own songs."

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Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 281): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 927

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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"One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma$^{K?}$ (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

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Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.]

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similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 203-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ʔəwiʔgə ʔə ʔwə (rock split apart) and ʔihʔgəʔə ʔwəvʔ (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 36 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of these statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [125] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [126] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

woman again and she said, "I thought you men didn't like me." She laughed and went off alone.

A few days later she was missed so a woman went to a spring. The woman looked for lice. The woman tried to grab her before she jumped into water to ask about her scars. She didn't answer, but turned into a frog and jumped into the pool. Then the water started to rise.

The men were sitting around talking. They thought the woman was all right. They were talking about this world. There was much small game but they couldn't get close enough to see it in dark. So they asked their leader to make a light so they could see to shoot game. Older Brother said, "Yes, I can make a sun. But first you must go to bed and this will be night. Then someone must call, 'It is daybreak, there will be a dawn in the east. The sun will come up and move across the sky to the west.'" So the people did as told. But at dawn it was the moon that came up. Older Brother said, "We'll call this Sun and we can see small game to kill it." But Younger Brother said, "No, that isn't bright enough. It looks shady and we can't see good enough." He said that it looks like an old man. He took a pipe wrapped around with sinew. He told them to go to bed as before and he would make a sun and call this one another name. At daybreak the sun came up and it was bright enough so they called the other one a moon.

At that time the sky was only half as high as now. The clouds passed by low and the sun went across too fast. Younger Brother took cane and pushed the sky higher so the sun and sky would be together.

Then people began to go around where they could see grass, springs, and other things in the world. They found plenty of game and thought this would be a good way to live.

At this time the frog-woman made the spring rise up through a hole to the first coil of the vine, then to the second, and on up to the top until it was covering the earth.

The people put a small girl in a log with the ends blocked with pitch. She had with her food, water, birds, and animals. Two men told her she would be going up and down in the water and that they would all be drowned. She should remember the San Francisco Peaks so she could find it if she came back to earth in another place. She was to get water from a spring on top of the peaks.

The water covered all the earth and drowned all the people. It rose to the top of the sky so only a little woodpecker hung to the top. He called, "Qi-y Qi-yu." Water came up on his tail feathers but he escaped. The water knew

*539 that the people were all drowned so it receded. The flicker knew the log was still on the water and followed it around. The log came to rest near Ha?vu-v?gwič, a waterfall on the Little Colorado River [Grand Falls]. The mountains near the falls are barren and there is no timber. This was the first campsite the girl had. The mud was still soft, so she made horses, grinding rocks, pots, and all things she could think of. People say those things are still there. [Informant had not been to the location. Archeological surveys in the area revealed no Havasupai sites.] She got tired of staying in the same place so she started out to find the mountain and spring the two men had told her about. She found a spring dripping from overhanging rocks and used the water to cook with. [See also James (1903, 209ff.).]

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She had grown up and was lonely, so she decided to make another person. So in the early morning she lay down and spread her legs so the sun's rays hit her vagina. Then she went back to the waterfall and let water drip on her vagina. She became pregnant and had a baby girl. [In one version the girl was impregnated by the flicker.] They lived together until her daughter was grown. Then the mother told her daughter to do as she had done to get a boy. The daughter did so and got a boy. He grew big enough to hunt. He hunted many animals. The boy was the first one to come to Supai. But the rock walls closed together to kill people. Arrowweed grew here. People were always killed. The boy was a fast runner so he jumped in, got some reeds, and ran out fast before the rocks closed together. Then he returned to camp.

He was the one who caught the eagle up high. He took an animal hide and smeared it with blood. The eagle descended and carried him off to its nest. He killed eight big ones in the nest and four little ones; killed them all and took the feathers.

He prayed and blew his breath, and the rock wall turned to sand so he walked down and took the feathers to camp so he could make arrows with feathers to make them go straight.

He lived there for a while with his grandmother and grandfather. One day he met a man. This was the dripping spring which was his father. He had some horses and asked the boy which one he wanted for his own. The boy chose a roan and the man said, "That is my top horse. You break my heart but I have to give you it." He had many saddles and told the boy to chose one. He chose an old worn one. The man said, "You chose mine but I'll have to give it to you."

Then he said, "Son, you must be like me." He lay the boy on the ground and split him open and put lightning inside him. He said, "I am the sun and

the water and now you will be like me forever. Come on and I'll show you the world". They visited a tree that was in the sky and went many places. 539#

The boy returned home and lived with his mother many years. Then he thought it was no good to stay in one place all the time. So his grandmother said, "I'll go west and take the big horses. You go east and take the little horses. If you want to see me any time, in the spring or fall, if the days are windy or cloudy, I'll know you are coming to see me. I'll give you seeds. You can scatter them along with the rain. You can say this will be grass, food, pinyons and other plants. There are many people in world but they fight one another but we will do this to keep them going."

The boy went to the east, his grandmother to the west. So when the weather is windy and stormy we know the boy goes to visit his grandmother.

2. Havasu Canyon Walls Closing Up

[Following are three versions of this story, as related by three informants.] [15]

Version 1: Coyote said that long ago the walls of Havasu Canyon used to close and open and close so no one could come down this canyon. Many people were crushed between them. Then two boys came down with arrows and tried to stop the walls from closing. They shot arrows at the walls and this stopped them from closing. So after that people could pass this way.

Version 2: Long ago these canyon walls moved back and would close up and kill anyone who passed through here. This happened repeatedly until many people were killed. Then a man came and wondered how he would stop it. He carried a big log on his head projecting on each side. The canyon walls closed but were stopped by the log. They can't move any more so from then on people could pass through safely.

Version 3: It started from an old lady who lived somewhere on the plateau. She had two boys. When they went around on the plains up there they used to see much wild game, deer and rabbits. They wondered how to get them and kill them. Finally they asked their mother and she told them to shoot them. "How would we shoot them? With what?" She told them to use an arrow. So they wanted to make arrows with feathers and points. They asked where to get the reeds. She told them it was in a dangerous place and she didn't want them to go.

[539] The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [123] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai village. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

that's why she had the bone. She split one piece of the bone lengthwise and put it in the ground. She left it a few minutes and pulled it out and water came forth. She traveled on to the southwest until she was thirsty again. Again she split a bone, put it in the ground, and brought water out. A spring is still there on the Walapai Reservation. [Perhaps Rose Well.] She kept doing this until she had made four springs, all the while traveling southwest. Then she reached some people camping at a village in the afternoon. An old lady was on the edge of the village. Some of the men were out hunting. When they returned, one shouted that there was a runaway girl and that she was going to be his. Another man said no, we'll look into it and see whose she will be. The men ate supper, and about dark they built a fire a little way from the house where the girl was staying with an old woman. The men started playing the sixteen-stick game. [A gambling game, not reported by Spier (1928), wherein the sticks were used as counters. Probably borrowed from the Southern Paiute.] Every once in a while a man would slip away from the game and go to the girl's house but she would beat them away and throw dirt on them. Even all the birds and animals tried except the quail. Others told him to try but he said, "I'm not a good-looking man like some others she has turned down. So why should I try." But he finally tried. He put makeup on the feathers on his head and went in. She grabbed him and took him for her husband.

539* [523] [525] [577]

The men went hunting, all except the quail. He was lazy. Other men were jealous of him because he ate gravel and didn't hunt for meat. The men said they wouldn't give him any more meat.

Finally, the girl was expecting a baby. It was in the girl's thumb. When delivery time came, the girl went out and thrust her thumb in a forward motion and the baby stood up on the ground before her. After the baby boy was old enough, his mother wished for meat. She told him to go to Grandfather Squirrel who was a good hunter. The boy didn't say anything. After they went to bed, he got up, put a stick under his cover for a dummy, and went to his grandfather, the squirrel. The boy was approaching his grandfather's house when he came to some women picking pinyons. They gave some to him, and yucca juice to drink. When they set his food before him, he said, "This isn't good to eat, just good to soften leather of shoes." So he put it on his shoes. The juice was good for shampoo, so he washed his hair. Then he got his fine cornmeal lunch out and told them to eat. They said, "This isn't good to eat, just good for makeup." So they painted their faces with it. No one ate anything. Then they went to bed. The ladies were lying in a row. After they were asleep he got up and tied their hair together. In the morning he awoke and waited for the women to wake up. They slept on so he called out, "I never saw anyone sleep like that. I thought you wanted to work." One started to get up and all jerked each other, and laughed.

#539 Their hair was all tangled up. They saw he had a stone axe; he hit them on the back of their necks and killed them all. He beheaded them and hung them up in a tree. Then he took meat from their bodies and put it all in a sack. He went on to a village where the women's husbands were. He told them, "I saw many mountain sheep, rams, and killed them all. I left the meat in a bag a little way from here." Coyote was there so he told Coyote to go and get the meat. He had left only half and brought the other half with him. They had a big pow-wow and everyone was eating the meat. Everyone then went to sleep. A vulture was a shaman and dreamed the truth. One man woke up and said "The meat I was eating wasn't mountain sheep. Mountain sheep always melts in my mouth and this tastes different. I think it is human, lady's meat."

Vulture told Coyote to get the other half of the meat. He found it and decided to find the ram horns before he returned, so he followed the hunter's tracks and came to a string of black ants. He followed them to a tree and saw the human heads. He vomited, then went back and got the rope from the other half of the meat. He ran back to the village and yelled to people on the edge of town and told them to kill the boy. They hit at him repeatedly but couldn't get him. He said, "I never heard of people treating a visitor like this. I'll get away." So he [turning into a quail] flew up swiftly the way quails do, flew along, then down. The people tried to follow but lost him. He headed for his grandfather's village.

After he left his pursuers behind, he came to the place where his mother started from, on a point near Walapai Hilltop. He saw a deer running almost winded, being chased by something. He shot the deer. Later he heard that Squirrel, his uncle, was the hunter.

After Quail Boy shot the deer a dog went by so he shot him too. Old Squirrel came along and shouted out, "Who killed my pet? If you don't show up I'll make an earthquake and you'll fall in where the ground splits apart." Squirrel kept repeating this so Quail Boy came out and said he was going to his grandfather. He said "I had a grandfather living down that way and he told me to go to him and get some meat. I don't know why you act this way." Then the Squirrel was happy to see his grandson and embraced him. They made the dog come alive again, too. After they got acquainted, Squirrel put the dog on his instep and kicked him off toward the north, west, south and east. He told the boy, "Be ready, for when the dog comes alive he may growl and come after you." He gave the boy the bladder from the inside of the deer to give to the dog so it wouldn't bite him. When kicked to the east, the dog came alive and the boy threw him the bladder when he growled. He ate the bladder and was friendly to the boy and came to him like a pet that had known him for a long time. After they got the venison, they returned to Squirrel's place, stayed together, hunted often. The coyote who lived

with the squirrel went to another village and got killed. After they killed Coyote, Quail Boy was angry and went to that village. After they missed Coyote, the grandfather, grandson and dog went after the people. They sent the dog to the village to bite every person on the cords of their heels to cripple them. Then they came in and killed the people. They brought Coyote back to life as they had done with the dog and returned to their old home to live. 539*

5. The Man Who Went After His Wife

[illegible] mother, her son and his wife lived together on the Walapai Reservation about 10 miles north of Rose Well where foundations of their house can still be seen. [Several Cerbat branch sites, ancestral to the Pai, have been recorded in this vicinity.]

Earlier, when the boy was small, they lived alone. He had no father, but his mother took care of him until he became a good hunter. When he went hunting he would always return with meat. When he was old enough to marry, he thought he would cover more country to see if other people lived around. He would look for fire smoke or dust in canyons or mountains. He covered much area. Every morning toward the southwest he saw dust in the air, but it was far away. He asked his mother why she didn't tell the story about those people and why she had a home by herself for so long. His mother told him, "I just lived alone, long ago. I can't tell you we have friends or neighbors to visit. There are some people living far off in this world but they are enemies. I can't tell you to visit them as you might not return. We are doing well and getting along here as we are." But the boy had seen the smoke far off and when hunting had seen hunters' tracks were they chased deer. He was thinking strongly of getting married. (Here, the boy sings his part and his mother speaks in return.) He kept asking his mother where to go to see some people that weren't really animals, that wouldn't kill him, and who would talk to him as friends. [It was customary for the Pai to refer to all non-Pai in non-human terms.] His mother said, "No, if you go they will kill you. That's what happened here. We used to have many people but all were killed and just two of us remain. We are doing all right as we are." The boy kept thinking of wanting a wife and his mother finally said, "I know one place where you might find women gathering berries toward the east. They have good-looking women and built just right for men but they are hard to get. Many men go there to get wives but their fathers usually kill the men. They are people called Bluebirds. You might find a wife there. They usually come out early in the morning and go home at noon. There are two sisters who work fast and finish their work first. Their husband is the blackbird, that follows around horses. Their father is the bluebird. They

#539 were birds but later turned into Hopi." The boy asked how to get there. His mother told him to cross the open desert, where he would first encounter a big herd of antelope in big open country: "When you see them you will know you are in the right country. Next you will see many rabbits in the brush; know you are going the right way. Next you will see many washes with mountain sheep. Know it is the right way. Next you will pass through wildcat country in cedars [junipers], one or two up in trees. Next you will run into a big herd of deer on a high ridge. Then you will come to lower country, an open valley with a big stream, but not deep, will cover your feet just to your ankles; the next river to cross will be up to your knees; the next will be above your waist, and the fourth will come up to your neck. You must cross four rivers and after that not far on is open desert and more level country. Stop, rest, look around, you may see women gathering grass seeds. That is where the two sisters come to find food." [Except for the reference to four rivers, this constitutes a fairly accurate description of the country along the Hopi-Havasupai trading trail.]

The boy said, "O.K., I'll try to go that way and see if I can find those two ladies. You are all right, my mother, but you are getting old and can't get around like you used to. We need someone to keep house here".

His mother said, "O.K., but be careful. There are many enemies in that country you must cross."

The boy started out, saw Red Butte and antelope herds running in front of him in the desert. He knew he was on the right way, and saw many rabbits. The boy said to himself in song, "If I want to make camp I'd shoot rabbits for food, but my mother's fire would die down so I must make this trip fast and return." So he went on, came through mountain sheep, then wildcats which he saw in nearly every tree; then he came to deer. Each time he saw things he made a song, saying, "I'm on my right way. Next will be the river up to my ankles." He came to it and ran on to the next river. He sang, "I'm on my right way. My mother was right." He came to the third river. Then the fourth. It was deep and he took his clothes off and bundled them on top of his head and crossed. He dressed and traveled a long distance farther. He saw a lone tree on the desert and went to it and rested under it. He looked around the country. Before long he began to smell like animals do, and soon caught scent of people. He thought they were nearby. When rested he started on and went over a high ridge. From there he could see many women moving in his direction. He watched and saw two sisters in front of the others. He thought they were the ones he was looking for. He made a plan as to what

to do to ask the girls. He started down hill and ran close to them and stopped. They didn't look up, as they were gathering grass seeds, and came so close they nearly bumped into him. They stopped and looked up. Each one lay her burden basket in front of her and sat down bending over her basket. The boy sang to them to ask, if there was a visitor around, where is the house of a chief, "Don't be dying down without saying anything to me. [Re-investigation with informant confirmed this phraseology. I am looking for a wife. If you two are not married, I am ready to return from here to my mother's home. If you are married, I can't take you. I am dry and need water from your jug, if you have water."

One of the women reached in her basket and handed it to him without speaking or looking up at him. He drank and returned it. One of the girls said, "We are not married." He knew they were the ones married to Blackbird but they said no to him.

He said, "O.K., let's go back to my mother before her fire dies down. I can't leave one of you behind. Let's all hurry." They acted willing to go. They arose and left their burden baskets behind and followed him. They crossed the deep river, the next river, and the third; then one more to cross. It was late in the evening when they crossed the fourth river. They made camp that night. The next morning, he awoke and made song to them. He sang, "I thought you told me you were unmarried but I dreamed your husband, a blackbird, was near our fire and made charcoal fly up, and I was in danger, but I have brought you this far.

They were still lying in bed, and right after he finished his song the blackbird caught up with them, flew to the fire, and knocked ashes over their fire. The blackbird asked the girls for something to take back with him. He kept asking them for things he really wanted.

The boy finally told the girls, "If a man has a wife he usually gives her clothing Give the things back to him. I am ready to go on."

The older sister turned in her seat, and reached under her, and handed him something. He took it and left right away. This was a piece of flesh from inside a woman's body which is dangerous; if she pulls it out it will kill her like she was killed with lightning. Blackbird took it and put it on his head above his beak. That is the red feathers above his beak on that kind of bird. It has red on its wings.

The older sister acted like she was hurt bad; she couldn't travel fast enough to keep up and suddenly she dropped dead. The other two took her body, carried it to a pile of driftwood from the river, burned the

4539 body, then hurried on. They retraced their way to home.

Blackbird was a poor guy in those days. He didn't have things to make clothes for his wives.

The boy's mother was glad to see him home safe with a young lady. She was very glad to see them.

Before four nights were over, the mother asked the boy if it was all right to take the young lady to gather grass seed with her nearby. "I was doing it but am slow."

The boy said, "O.K., but don't let her go as I brought her from a war place safely. If you let go of her hand, you will lose her."

His mother said, "I won't let her go. I'll gather seeds and shake them in the basket and return quickly." The boy said, "O.K., but don't lose her, like I said."

The boy went hunting. In the evening his mother was home when she saw the boy returning. She said, "I did what you told me not to. I lost her not far from here. We were reaching for seed far apart on each side and I had to let go of her hand. In an instant she was gone. I don't know which way." His mother was half crying as she told it.

The boy said nothing till next morning. He asked his mother to show him the place. He went to the place, stood in his wife's footprints, blew snowy eagle down feathers toward the north, but it dropped; to the west, and it dropped; to the east, and it dropped. So he knew where she had gone. He blew feathers straight in the air above him; it had pull and he went up in the air. His mother watched him ascending until he was out of sight. She began to cry and returned to camp.

The boy went up in the sky. There was a hole in the sky where the wind went through to the top of the sky. He saw footprints of his wife and followed them to a village where he saw an old lady in a doorway at the edge of the village. He said, "I'm the one that lost a wife. If you saw her going this way I want you to tell me where she was going and who was the man who took her."

The old woman said, "I didn't know it was your wife. It was the wind. He is collecting wives and keeps them in his kiva in the middle of the village. They are busy there every day."

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The boy went on and saw the wind in person at the top entrance to the kiva, tanning deerskin. He went up and asked him if he had seen his wife. The wind said, "No, I don't know who is your wife.", But his wife had seen him and came over to the ladder and climbed up. But the wind kicked her stomach and knocked her down the ladder. She tried again and he knocked her down the ladder again.

The wind asked the boy to gamble with him, to put up his hair as stakes. The boy said, "No, I don't want to play games. I want my wife so I can take her home."

The wind said, "No, she belongs to me. You pull your longest hair and if it is longer than mine you can have your wife."

The boy said, "My hair isn't long, but let's see yours." Wind untied his hair and it hung only to his waist. Wind told the boy to undo his. The boy untied his hair and let it fall down, but it only unrolled part way, some still in the roll when it reached his waist. The boy tied it up again and said to his wife, "Let's go home."

The wind said, "No, let's play another game." They played many but the boy always won. The last one was a footrace. They made lines and both walked to the line. Wind was fast but the boy was faster. The boy thought first that the wind might be faster, but he was slower. The boy outran him, so Wind turned himself into a whirlwind and passed in front of him.

The boy said, "I don't want that kind of person to play with me." Wind said, "O.K., I'll just turn myself into a person."

So they played another game, and the boy planned to knock on Wind's head with a rabbit stick.

They started to race again; the boy didn't try to run fast but ran along beside Wind. Then Wind turned into a whirlwind, then into a person again. The boy hit him with the stick and knocked his head off. He returned and got his wife and they descended to his mother's home.

He told his mother he was in danger now, so she must build a house four stories high with small holes around it. She said O.K. and started to build it. She made it solid. At the top was a smaller room with four small holes, one on each side so he could shoot in each direction.

The next morning after the building was finished, early in the morning when they were asleep, thunder came that shook the house. Next, swarms

539 of small birds came from the sky and tried to shoot the boy. But he hollered a war cry and shot every direction from the top room all day. It rained all day, but near evening the clouds began to break up. They slept that night inside.

The next morning the same things happened: thunder, birds, and he shot at them all day and killed most of them. The third day, the same. The fourth day, the same. In the evening the boy was tired; his hands were sore. He couldn't pull the bowstring any longer. So he made a plan. "These people won't stop coming every day. I'll make a plan to run away to the south where the sky is closer." At night they left the house and traveled to the south. Near morning his mother was very tired. The young man thought if they traveled days through the country the people would follow and kill them all. So he told his mother they would leave her there. She lay on her stomach and he covered her with ice [?] lumps and told her to watch the sky for a string they would lower. He and his wife went on and by daybreak they reached a place where sky and earth meet, and climbed over the place to where his mother was, and lowered the string to her. She grabbed it and tied it around her waist. The boy and his wife both pulled and lifted her up to the top of the sky. Most of the Sky People are living up there so they wanted to turn into Sky People. They have wings and they have no trouble with those people there but every morning they could hear thunder below at their old home and see rain until the attackers learned that they had left the stone tower.

Every time the young man spoke, it was song. Others, Mother, Wife Blackbird, and Wind do not sing. Every time he spoke he sang.

(On his journey to get a wife, it is in song; also the return journey is in song.) [It could not be ascertained with certainty whether this was to be sung in the first or third person.]

(The informant learned the story from his maternal grandfather and great uncle, Panamida, who was his mother's father's younger brother. His great uncle told it until his death about 1943. The informant thinks he may have omitted some detail.)

6. The Lady Who Could Have No Children

A man and his wife lived together at a place. She could not have children. In the fall when it was clouding up, a south wind was blowing hard against their house.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
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The wife said, "why don't you get busy and stop up the holes in our house? The weather is getting colder. The wind is blowing away most of what I grind." 539#

The man said, "All right, I'll try to fix the house and get some wood in so we can stay in this room all winter."

He began with the house to fix it, on a windy, cold day. Every time he came with logs to fix it, he put them around like a hogan. Every time he brought a pole as he went back, his wife was grinding grass food [seed]. By doing that she would be ready for the next meal. The man came to the grinding rock and reached down and took some food and put it in his mouth. He kept eating what she was grinding each time he passed by with a pole. After a while, the wife, when he reached for it, pushed his hand away half mad or trying to make trouble. She said, "I don't want you to take any more. I'm tired and want to get enough for our meal but you keep eating by yourself."

Then she said, "You're not acting as a man's way. We shouldn't have to stay here, as your parents died just a little way from here. We used to have a village here but all are killed. But you don't do anything to your enemies. When I say this it will make you mad."

The man kept getting poles, pretending he didn't care about what she said. After the house was repaired, he brought firewood. Later, during the night, he thought over by song what she had said. "Why did you say those bad things to me? If you wanted me to do something, why didn't you say it when the trouble was fresh, when the tracks were fresh. It looks like you want to get rid of me. What are you trying to get at? Tell me what you really mean and I'll think it over."

The next day she said, "I didn't mean anything. I was just mad because you kept getting that food I was grinding. I didn't mean anything."

The next day he sang again, "I was trying to fix the house and eat a little of your grinding. Maybe you wanted me to fix a good house and do hard work. Maybe you wanted a house of your own and live by yourself here. What are you driving at? If I leave you alone and go to war do you think you can live by yourself here and go hunting and do hard work? I think it's hard for a woman to live by yourself."

His wife replied, "I don't want you to feel bad over what I said. Just forget that. We live here by ourselves and it is good."

*539 The next day after she pushed his hand away, she cooked and told him to eat. But he said, "No, I can't eat your food. You pushed my hand away." She cooked more but he refused to eat. He went around and ate his own food. Four days later the man said to the lady, "Lady, I'm trying to be on war. From today on I'll fix me a suit of clothes, buckskin moccasins and leggings (wrap-around like the Hopis had) and pants. Each thing took one day [including a] coat and head dress. He took arrowweed. He fixed a reed to drink water from a deep water hole. Then he asked his wife to go along and show him the place where they had the big fight.

She said, "No, I don't think it's fair. I don't want to go. I said that one thing but you just kept it up. Now you've got ready to fight." The man said, "If you don't show me I'll kill you. You are asking for trouble."

So the lady took him there just a little ways and showed him the village, rotten timbers of houses and the fighting ground near by. They returned to their home. Next morning, the man said to the lady by song, "I'm going just over the ridge and stay there till next morning. I'm ready for this fight and want to see if you think I'm powerful. I'm going to practice on you."

The lady thought she was going to live there alone, and got scared, but answered the man.

The next evening he took his new clothes and said, "When I come out from the top of the ridge and you watch me coming down from top I'll holler 'Ha'ha'o' [danger]. You repeat my words."

He went over the ridge and they did this. He called the word. She repeated it. She and the house all flew up in the air, scattered, and came down. She fell unconscious, then came back alive. She said, "I didn't know you were that kind of man. I believe that what happened when you hollered that second time. It sounded like your voice was many and I didn't know what happened next. I believe you are powerful."

The next day he sang, "This is the day I am planning to leave you. I don't know whether my plan will work out. You watch over that high ridge. If I'm alive I'll stand on that ridge."

He started out, went to the scene of the battle, and looked for signs of which direction the enemies had gone. He took south and started out. Before too late in the evening he came to some old campfires and places where trees were chopped down. He hunted for rocks used for pillows when men wanted to sleep lightly. [This practice was well known to many aged Havasupai and Walapai men.] He saw rocks used by the leaders.

counted them, and figured out this must be that chief. He thought which one belonged to which bird. He thought he must stay overnight and use their pillows. Before daybreak he went on. He traveled day after day till he came to a camp where the brush was fresh. They had stayed awhile at each camp to hunt. He was traveling on every day so he knew he would overtake them. He began to skip a camp and go on to the second one before sleeping. He would use the same pillows. By doing that he finally saw the place where they had just left that morning. The fires had hot ashes and smoking charcoal. He thought he could overtake them the next day. So he stopped and used each pillow, changing from one to another through the night to get their thinking in his mind. So when fighting he could witch them to kill them. He had changed from one pillow to another through each night of the trip. That was the reason he had stayed in their camps. 539R

In song he said, "This is the pillow of 'so-and-so.' He thinks he is a powerful man to be chief. I got his thoughts from his pillow."

In song he also thought of his wife, "She thinks I can't go to these people and act as a man. When I come close she thinks I'll be a coward and just throw rocks or sticks. That is the way ladies fight, talk a lot and throw rocks or sticks. I don't want to fight like a lady. I want to act like a man. I'll show her the heads and faces so she will say I am a man fighter."

When he came to an encampment, he made a ring around it by night. While changing pillows he caused the ring to build up by praying, hard, shiny, high. This was his fighting ground inside. It was far enough from the village that people couldn't see it.

That morning he said, "This is the day to fight. I'm not alone. I have help with me but no one knows. If I win the fight this morning I can gather the chiefs' heads in a bundle and take them home. I'm going to have a man fight. I won't sneak up while they sleep. I'll get close and listen if any chief talks to people and I'll know they are all up and ready to hunt."

A chief spoke, "We aren't going to live at this place but will move on as those two back there may still come after us. We'll go out and hunt today for food. Then we'll move on to another camp as we have been doing."

He knew they were afraid and started running toward them while the chief was talking. When he came into camp some men were up and some had eaten; some saw him coming and said, "A visitor is coming." The chief looked and said, "That's not a visitor, it's an enemy on the warpath."

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They gathered their weapons and got into one place. He watched them. When they were ready they called, "Ha'ha'o". He called, "Ha'ha'o!" and ran to their camp and all the people flew up in the air, and came down. He ran to them, ran around hitting all in their heads; he cut all the chiefs' heads off, but left women and children as they were, but collected chiefs' heads.

He sang, "I'm not going to stay here. I'm going to run back this day and show my wife these heads. In my early life I used to run around the world twice each morning."

He started running back and came to a ridge. He put the heads together on a long stock and hung it in a little tree. He ran to the ridge top and hollered to the lady so she would look. He ran on without carrying anything with him.

The lady said, "What's the matter ? They usually come back with the heads of chiefs. You don't have anything, just alone. Why?"

The man said, "Look at my clothes and my hands. Does it look like I've been in a fight, or got scared and ran back from those people?"

She felt bad at him.

He said, "All right, you saw me standing back there. Run over there and see if you find anything. Get the heads and bring them. Make a round dance because I'm the winner. If you don't see anything they are the winner."

She did as told, and made a round dance.

Next morning he told the lady to run over the ridge where the sun rises. "Get a yucca plant and bring it back so I can take a bath. I'm bloody and dirty from my trip. I should be clean before I take my first meal at the house."

Before sunrise she brought the yucca and gave him a bath and a shampoo and painted his body red all over. After his body and hair dried up they boiled meat and other food; when his hair was really dry, they ate together. From that he said that when anybody fights in this world, they must wait until their hair dries before eating. If they don't they will get gray young.

After they did this they both went up in the air and made themselves Sky People. They live up there and have wings.

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7. Grandmother and Little Boy

(This story begins, "When animals were like humans, the grandmother, her two sons, the two girls, and her grandson were all humans; the others were animals." The story is narrated in song and text. All the songs are sung by the mother of the two boys and the grandson. Neither the boys nor the girls sing.)

Two boys and their mother who was in mid-age lived in camp on the plains [plateau]. The boys were small, and didn't know how to hunt wild rabbits and bigger game. They started shooting small birds that came near their houses, until they were big enough to try bigger game. They used a stick to flip a pebble at birds. When they were old enough to go farther from home their mother didn't tell them where to go to get arrows, but they had been on the rims of Cataract Canyon and saw arrowweeds down here; they saw the canyon walls closing together. They returned to their mother and asked her where to get arrowreeds. Their mother said, "There is no place around here to get arrowreeds." But they had already seen this place. Their mother didn't want to tell her boys as it was too dangerous. [See story 2 for other versions.]

A few days later their mother went to get hardwood that grows on the foothills of mountains like Bill Williams. She cut good size timbers, one for each to carry on his head. Whenever the canyon walls moved together the logs would stop the walls. They went ahead without telling their mother. They started slowly down the canyon to see if the logs would hold the walls, and saw that they would hold steady. The walls were held apart by the poles so the boys untied them from their heads and went on down the canyon across from where Lee and his family live now, to gather arrowreeds. They selected the best ones and went home. As they approached they said, "We must hide these and go to our mother and ask if she has things for our arrows." They asked her, "If we gather those arrowreeds, would you mind straightening out the shafts for us?" She almost hollered, "Those walls almost always kill people who go there. It takes a fast runner to get a few and get away alive."

One of the boys returned to the cache and brought arrowreeds to his mother. She was excited that they had gone. They told her how they had done it. The mother said to them, "All right, put it away, boys, I'll try to straighten those arrows by morning. You'll have to go some distance away from the house to play, and don't hide nearby to watch. If you do, the arrows will break and not be strong." They asked how she would straighten the crooked ones, but she didn't want to tell them.

#539 Next morning she sent them away. The boys wondered about how she would do it, so they talked it over and decided to return and peek through the door. When they came near the door one stood almost and watched.

He saw his mother sitting with her legs apart, working the arrow back and forth in her vagina to straighten it, then hold it up and sight along to see if it was straight. Then it broke and his mother looked and saw the boys. She called out, "Why are you watching me? I'm going to spank you both." She ran after them but they ran away and were afraid to return. That evening they returned, approaching cautiously, and looked in. Their mother said nothing, so they went inside. They saw the reeds all straightened standing against the wall. They didn't know what to do for points. So their mother said, "There is a place where you can get hardwood to make arrow points but it is owned by Owl and he is too selfish to let anyone have it."

The boys wondered what they could do to get hardwood. The boys went to the place and made a noise to attract Owl's attention. Owl heard them and answered. Boys said, "We didn't come to have trouble with you. Our mother sent us to ask you to come live with us and become her husband." Owl said, "O. K., you get what hardwood you want and pack it to carry to your home."

That evening the mother saw them returning and Owl was with them. She called out, "What are you doing? I don't want you to be around Owl." The boys said, "We want you to be good to him. He let us have this wood for our arrow points. We want him to live with us." The Mother said, "All right." Owl lived with them as their father. A few days later Owl and the boys went hunting together. They got game and cut the large intestine out and tied it at both ends. The plan was to put his eyes out. They told Owl to watch it. They put it on the fire to cook. They told him they always prepared food like that. It expanded with heat, exploded, and charcoal flew up and put his eyes out and they killed him.

Then the boys wanted rock for arrow points. Their mother said, "Bear owns that and it is dangerous." The boys made a plan. They went to Bear and invited him to return and marry their mother. Bear said, "O. K., you get what rock you want and pack it to carry to your home."

That evening the mother saw them returning and Bear was with them. She called out, "What are you doing? I don't want you to be around Bear." The boys said, "We want you to be good to him. He let us have this rock for our arrow points. We want him to live with us." The Mother said, "All right." Bear lived with them as their father.

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Bear stayed at home while the boys went hunting. They figured a way to kill Bear. One of the boys started to put hardwood at the end of an arrow, split an end to see if Bear would laugh at them. The boy took charcoal from the fire, worked it with his finger and made an arrow point. Bear laughed and said, "I don't think you will kill much with that soft thing." The boy sai "All right. I'll show you when I finish this." He made it and told Bear to walk some distance away and hold his arms up above his head. "We'll see if it bumps off your skin." Bear said, "All right." Bear walked over there--while he was going over there, the boy took the charcoal point away, threw it aside, and took a stone point from a hiding place in his clothing, and quickly wrapped it on the shaft with string. Bear turned and said, "Is this as far as you want me?" Boy said, "Farther, like I was shooting at deer." Bear walked on and the boy called, "Right there." The boy pulled the bowstring tight. Bear, when he thought the boy was ready to shoot, jumped aside a little. The boy said, "Hold still." Bear said, "I'm not moving. It's just the wind moving. My hair makes it look like I'm moving." The boy let the arrow fly and it hit Bear under his arm and through the body, and out the other side on the ground. Bear ran toward the boys but fell dead before he reached them.

A few days later, the boys asked their mother where would be a good place to find feathers. Arrows were made without feathers until that time. Their mother said, "I don't think there is a good place for you to get feathers." They kept asking but she wouldn't tell them. The boys had already seen an eagle's nest in a hole in a cliff. Their mother said no, but the boys made ready to go. They took deer hide, wet it and stretched it over their bodies and let it dry hard in the shape of their bodies. The boys had it fixed to lace strings across their stomachs to hold the hide like a hard shell on their backs, so they could lie flat and the eagle claws would strike the hide.

They started out and heard the sound of an eagle. They went a little farther in their armor hides so the eagle would break it and the blood would make him think he had killed something. When the eagle swooped on them, they lay down. The eagle drew blood, and carried them off to his nest where two small eagles were. He said, "It's bleeding," and told the young to eat it. The old eagle flew a little distance away and sat watching.

The boys sat up, and the young called to the eagle, "This thing is still alive," but Old Eagle didn't look back. The boys asked Young Eagles not to tell Old Eagle, so they kept still. The boys had two (or a few) throwing sticks like Hopis use for rabbits. One stood up, threw it at Old Eagle and hit his neck and knocked him down to the bottom of the cliff.

K539 The boys asked the young eagles how many old eagles lived there. Young Eagles said about eight. The boys told them not to tell so they wouldn't have to kill them. Old Eagle returned and asked Young Eagles, "What was that noise? I thought I heard you two young fall to the bottom" Young Eagles said, "We didn't hear any noise. We don't know." Old Eagle flew over to the place the first one had sat and looked the other way. The boy threw a stick and killed him. He repeated until three were killed. He said, "I have killed three, must wait for five more." Then he repeated all this until all eight were dead. The boys then took the two young eagles, swung their heads around, and threw them to the bottom. The boys stood there and prayed for the high cliff to sink to the ground so they could walk down. The cliff sank until just a little hill was left. The boys walked home.

Their mother said, "How did you manage this? Even the best hunters don't know how to do it." The boys said, "We just learned how to manage things from you, my mother."

They had plenty of feathers to make arrows. The boys hunted and got much meat. They would kill big bucks and pack them home. They had lots of meat.

The mother told the boys not to think about ladies for their wives. Later on two ladies from far to the south came. The two boys climbed up on a roof to sleep and always made music before sleeping. The girls, far to the south, heard the music and decided to find out what it was. They traveled north day by day toward the music. Before they got there, they saw a lizard and asked what that noise was. Lizard said, "I'm the one that makes music every night. But now I'm cooking my meal here." The girls said, "O.K., eat and then we'll hear your music." Lizard ate and then reached to one side of his house and got red paint and painted under his eyes and on his face to make himself pretty. He told them to listen. He went a little way and climbed on a rock. He lay on his belly and swelled his belly and breathed hard.

He said, "I'm the one that's doing this. Is this what you heard?" The girls said, "No, that isn't it." Then they heard the boys making music not far away. They played on an instrument made from jointed sticks. It is hollow and grows on Bill Williams Mountain. It's not a grass, but is called "music bush." Tal?tal is the name of the instrument. I don't know how it was made, maybe like a flute. [No additional data could be elicited concerning this probable flute.]

The girls said, "We like that music." They thought to themselves, "We want to climb up there and sleep with those boys when it gets dark." The mother knew what they wanted and sat in the doorway and sang a song. She

said, "The girls are made out of blood and something else. They came from the west where it is dark night. They are no good for you. You already know how to kill wild game. They will spoil your luck." 539*

The mother sang this and later on reached over and got dried meat and fat from what the boys had hunted. The girls held it in their hands and waited for the old lady to go to sleep. The mother sat there, talked to the boys, told them not to take a chance on the girls. The girls thought it would soon be morning and wanted to find a way to make the old lady sleep. The younger girl had some medicine. She poured it on the old lady and she went to sleep. They jumped over her and climbed up where the boys were.

The older boy didn't want them and rolled up tight in his blanket. The girls had a hard time but before morning the younger boy loosened his blanket and let a girl crawl in with him. So the girls decided to leave before the mother awoke. The girls left and went some distance away. The older sister said, "Let's stop and urinate and see which one finishes first. If I finish first you must leave me here and go home alone." The older sister had a hard time getting through, but Younger Sister finished right away. Older Sister wanted to leave Younger Sister there; she said, "You are already married." She tried to leave her there but she ran along after Older Sister until they were home.

The boys went hunting and Younger Brother got two small deer. Older Brother got two big bucks. They carried them home. Their mother said, "I told you girls were bad luck. That's what you get for not listening to me." (Informant laughed)

A few days later, the mother asked Younger Brother to gather yucca; to bring the plant to her, wash with it, run east and back to the house, to recover his hunting luck.

He did this and his luck was better. He went hunting several days. Then they made plans to see the girl friends at their homes. They told their mother to stay at home. They each pulled one of the longest hairs from their heads and tied them in the room stretched from one wall to the other. They told their mother while they go away to the girls if anything happens, if they get killed while away, the two hairs will break and bleed.

They went on the trip to the girls' home. Their mother kept her eye on the hairs. Finally it broke in half and bled on ground. The mother began to cry and wished to be dead the same as the boys.

The boys reached the home of the girls. Younger Sister had a baby almost ready to be born. One of the sisters ran to the place where a big hawk

*539 lived and said, "Two cottonwoods have come into our home," and asked him to kill them both. The hawk flew down and cut their heads off in two swoops and returned home. (The boys were human in the story. Then the hawk flew down over their heads and knocked one down, butting his throat as he passed by. It flew up, turned, and killed the other one, and flew off to its home in cliff. After that the boys were called two cottonwoods.)

Later on, Younger Sister had a baby boy. She kept him there; he grew fast and watched men play games. The sisters told the boy to "come back home or they'll get you with those bones. Your father was killed here and we fed you all this time in his skull made into a bowl."

The boy felt bad and thought of the troubles they had before he was born. He didn't want to eat from his mother. He climbed on the roof and cried. His tears ran down the support poles like on a brush shelter. He heard that men were going the next morning on a rabbit drive. He waited until the men were gone, climbed down, and asked his aunt where the big hawk lived. His aunt said, "You mustn't go over there. It is on a high cliff; he has a hole in middle of the cliff. You can't get up there." The boy said, "I want to see it." His aunt pointed out the place.

The boy started for it, walked faster, and ran. The boy stood below and saw the hawk sitting on the edge of the hole. The boy blew his breath toward the hawk. He had an eagle feather, so he blew it up in the air and followed it up through the air. He climbed up behind the hawk and said, "I want some of that wood to hunt rabbits with." The hawk looked back and said, "How did you get up here? No one can climb up here. "The boy said, "I'm in a hurry. I need that wood." The hawk was tanning deer hide and he said, "There is some in the house. Reach up and get it from on top." The boy reached under a pile and found the two bloody pieces that had killed his father and uncle. He made several swings toward Hawk and then let fly before he looked back and killed Hawk.

The boy blew against the cliff. It turned to a sandy place so he walked down.

The boy hurried to the place where the hunters were with the wooden things from Hawk's house. He said to the men, "Better stand together at one side. This wood won't go straight I want to throw it."

The men said, "Is this O.K.?" He told them to stand closer together. He swung it a few times, then let go. It flew to the men and hit around their necks so they were all killed.

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He took a wooden stick. He ran fast toward home and killed his mother, aunt, and all the other women. He stood around alone. It looked like his aunt was coming alive. She moved once in awhile. He sang to her and said he wished her to come alive so he could ask her which direction his father came from. The aunt finally quit moving and died. So he took his own direction, traveling and looking around for his grandmother. He finally happened onto her living alone. But she was all dirty from where she had rolled in a fire and falling of a cliff to kill herself. She had finally given up trying suicide and sat around there. [Suicides among the Havasupai were rare according to Spier (1928, 343) but as might be predictable, they have increased as these Indians have come under more acculturational stresses.]

The boy stood awhile. His grandmother said, "I'm not fit for a young boy like you. Go away, don't come near me. I'm by myself." The boy said, "I thought you were my grandmother. My father and mother are dead. They say you are my father's mother. I wanted to see you."

She embraced him and cried awhile. When she stopped, she said, "My grandson, I feel a little better since you say you are my grandson. I can't move from here because my sons' things are here and I'm watching their things."

Then the grandmother and the little boy lived together. When he was big enough to hunt he did as his father had done. He made a lovely home and brought much meat home.

When the boy was in middle age, his grandmother said to him, "I have a plan for us to split here. My grandson, you take all the horses and the best things your father had and move toward the east. Leave me here. I'll take our heavy horses and old things and I'll move toward the west. This is the place where your father hunted when he was alive, so I don't want to be here any more. We won't die, we'll live forever. When you wish to visit me, you must travel across the sky with the clouds. You can carry seeds of different kinds: grass food, pinyon nuts and cedar berries each time, and drop them on the ground--sow it from the air--as you travel. You must visit me but I can't visit you." [See story 1 for another version.]

So they did that. The grandmother lives near a big ocean and is still alive. She wasn't a bird, she was human.

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8. The Sun and His Daughters

[Sunset Crater National Monument, the vivid cinder cone of a volcano that erupted in the 11th century A. D., is located several miles northeast of Flagstaff, Arizona, on the southeastern edge of the former, aboriginal range of the Havasupai.]

The sun used to live at Sunset Crater, its home. Tribes used to gather around Sun's home and play games. Tribes played with Sun; Sun was the hero and always won. They played the sixteen-stick game. The tribes kept betting a little bit of hair on their bodies at a time until they lost all their bodies. Sun used them for meat. He made prickly pear cactus red fruit from the blood of animals. He used tears for drinking water. He took the liquid from inside the eyeball and made corn from it. He made beans from the kidney. He used this method to get food to feed men when the tribes gathered to play games. He gets the guts and makes dried pumpkin (the way it was cut [in strips,] for storage). He took meat from people and made deer meat from it. He fed them this food, called different tribes to games, and beat them until he killed all the tribes but one from the north rim [of Grand Canyon], the lion. The ground was higher on the north rim, and he looked toward Flagstaff. The lion could see smoke from a fire built by Coyote who built a fire in the brush they lived under. Then Coyote could get them and eat them (muskrats, ground squirrels, small ground animals, about the size of a mouse). The lion kept watching, and went across the canyon to see what Coyote was eating. He crossed on this side of Red Lake. [Near the present Williams, Arizona-Grand Canyon highway.] A large village was there. He went to house after house but all were empty. He found no human being, just one old coyote (always a man, and he always made him cook). The lion approached him by sneaking up to see what Coyote was doing. The lion watched from outside. Coyote lay inside a house like he was starving, snapping at the flies that came around on his face. The lion asked where everyone was. Coyote said, "There is no one here but me. I built all this village myself and am alone here." Lion said, "This can't be true because I have seen (feces) from babies wrapped up in the trees." Coyote said, "No, this is all from me, all my (feces)." Lion knew Coyote was lying and asked Coyote to tell him the truth, but Coyote kept insisting he was the only one around and no other people lived there. The lion said, "Well, if you said you are by yourself, give me some food to eat." Coyote said, "I am hungry. I've got nothing to eat. I'm starving."

The lion said, "You've been making fun of me. I want you to go fetch the meat I dropped just before I reached the village." The coyote said he was glad to go get it. He went but couldn't lift the meat; it was too heavy. It was wrapped up in a deer hide. So the lion went back and brought it to the house and they cooked it. After eating they bedded down. Before daybreak Lion said, "I want to ask you again. You have been kidding me. I want to know where the people went." 539*

The coyote didn't speak for awhile, then said, "I'll tell you the right story. There used to be many people here. Then the sun killed them one after another when they gambled with him and lost, until they were all dead. I am the only one left." After Coyote told the truth, the lion said, "That is what I wanted you to tell me so I would know what to do." The lion told Coyote to make all different sizes of flint arrowheads, a whole pile of them, bundle them in deer hide and put them to the east; then before dawn, take the whole skin of flints and throw it toward the sun. "Be sure not to leave any little pieces lying around but have every one inside the deer hide and throw them all." Coyote did it and returned. The lion said, "This wasn't done in vain. This isn't the end. The things you threw out will come to life and return to the village. I am telling you ahead of time. You must go into your house and not peep out or do anything foolish no matter if you hear people chopping wood or whatever you hear. Stay inside until evening." Lion told Coyote these things. Then the sun rose and they soon heard people's voices in the village, but Lion heard only old people, no small children and he knew Coyote hadn't obeyed. The coyote pretended he knew nothing that Lion had told him and said, "Uncle, I hear people's voices and I want to peep outside." Coyote tried to beat the lion outside but the lion grabbed him and said, "My head itches. It must be some kind of bug in my hair. I want you to see what it is." He held Coyote there. Finally evening came. Both went out and peeped into house after house but saw only old people. The lion said, "You didn't obey me. What did you do with the small chips?" Coyote said, "I threw the big ones toward the sun and the small ones just behind me." Lion said, "That is all right as long as we got everyone back but we don't have any little children. Tonight we'll have a meeting because if we keep looking at him[the sun] he will keep on killing men until there won't be a living creature around here." After this talk they decided to meet after sun-up. The lion said, "I'm not the smart one but I know one who is: the squirrel. He is the smart fellow. He lives at Rain Tank south of Tusayan[near Grand Canyon village on the south rim]. The lion said, "He thinks real good. He'll know what to do and we can ask him." After they held the meeting, and everyone agreed to a plan, the lion sent Coyote after Squirrel. The lion told Coyote to tell the whole story with eloquence and tell him the sun would kill everyone if they didn't get help. So Coyote started off. There were two[squirrel] brothers living at Rain Tank. The oldest one lay on top of pine trees and watched, and the

*539 younger one was inside a tree. The older one saw smoke signals of Coyote approaching and said, "Someone is coming, Younger Brother. I want you to put some meat on the fire to feed whoever is coming. It looks like it is coming toward our place." The younger one said, "Coyote always makes smoke when he burns out small animals around those peaks where he lives. I don't think he is coming here." "Yes, he is getting near and is really coming to our camp." The younger brother said, "It must be someone to tell us bad news; there must be trouble somewhere." The older one said, "They must have been attacked by another tribe somewhere. They have come for help. I can see the man now. It looks like Coyote."

When Coyote reached the house he didn't speak. The brothers were smart and didn't want to ask; they wanted him to tell of his own accord. They gave him food. He ate and pretended he was on his own business. They slept and Coyote didn't say anything. Older Brother got after Coyote and said, "All you want to do is eat. When I saw smoke signals approaching I knew it was to tell of trouble and ask for help. They call out before they reach the house and tell their trouble that someone attacked them or otherwise. But you didn't say even a word. You just eat."

Coyote said, "Yes, I was on a mission to tell of trouble." Then Coyote recounted the entire story that had gone before: "The lion told me to come here and ask your help but I didn't say it out." After Coyote told the story they said, "O. K., we'll help but won't start today. We'll start tomorrow." He told Younger Brother to tie hides in the trees and to bury some of their things to prepare to leave their camp.

Next day they started back to the village and reached it. The lion told them the whole story. The two brothers said, "Yes, it is a sad story. The sun is a real smart man and no one can ever beat him. He will keep on until he kills everyone. It is good that you told us your story. Now we'll try to do something about it. We'll ask the badger to help. If we went on top of the ground the sun would see us and kill us. The badger says he is a good digger so we'll ask him to dig a tunnel to the sun's house and under the house where the sun had hides of men on the floor, and all people would go into the tunnel and into the house." After Badger did it, the older brother inspected and found it went zig-zag and never reached the sun's house. So he called Prairie Dog to try and dig a straight tunnel to the sun's house. "You say you are a good digger. Now let's see if you can do it!" The prairie dog said, "O. K.," and started from where he was sitting; but before he went far he came up to the top. The two brothers inspected and found it wasn't good; it kept coming to the top of the ground, instead of staying underground. They called the ground squirrel, who said, "O. K., I'm a good digger." He did better than the others but went straight, then

down, then zig-zag, then up. The brothers inspected and said, "No, it isn't right." 539*

Then they called for the pocket gopher, the kind Coyote used to eat. He was the best digger and went straight to Sun's house. They told him to feel the man's hide on Sun's floor and leave it there. They inspected and said it was right. Then they went back and told people it was what they wanted. They came out of the tunnel and told the people it was time to start. They said, "We'll go through the tunnel; Sun will hear us but we'll keep going until we come into the sun's house. We'll line up along the wall. We'll be the leaders with Lion next to us and will stand along the wall and wait to see what Sun will do." They followed the plan and Sun heard a rumble as people walked through the tunnel. He was on top of his house. He looked around but could see no one. So he went into his house. The two brothers were in the middle and the others were along the walls. Sun shone full on them trying to blind them but they didn't blink. Finally, Sun got tired and said "I thought you were children but you are not." So Sun gave up. Sun got an elk antler and threw it in front of them. He told them to split it in two (like a sling shot). This was a game he had always used to beat men. The brothers said, "We never heard of this. Visitors should always be given food and drink and not asked to play games so the host can beat them. You want us to break this and it isn't even hard." Older Brother picked up the antler and easily broke it apart and into small pieces and threw it on the floor before Sun. After this, Sun called his daughters (he had many). He asked them to bring water for the visitors. The girls brought a pottery jar of water and set it in the room and watched. Coyote got excited and spoke up, "I'm thirsty and want to drink." But the brothers told him to sit down. "How do you know it is water? If it is real water it should have green willows in the mouth of the jar." This was in a bowl instead of a proper pottery jar with a small mouth closed by a lid of willows from the spring to keep water from slopping out. Older Brother told Coyote that it wasn't water. He told Coyote to throw it out. He said, "I thought it was real water and I used to drink it. Maybe I have a bad odor so he doesn't want to kill me."

The Sun asked his daughters to grind cornmeal and make mush for the people. When the corn mush was cooked and set before the people, no one wanted it except the Coyote as before. Older Brother said, "It isn't corn. We saw no cornfields and no cornhusks lying around. They made the corn out of the fluid of the eyes of humans." He told Coyote to throw the corn mush out, so he did.

Next the sun called his daughters to cook meat and soup for the people. They did. When served to the people Coyote was the only one who said he

*539 was hungry. He said he was going to drink the soup. Older Brother said, "If this was real meat it would have some hair on it like deer meat. This meat came from your body so if you eat it the sun will win again. I want you to throw it out." So Coyote did as he was told.

Next Sun told his daughters to cook beans for the people and they were served to people on the floor. Coyote said, "I'm wishing for beans and want to eat." Coyote started toward it. But Older Brother said, "This isn't real beans. You should have seen farms. I saw no leaves around here. Throw it out or he'll beat you on this." So Coyote did.

Sun called his daughters to cook prickly pear fruit to drink. They fixed it in pottery jars. Coyote jumped up and said, "I used to wish for this kind." Older Brother said, "This is made of your blood." So Coyote threw it out.

All these things were made from the bodies of victims. Sun called for his daughters to cook pumpkin. Coyote repeated his wishes but Older Brother said, "If this was real pumpkin you would see fields and leaves; it is made of your guts. They will beat you." Coyote said, "Why is the sun trying to trick us on this? I thought it was real." He threw it out.

The sun told his daughters to bathe and wash themselves with sand and to sharpen the teeth inside their vaginas and to lie down in a row(there were five or six girls) without clothes on. The visitors came and circled around where they were lying. Coyote spoke first and said he wanted to have intercourse first. "This is just what I've been wanting to do." Squirrel said, "No, don't. I'll be the first. I'm the oldest. See what happens first. They have teeth in their vaginas and this is what has killed the other men." He had a neck bone of the mountain sheep with skin sewed over it. He had it in his pocket. He had an erection and put it in with his hand until the teeth of vaginas were worn off. He did this to the first girl. He had a spirit power inside him so it made the other girls O. K. He had intercourse then and it was O. K. so called the others. Coyote rushed in to be the next one and the others all came and did it too with all of the other girls.

After they had done this, the sun said, "I have a pet, a female antelope; I want to race it with yours." The brothers had a doe, middle-sized. They were going to race it to Moon Rock (on the Walapai Reservation) and around the rock four times and back to the house. Sun's antelope started out first. The doe didn't start until the other had a good start. The doe started bounding along but didn't run. Sun said that his pet was a good runner, and if it went around four times and back he would beat. Older Brother said, "My pet isn't running yet. Wait until mine gets started running. She'll go around four times and from there she will come back alone. Wait till she

starts running." Sun said, "Mine is about to go around the rock and yours is only halfway. Why doesn't yours come back so I can kill you?" The brother said, "Mine hasn't started yet. Mine will jump over two or three washes at a time and will beat yours yet." Sun shouted out, "My antelope is three times around the rock and yours is only going around the first time." The brother said, "My doe hasn't started yet; wait 'til her fourth time around and she will start running and will jump two or three washes and will beat yours. Sun said, "My antelope is four times around and yours is only three times. Mine will be back by the time yours will go the fourth time. Then I'll kill you." Sun shouted out, "Mine is nearly halfway home and yours has just gone around four times." Older Brother said, "Mine is going to start running now. Yours will stay about halfway and mine will come like the wind." Then the deer really started coming. Antelope was winded and tired and wasn't making much progress. The Brother said, "Yours is tired and mine is really running and will beat yours." Sun said, "You really mean it. Your doe is nearly past mine. I see it with my own eyes. That's the end of it." The deer got back to the house first but the antelope wasn't nearly home yet. 539*

The sun said, "You beat me on that, but I can think of something else. We'll try the same course and race." He called his fastest runners. After he set the plan they agreed. So the sun's runners started out and built a fire a short distance away and the brothers started out slow. They passed the place where[they saw the] ashes of the fire of the other runners. The sun called out, "They'll lose the race. Why didn't they give up and let me kill them to use their blood to stripe myself." Before the brothers started they whispered to Coyote and told him they would go easy until they went around the rock four times, and said when they were starting home Coyote should pull the sun down from his roof, kill him and cut his heart out, and when he saw them coming, start running with them. Sun's runners went around the rock four times. When the brothers had gone around two or three times they met the others and talked. Older Brother said, "We'll let them run hard at first and we'll take it easy so they'll be tired out before we are." When they met the other team it was tired and they were looking for shade, tongues hanging out. A coyote was with them. They said, "We aren't going to stop at Sun's house but just pass by." They said to Coyote, "You look tired out," and teased him. The coyote got mad and threw a rock and hit Older Brother on the back of the head. Blood came out and is a darker color on "squaw's" head from that today. But they kept on running and passed all the fast runners. When they got near, Coyote pulled the sun down and killed it, but instead of cutting through the belly and getting the heart, he cut the shoulder and got the arm instead. Older Brother got after Coyote and said, "You did the wrong thing. You won't even survive." After he said that the sun's house was in flames. The sun was still alive. Coyote had taken the right arm and

*539 left the left arm. Sun leaned against the post of the house. He took a stone knife and rubbed against his cheek and set his house on fire. The fire spread out after the people. It nearly caught up with them so they were afraid. They asked the pines, pinyons, and other green trees if one would do them a favor and not burn so they would be saved. The trees said, Even if we are green we still burn." They asked a rock if it would not burn so they could get inside and be saved. The rock said if it was in the fire it would get hot and split into chips. They reached some water and asked if it could protect the people. It said, "If I get in the fire I'll get hot and cook the meat." After they passed the water they asked a small bush for shelter and it said, "I won't burn, except maybe the top part." They didn't believe him. They went on and asked an ant where his house was, and if he would burn easy. The ant said it wouldn't burn because he lived down in the ground far below. The people said, "That is what we want to hear." The people went inside but the last one in was a rabbit. As the fire swept by it singed his back and made a brown spot along his back. The people were saved from the fire in the ant's house.

The people stayed there for a long time. Older Brother said, "I don't know how it is on top. I want the fly to see how it is if the ashes are cooled." The fly went out and found it was cold. He reported back, but Older Brother didn't believe it. He sent the bee out and he found the same thing. He went back and told them nothing was left. They said, "O. K., we'll go out. Before we go out I want everyone to stay together until I say so. No one should say I came from that way or that way until I say it is O. K."

There were many different animals. They came out one at a time and all waited for the others until all had left the ant's house. Older Brother said, "Now it is time to separate. Everyone can go the direction they came from. My brother and I will stay around here and not return where we came from and will turn into the squirrels." After everyone had departed for their homes, they stayed and turned into the squirrels and are still around yet.

9. The Man Who Caught Himself in the Eagle's Nest

A group of people lived in a village. It was in early fall when game was fat. They waited on the chief to tell them when to hunt. He would rise early, tell the men to get ready so they could cover big country.

One morning the chief arose and said to the men, "All you men folks, we start out hunting today. Anything you find bring in and we'll roast together. On big animals we'll roast and cut them in pieces. We'll have to leave." He pointed out a direction [in which a] man had an eagle nest in a high cliff. The man said, "Take me out to that high rim. From the top, I

have a rope to hang myself down to that eagle nest to get feathers for my arrows. This time of year the young should leave the nest but are still there. The men hollered agreement. By sunrise they had the man to the top of the high cliff. The men were glad he spoke; they wished for him to speak like that because when he (the chief) hunted with them he ran ahead and shot rabbits and claimed himself a good sharpshooter. The men planned to lower him to the nest and drop the rope to him and leave him there. They did it. When he was in the nest, they dropped the rope and hollered, "Watch out, we missed the rope." The man didn't answer. He knew he was going to stay there. 539*

The men left him (the chief), and hunted over big country. The chief had two wives who asked when they returned from hunting what happened to their husband. The men didn't answer but left the wives at their home. They went around among themselves and said, "When he gets out of there he will kill us all; let's move out of here."

The next morning they all packed up and moved south. They left the two wives in the village alone. One was pregnant and they decided not to stay. No one had told the wives what happened to their husband, but Coyote was in the group and told them their husband was in an eagle's nest and was killed there. So they were all leaving as it was a dead man's place. All went south from there. Then the wives packed up and started following the villagers. In the evening some gathered brush for open-sided shelters for camp. Late in the evening the two wives reached the camps and stopped a little distance away. The men had hunted rabbits, brought them in, dug pits, built fire and put rocks in it to roast [the meat]. The two wives stayed away but early next morning some leaders got up and asked some of the people to uncover the roasted rabbit, divide it, and take it to the camps to eat. The two wives were far off but heard it, and started to walk to the group where they were dividing the meat. The others pushed them back because they were selfish. When the chief was with them, they had been selfish with others, so the group wanted to treat them the same. The group tore their clothes off and the two wives sat down and didn't try to get any meat.

After eating, the group moved off. The women got up, fixed their dresses, gathered bones from the camps, pounded them fine and ate bone meal. They followed the others.

The same thing happened. The group kept moving into country full of animals, but it was dry. They found no good water or wood so they kept moving on all winter, spring and summer. The woman had her baby during that winter.

*539 The next winter during an early snowfall two families (Gila Monster and Bat cousins lived together) lived not too far from the high cliff where the chief was stranded. The chief was in the eagle nest an entire year. In fall, Gila Monster and Bat saw snow on the ground that would show tracks. One hollered, "We have first snow on the ground. Let's get up and track rabbits." They had breakfast and started out for the high cliff.

The chief saw them hunting below the cliff. He wished for good food. He was starving although he had been eating what the eagle brought for its young. He had diarrhea from that food and his flesh had shrunk away to bones. He made a song: "My grandfather, Gila Monster, will you take me down and take me home." They heard it but were too far to tell what it was. So the chief sang, "My grandfather, Bat, I'm in a bad place. I want help. If you live near here take me home with you." Gila Monster and Bat heard the noise. They asked each other what it was, and decided to investigate. They walked close to the cliff and prayed in talking to the cliff to make a pathway to the eagle's nest. Gila Monster and Bat sat and smoked. Gila Monster said, "I'm a good one for that. I'll make a high wall crack to the eagle's nest." He smoked and blew against the high, hard wall like Hopis do, four times. All at once the hard wall had a crack from the ground to the nest. Gila Monster said to Bat, "See that. I told you I could do that." When Gila Monster saw this place he wanted first chance to climb up; he wanted to get eagle feathers. Gila Monster said he would try it first; Bat said "O. K.". Gila Monster started climbing in the crack. He had his best suit of clothes. When Gila Monster got five or six feet below the nest, he made a move once in awhile but the crack had narrowed too much to let him pass through. He wanted to go farther. He rested awhile and tried again but was squeezed tight. Finally he had to come down. At the bottom when he came down, he had some silver buttons along his leggings wrapped on his legs. He looked at it and saw holes rubbed in it and said, "I almost lost my conchos." Marks are now on the Gila Monster from that. Gila Monster sat down and rested. He said, "My cousin, I don't want to tear my dress-up clothes. You'd better try."

Bat was supposed to be a good climber. "I'll try but I won't say I'll make it. If I don't make it we'll have to go home." Bat started. He had wings which he could flop against the sides. He came to the hard place and had just room enough to get through so he got to the nest. Bat had a burden basket. He reached into the nest and gathered the bony body into his basket. The man sang to Bat, "I collect the full [eagle] wings, sew them together and make for someone to use. If you care for it, take it to pay and pack me down." Bat looked away; he wanted another kind. The man had woven the tail feathers together in a blanket. He sang to Bat to take this for pay for the trip down. Bat said nothing.

Later the man sang and offered snowy white, downy feathers. He 539*
wanted to keep them but finally offered them to Bat. Bat said, "O. K., I'll take them. Put them at the bottom of my basket with the other feathers on top." The bony body had all but his head covered by feathers. Bat started to lift the basket, but told the man, "Don't have your eyes open while we are descending or we will fall off. I'll tell you when we reach the bottom, then open your eyes and we'll both be safe." The chief said, "O. K.

Bat took the loaded basket and started down. The chief kept his eyes shut almost all the way. Then he thought, "Bat is taking me to another place. If he took me the way he came up we should be there." He kept thinking this and finally had to open his eyes. Both fell off the cliff. The basket fell over Bat, and he was badly crippled; his legs and wings were all broken. Bat asked the chief to fix his bones for him and he would take care of him; but if he didn't help Bat they couldn't go anywhere. Bat was groaning with pain. A few minutes later the chief said, "All right, I'll try to fix you up." He rubbed his hands all over Bat's face, rolled dirt from outside of his own skin and made it into mud and plastered it against the broken places of Bat's bones. It healed up right away. Bat said, "I'm all right now. I'll try to pack you where Gila Monster is, just a little distance from here." He did it and from there Gila Monster helped him pack the chief to their camp. They fed him. He was alive but poor and skinny. They kept him there awhile until he was strong again like day.

One morning he told Bat and Gila Monster, "I'd better leave you. I want to take a trip. I want to get home. If they aren't going away, they may be at home. I want to find out. If they are gone I won't know what to do. I'm better. I want to go."

Bat and Gila Monster said, "O. K."

He went home and found the deserted campsites. It looked like the people had left right after they left him in the nest. He searched for clues to the direction they had gone. He decided, and followed until he came to an old campsite. He stayed there, even though he came to it early in the evening. He went around to all the camps. He started a fire where chiefs were. In those days they had a long stone at one end used for a pillow. Any time during night if a man went sound asleep, his head would roll off and keep him alert in sleep. The chief found all the pillow stones and got an idea from this. He tried to get their thinking from the rocks so he could kill them without help. The next day he went on to the next camp. Day after day, he did this till he came to a camp where some of the brush was still green. Then he overtook them. He found his wives.

*539 When he came to the fresher campsites, he found out that his wives made their camp separate. He saw the baby's footprints; saw it was almost a year old and could walk from one wife to the other. He was glad and wished it were a boy. He sang these thoughts to himself.

When he caught up with his wives, the baby looked back and hollered to its father. One wife said, "What did the baby say? It sounds like he saw someone and called 'Father.'" They looked back and saw him. They dropped their packs and sat down to wait. He caught up and said, "Where are you going? I cover big country and just caught up; I didn't see anyone. Why did they leave our home?"

One wife said, "They wanted to get away from you. They were scared you will come and kill them all. They wanted to find a new home."

The chief said, "O. K., I know about what they are thinking. Let's go ahead and make your camp as usual, but I won't join you until early in the night." He rested there until late in the evening, then arose and walked on to his wives' camp. He saw that his wives' dresses were ragged. So he took some of the sinew the women had, twisted it into a string and made a belt to put around their waists. He made it strong.

The next morning the men called for the people to get meat from the roasting pits, and divide it. "We'll keep moving on our way." The people got meat and piled it up. The two wives came with a fruit basket, stooped to gather meat, and put it in their baskets. The men tried to tear their dresses as before, but it was hard and tight on them. The men suspected the chief had caught up. They walked off with baskets of meat. The men decided to go to their camp and see if the chief was there. They came and saw the man bouncing his baby and playing with it. He didn't see them and they sneaked away and spread the word among the people.

He planned to make a shiny ring around the outside of camp with everyone inside it and kill them all. (This material was also used on Supai horsehide shields. The chief used it to make a "power circle" from which no one could escape. The informant related the shiny material to the shield, but didn't know whether it was painted on. He noted that the story did not reveal its nature.) He said to his wives, "Stay here. I'm going to visit them and pretend friendliness but I want to kill all my leaders because they treat me bad. I'm really mad but will act friendly like always."

He walked to their camp, straight into the middle. As he came up he heard the leaders saying that the chief looked friendly, "But we know he is on war. Let's get ready to fight him." The speaker began hollering

and yelling. All the people acted like lightning had hit them. People were flying up in the air and hit the ground but the chief stood where he was. When all had hit the ground, he ran to them, hit them in the head, killed all the women and kids too. He collected the heads of all the leaders and brought them home and hung them up in a tree near his own camp. 539*

He told his wives to dry those fat men and women, to skin and dress them, and boil the meat. "After it is cooked I want to eat the bodies. By doing that I do that as a chief."

His wives were scared but did not refuse. They started to obey him. When about half were in the pot, the man started eating them one by one from the pot. The wives kept putting meat in the pot, working around to get partly done meat. He filled up, pushed his stomach down, ate more till up to his neck, and put his finger in and pushed it down. When he was all filled up he told his wives, "Quit boiling it. I'm filled up. I'm almost ready to go to the toilet but I can't get up. There is a cliff nearby. One of you get my head, one my feet, with the baby underneath, and pack me to the edge of the high wall. It would be smelly in this camp so I want it to go down over the cliff." So they did as he said. They got to the high cliff; the walls were very high. The man told them to move real close to the edge and put him down. "I don't want just my hind on the ground but over the edge so it will go over the edge." They packed him so close to the edge they nearly fell off. He said, "O. K., let me down." Then just before they put him down he kicked a little and reached with his hands for the other wife so all lost their balance and fell off the high wall.

During the night they turned into stars, and near morning, they started climbing the wall. They made a constellation of a good hunter.

(During the story the man is occasionally referred to by name. The leaders of the group have names like Bluejay, Good Hunter Hawk, Small-bird-that-has-a-head-like-a-bluejay, and Bird-that-has-a-head-like-Bluejay-with-a-sharp-crest-at-the-top. The informant said this was a headdress and showed that he was a leader when he was human. He turned into a star and still the star kills any birds. The chief is the only one who sings. He sang in the nest to Gila Monster and Bat, and also when traveling behind the villagers, but there was no song at first when he told the hunters to prepare for the hunt. He was the principal chief and had some lesser chiefs in the village. He was not identified with any animal or human, although others in the group were birds. Coyote was the only animal mentioned, but the informant thought Bear, Wolf and Lion took part also.

*539 The teller can lengthen the story by repeating the day by day journey
539 of the villagers. The same thing happened each day for a year. The teller doesn't repeat for four days. It is up to his whim, depending upon whether he wants to make it long or short. He usually tells it two or three times with full repetition, then says it happened like this for one year. On the husband's journey to overtake the villagers, the first day is told in detail, as is done again on the day he caught up. If the teller gets tired he can omit some details all through any story.)

10. Bear's Wife

*539 Bear and his wife had a number of children, half grown, mostly girls. They lived at one camp. Each day Bear went out hunting; he never failed to go out. He started in the mornings and returned in the evening with a bunch of bones wrapped in shoots from Mormon tea plant. He brought them for his wife and kids to eat. The only other food they had was grass food gathered by the wife and the big girls.

Bear kept bringing this. His wife would pound it up on a grinding rock. Before it got too fine, bones would fly up and scatter around the ground rock. The larger girls would sit around and fight over the bones that flew up. They wished for meat, and ate every scrap, even if it fell on the ground.

Bear went to the country where there were many badger holes. He worked all day to dig out a badger, one or two of the biggest game he found. He built a fire, roasted it, ate the meat, and every day brought home only the bones.

The wife and kids were starving for meat. Finally one day the wife thought to herself whether it would be wise for her to go to her nearest neighbor, Lion, who was a good hunter. It was quite far. She wanted to marry him, not visit. She was starving. So after a few days she went to Lion's house. He had piles of fresh meat, fat, dried meat; much of it. She went in and wanted to see if he wanted to marry her. He saw her and said he wished to have a wife as he had much meat to cook and prepare for storage. He had to hunt and it kept him too busy trying to hunt and cook too. The lady was feeling just right the way the lion treated her.

Next day the bear hollered outside to see if his wife was there. He wanted her to come down and come home. The lady was in a high building, four stories, and was on the top floor cooking meat. She told him the doors were closed.

539*

Bear waited awhile. Mountain Lion came home. Bear asked Lion to let the lady go as it was his wife. Lion said, "You can't take her back. She is my wife now." Bear asked Lion to come down and put on a fight. If Bear was killed he would come alive four times, his heart was made that way. Lion thought Bear must be powerful and said, "I don't want to fight with you." Lion said, "I can't let you take her now. I call her my wife." Lion said, "I'm a powerful man like you. I can come alive eight times." Bear called Lion to come down. Lion said, "O. K., but wait till I change my clothes." This was so the bear couldn't tear up his clothes. Lion put on a suit of blue granite [limestone] then a suit of red sandstone, one of red jasper, and one of white limestone, one on top of another. This is why the canyon is this way from the bottom to top layers.

Lion came out and Bear was ready for a fight. Bear started to reach around Lion's waist. Lion did the same and bit Bear's neck, chewed it nearly in half. Then he pushed Bear away, killed him, cut him in four pieces, and threw four quarters in four directions. Lion thought that by scattering the quarters Bear couldn't come alive.

But next morning Bear was standing at the bottom of the building. He called his wife to come down and go home. His wife answered in song, "I'm not going home with you. I have found a good home, lots of meat and good clothes. If you want to marry again, go back and marry one of your daughters. I am not willing to go back."

Then she made another song: "I have a good time here. I don't like to make love with you. Your penis hurts me. It is small and crooked at the end like a cane and hurts my vagina. I'm not coming back."

Then Lion came down for another fight. He had taken his suits of rock off, so he put them all on again and went out. Bear grabbed him around the waist but Lion chewed Bear's neck again. Lion said, "I did this way yesterday. How come you are alive?" He cut him up and threw him away as before.

This was repeated all again on the third day. The lady sang the same song. (She didn't sing on the first day.) Lion killed Bear as before. Lion began to think every time the wind blew during the day that the wind pushed the quarters together and healed them up.

Lion looked for red jasper after killing Bear. He found a good one. He told his wife, "We'll try it this way." So, next morning Lion heated the jasper and told his wife to keep the fire good so the rock would be red hot. So when Bear came around[all the details of the fight were repeated].

*539 Bear grabbed Lion around his waist. Bear tried to wrestle like a person. Lion bit him under his chin and chewed his windpipe. After killing the bear, he split the body in four pieces, but the fourth time he cut the heart out and threw the four pieces away. He took the heart and sliced it in flat pieces. The jasper was red hot and Lion put the rock over the heart pieces which were like slices of meat. He rolled the rock up in the heart and put it away in a room where it would be cooked. Lion thought Bear without a heart could never come alive again.

Next morning Lion waited for an hour for Bear to return but all was silence. That was the end of Bear.

(Lion and his wife sang in this story, but Bear did not. Lion sings the first day Bear comes to their house, telling Bear that he isn't looking for a fight but if Bear wants to fight, he is willing. He sang it on each of four days. The story is told with Bear's wife's song first sometimes; on other occasions, Lion's song is first, depending upon the storyteller.)

11. Turkey (or Eagle)

(This story may be told with one or the other as the central character.)

This was in a time when animals and birds were human. Turkey and his wife had a home somewhere near Cataract Canyon. His wife had relatives like a small bird around rocks (rock wren). The wren lived nearby as a neighbor. Another bird who lived in a cactus and made a hole for his nest, lived also as a neighbor. Another neighbor was a small bird that makes a noise like grinding, like a woodpecker but smaller than a flicker. There were also a few other birds who lived in the neighborhood.

One year in the fall when the days began to grow cold and early snowstorms came, the wife asked Turkey to block up the holes in the house for her to stay in. The nights were cold and windy and she couldn't do good work when she tried to grind food. The wind blew the fine seeds away. She asked him to face the door east as the wind came almost always from the other three directions. Turkey fixed the house they were in. Turkey thought it might be true. In the fall it looked cloudy like it might rain so he filled the holes up. He brought more logs to repair their home. Turkey didn't think his wife was just trying to make it appear he was lazy. He fixed the house, and after it was done his wife roasted food. She roasted grass seeds in a tray with coals by tossing it in a basket. When [the seeds were]roasted she said, "My grinding stone isn't good to do this; it is too fine. I'll take this to my uncle's place. His stone is rough enough." She went to do it. Turkey

suspected nothing. Later she did this again; each time she went to a different neighbor's house. 539*

Turkey thought it over about the grinding rock, so he pounded it all over with jasper to make it rough. But each time she continued to go to her neighbors and said she didn't like her own stone. One day she did this same thing again and said, "I'll go to Rock Wren's house. I can do it faster there." It always took her quite awhile to come home. Turkey thought he would sneak up on his neighbor's house and see what his wife was doing all that time. So he followed a few minutes after she left and peeked into a little hole in the wall. His wife was doing nothing, but Rock Wren had some rope or strings on each leg of his wife and had her legs spread out tied to the house posts. Rock Wren was starting to get on her. Turkey watched them awhile but said nothing. When his wife returned he said nothing to her. Later Turkey was feeling bad and wished to do away with his wife. He planned ahead to do it without making trouble in the neighborhood.

One morning he got up and said to his wife, "I want to see if my arrows are straight enough to shoot with." He held it up and sighted down it carefully looking toward the door. Later he tried it in the bow, pointing toward the door. Later in the morning when the sun was high he got up, said nothing, but pulled the bowstring as hard as he could and shot an arrow out through the door. He took his lion-skin blanket for a bed and said nothing. But his wife knew he was leaving her. He followed his arrow, found it and picked it up. His wife followed him. He walked all day, and in the evening he killed a few cottontails. He found a place to stop where there was dry wood for a campfire. He dug a hole, gathered small rocks and sticks in the hole, and skinned the cottontails. He was tight with his food. He wouldn't throw anything away in case his wife would come along and get it. He threw the skins and insides in the fire and waited until the flames died down to coals. Then he put the cottontails on some rocks, covered them with dirt, and waited for them to roast.

Early at night after dark, his wife caught up with him and came to his camp. She asked him, "Why are you leaving our house? Before you said anything you just took off and came this way. What are you mad about?" He turned his face away, half feeling bad, and acted like he heard nothing. She sat down close to him. He ignored her, and acted like he was alone. He wrapped up in his blanket. She came over and asked to get in the blanket with him. He said, "Don't bother me. I want to sleep."

Toward morning Turkey made a song. "I am going on a long trip. You stay where we used to live. I am going where my relatives are in a land where there is snow and ice on the mountains. Go back where we used

to live if you want to but don't bother me. I am going to a place where it is dangerous."

#539

The next morning he gathered sticks for a fire, and took the rabbits out of the coals. He wasn't hungry for all [of them]but took a few bites from each one and threw the rest in the fire. He piled more wood on until all the meat and bones were burned up. He was mad over what he had seen. Then he started on his way.

Now his wife was mad too. She hadn't got to his bed in the night. She decided to follow him again. He did the same as before, killed cottontails in the evening, gathered small sticks and a big log to keep the fire all night. He made a hole for roasting (and repeated his actions as before). He kept this up across the country until he reached the San Francisco Peaks where most of the turkeys live.

Then he sang, "Lady, you'll have to return to our former home. People are waiting for you. You have many relatives back there. I don't want you to die on my trail. I don't want you any more. I am going to my relatives, and I live in a dangerous place. If you die on my way, some of your relatives would say I killed you and they would kill me and throw hot ashes in my mouth. I don't want to die by hot ashes. Go back."

Every morning he made this song. But she kept following. Still he didn't want to give her any food. He kept on thinking of what she had done and kept on his way.

Soon he was near the San Francisco Peaks, an icy-looking mountain. He sang again that morning, "I'm near my relatives. I don't want you to die here. Go back." And he repeated the rest of the song.

(Turkey sang a song occasionally in evening, also. If the storyteller wants to quiet noisy children he can repeat this song until they are asleep. Then he can continue with the story. It can be repeated according to the whim of the teller and occasion. The journey is not described in detail; no place names are given. Informant has never counted how many days the journey took.)

The last day Turkey made a song in the morning again. This time Turkey said, "I might run across one of my relatives before evening comes so you'd better go back. It is dangerous for you here. The clouds are on the mountain. I can't see the top part of the mountain and it may rain today. I don't want you in a dangerous place."

That evening before sundown Turkey found a little draw on the foothills of the mountain. He saw a pine tree taller than others. It had few limbs but was tall. He thought it would be a good place for a fire. He dug a hole for the fire to roast cottontails.[6] He made the fire, but gathered only enough wood to keep the fire a little while. Late in the night he wanted to sleep. He looked for his wife to show up. He thought if she showed up this would be the night she would freeze. 539*

The wind blew hard; it blew gravel and sand into his face. He sat close to the fire for awhile. It started to snow. Heavy clouds were in the sky, and snow was moving toward where he was. By the time snow reached his camp his wife came in late like she always did. He let the fire die out as always. Wind and snow was blowing hard through the little canyons. Turkey was ready to go to bed before the fire died down. He turned himself into a real turkey and flew up to the dead limb under the branches of the tende tip of the tree protected by bushy branches.

His wife went around the tree trunk trying to get away from the wind. She asked him to take her up there with him. She kept talking to him because she knew she was going to freeze.

By the middle of the night she quit talking and he knew she was dead. He stayed up there and waited till early morning. He saw the snow was as high as bushes. He saw his wife was frozen dead. She was pregnant. He began to think for his plan; it was better.

He gathered wood for a fire, scraped snow away from her body, moved her close to the fire, turned it around once in awhile to keep from burning her and thawed her out. By that time, her stomach got that heat and bloated up like a balloon and broke open. From there many young animals ran out from her stomach. He thought she had been with many different men. He tried to hit them all: birds, coyotes, bear and others. He tried to kill some, but the rest ran under the snow. There was only one young turkey in the whole bunch. He said to himself, "This is my baby. I want to take him along." He killed some others, but some escaped.

He took the young turkey and started climbing the mountain. He said to himself, "My parents used to say that halfway up the east side of this mountain is a high cliff where my relatives lived. I want to see if that is the right place." He came to the top and looked down the other side and saw smoke rising from the other side from fires of his relatives.

Later he packed the young turkey down to the place where his relatives were gathered. He mixed with his relatives there.

12. Turkey (version II)

*539 [This is a shorter version of the previous story.]

Turkey built a big house where he lived with his wife. Turkey's wife said her grinding stone was no good. "I can't grind corn here. I'll have to go over to that neighbor's place. (The neighbor was a small bird with a white throat.) He has a stone that is rough and will grind good." She went to that place. Turkey followed her saying to himself, "I wonder what she does over there every day?" Turkey's wife went inside where Thu-tit was. Turkey peeked in through a hole and saw his wife and Thu-tit making love. Turkey returned home. Two or three days passed by and Turkey walked off toward the south for a long way. He looked around and saw that his wife was following. Turkey's wife caught up with him and Turkey began to sing. His song said, "I have to go to bad places. It is cold there. What are you doing, you follow me all the time? You've got to go back and see your friend. You told me Thu-tit has a good place, nice and warm. You've got to go back." He walked on toward the south but his wife still followed. A storm came up, windy cold. Turkey flew up to the middle of a pine tree. His wife stayed down below.

Turkey built a fire in the tree and made himself comfortable. His wife called out, "Come and get me." She kept calling this. After awhile she was quiet so he thought she was asleep and came down to get her. He tried to wake her but she was already dead, frozen. Turkey gathered wood and built a fire. He placed her body close to the fire. After awhile the heat expanded her belly and it burst open. Many birds and animals came out: lion, rattlesnake, lizard, snake and others. But there was just one turkey. Turkey got this little turkey and the other animals went off somewhere. They lived there for awhile and the young turkey grew up and flew away.

13. Fox and the Giant Bird

[533] [This story is sung first, then spoken.]

In the beginning, when animals were human, there were two boy foxes. They lived in a camp without a mother, because their mother had been killed or carried off along with other people by enemy raiders. But the boys had been overlooked.

The boys wondered where their mother had gone. Along in the evening the boys were hungry. The smaller one was still in the cradle. The older one was looking in all directions wishing for his mother to show up. The

older one didn't know what to feed the younger boy. Then he saw some young birds run around near the door of the house, but he didn't understand just how to kill them. They had eaten nearly all the food in the house. The boy threw small rocks at the birds and crippled them but didn't kill them. Then he took a small stick, held a rock against the end of it and flipped it. He would kill a bird once in awhile that way. He knew that his mother used to dig a hole under ashes to cook, so he did it that way to get the meat done. Then he picked off what meat the little birds had in them and put it in a bighorn mountain sheep dipper with a little water and salt and fed this to his younger brother to suck the juice. He knew that his little brother would stay alive and grow up that way. He repeated this every day for awhile. 539*

The boy thought his mother had gotten lost; she used to gather grass food and firewood and then come back; he wondered where she could be.

The boys grew, and later on tried to make a bow and arrow. Once in awhile they killed birds around camp. The older brother thought of making a trap for mice, rats and jackrabbits. There were many around. Older Brother thought awhile about it and formed sinew to make string with inside the house. He spun it into string and began to make traps. First he trapped a mouse, then rats. The next morning he got a cottontail and the next morning a jackrabbit. Every morning he told his younger brother to look in the trap and see what was making the noise. Every morning it got bigger and bigger: mountain lion, bighorn mountain sheep, deer, elk, buffalo. Way at the end he saw a big animal with wings like an eagle, but bigger yet. Younger Brother tried to hit the eagle with rocks to kill it but it was hard to kill it. It was about as big as an airplane. He couldn't find a way to kill it, so he returned and asked his older brother to come and find a way to kill it. Both threw rocks and shot it with a bow and arrow. But each time the point of the arrow bumped off the animal's hide. Older Brother said, "We have no way to kill him. It looks like he is going to come toward us and get us." They kept trying to kill it until the sun was in the middle of the sky. The bird came toward them and scooped them up on its wings and carried them off to an island in the ocean where he had many other people.

The bird alighted and let them off his wings. Younger Brother was glad to see all the people. He joined in games and had a good time. Older Brother thought maybe this bird had got his mother, and he didn't like to live on an island surrounded by water. The other people didn't think that way; they just had a good time.

Older Brother thought about what to do until he had an idea. Then he went to the place where the people were playing games and called for them to stop and listen. He said, "This is no good. He dumped us all in here with

539 no way to escape. I think he is going to eat us all. You don't think of that. I have a plan to escape." He called the duck to go under water and gather small sharp obsidian stones. Then he spread out a tanned buckskin. The duck said, "Yes, I can do that." He jumped in the ocean and gathered obsidian and brought it to the people.

One of the birds went on dry land, got an elk horn with a sharp end, and used it to flake obsidian into small sharp pieces. When he was finished they chose a small child who had no mother or father, so Older Brother pointed him out to be killed. Then they smashed his body so it would be bloody. Theyput rocks inside his body and roasted him. Then they fed it to the cannibal bird. They gave the boy's body to an old blind lady who fed the cannibal bird. Then they carried out the plan. The bird returned without any more victims. It said, "I'm pretty tired. I want to eat and drink water." The old lady said, "I have nothing for you except this body here that others have cooked up for you." He said, "This looks good." He started eating, chewed a little but felt nothing. After awhile he cleared his throat so the lady knew he was about to die.

Before they gave the body to the animal, the fox asked the people, "Which one of you can dig a hole big enough for all of us to hide in? Before the bird dies he will rub his wings together and will mash us all. The badger said he could do it. The prairie dog dug a hole for the old lady so she could drop into it. Badger dug for the other people.

Before the bird died, it rubbed its wings together, but could find no one as the people were underground. Then, before he quit rubbing, the bird dropped over and made a big noise like falling timber.

The fox said, "I think maybe he is just pretending. Let's wait awhile." Then he sent the ant out to see.

The ant went and crawled around and stung the bird's legs but the bird didn't move. He returned and said it was dead. The fox said, "I don't think he is really dead." He sent the bee out to see. The bee flew around, stung the bird on its legs and over its body, but the bird didn't move. He returned and said it was really dead.

The fox said, "O.K., I'll take the lead. You follow me, as he might kill me." They came out. The people saw the fox was using his head and killed the animal like it was a small one.

The fox said, "Now he's dead, but we must find a way to get off this island. We can take the longest feather and throw it across to see if it

will reach the land. From there we can return to our homes." 539*

One of the men used a sharp rock to chop off the feathers. He raised one end and shoved it off, but it didn't quite reach land. He tried another feather a little longer and it reached dry land.

The fox said, "I'll take the lead. I want you all to wait on the mainland while I talk to you." The people said, "All right. You used better judgment than the rest of us. We'll do what you want."

When they all reached the other side they gathered around the fox, and he said, "We must not leave here today. We must wait till dawn tomorrow. I'll make a speech, then you must all go in different directions to your homes."

The next morning the fox made a speech. He said, "We made a good plan to kill the bird. I know you all want to return to your homes. You know the way from where the bird brought you. My brother and I will claim this stretch along the ocean where grapevines and other kinds of food grow. Any animal like us that stays by the ocean or rivers must be called Fox."

The people all left for their own homes. The two brothers stayed there and turned into foxes.

14. Fox and His Brother

[This is another version of the preceding tale.]

The fox and his brother were living with some other people in a village to the west. When they hunted they couldn't get enough to eat so the fox and his brother decided to go away from there to another place. When they left they camped at night; then the next day they started setting out traps. They didn't have traps but made them with a flat stone on top set at an angle and held up by a stick. They used bait from a prickly pear [cactus] before the blossom comes on, and sinew to tie it. After they had trapped there, they went on toward Ashfork [about 70 miles south of Supai village on the southern edge of aboriginal Havasupai territory] and stayed there; they liked the place. They said to each other, "This looks like a good trapping place." They liked it because they could trap mice, rats, squirrels and small animals The next day after they had gotten many small ones, they got a cottontail rabbit and liked it because there was enough for the next day. They set traps in the evenings, and the next time caught a jackrabbit. The next night (the third) they got a bobcat. The next time was a mountain goat (sheep). This

*539 time there was enough that they could dry it. The next it was an antelope. Next was a deer. Next was an elk (same kind of trap).

After they got all the big things, they caught a hawk but they didn't eat it, they just used the feathers for arrows. Next they caught čuʔda, a hawk that swoops swiftly and makes a popping sound [night hawk]. The next was an eagle, kaʔčuʔda, but he didn't die so they killed him. They used the same trap for birds as for animals. The next night they set the trap, but this time after they went to bed they heard something like thunder. Older Brother heard it first and listened for a long time. He woke Younger Brother and said, "Sounds like something very large in the trap. Sounds like it might get us." Younger Brother went and shot at it with arrows but he broke all of them. He returned and got his tomahawk but every time he hit it, the bird raised its head again. Its eyes were very large. Younger Brother returned and told the older brother that he had broken his arrows and broken his tomahawks and was afraid it would get them. They went back to watch it and said, "It looks like it is going to get out of the trap." It flew out, picked them up and put them on his shoulders and flew away to the west with them to the ocean where there was an island. He put them there where he had put many people he had carried away. Many, many people were there, playing games. The bird left them there but they didn't join in the games. (The informant called the giant bird miǐ giv?, meaning "something big that covers the sky".) For four days the two brothers stayed by themselves and thought. On the fourth day the brothers went to the other people and talked. The older brother spoke: "You act like nothing is wrong. You play games while the giant cannibal bird is eating you up one by one. The rest of you do not think of this but think only of your games." After he said this he said, "I want us to get together and plan what we can do." They did this. The fox told the ducks and geese to go under the water and get a chunk of obsidian so they could chip it up. He told the humming bird to go on top of the sky and get an elk horn. They both returned with the horn and obsidian. People sat around chipping obsidian into tiny sharp flakes. They also cut the horn into small pieces and mixed it with the obsidian flakes. After they did that they said to choose one of the children who was an orphan and kill him and stuff him with obsidian flakes and horn pieces. They did this and planned to give the body to the bird's wife so she would put it on the fire to roast it, and would give it to Cannibal Bird and he would eat it and die. They took the body to the bird's wife and told her to make a tunnel so she could escape when the bird felt the obsidian inside him. The fox and the others all joined in making a tunnel to escape from the bird. After they finished the tunnel they started going into the tunnel so they would have time for all to get inside. Then they heard the bird coming. The bird came and said, "Old Lady, I'm hungry for dry meat." The lady said, "You know there

is nothing, but you always say that." She just pretended like this. After awhile she went and got the body and set it before him. He cut it a little at a time and ate it in small pieces. He made funny noises, kept clearing his throat, and said, "Old Lady, it seems like I swallowed this in the wrong throat." She said, "Why don't you eat more slowly?" The bird kept eating and finally his wife saw he was about to die; his eyes were rolling back. So she fled into the tunnel. The bird had some kind of spirit to make people all over die so he flapped his wings together in three directions but fell dead over before he could do it the fourth time. The people waited awhile and were afraid to come out. Then the fox sent a fly out to see if the bird was dead. The fly buzzed around and entered the bird's mouth, laid eggs all over its body so maggots hatched and crawled through it. The fly went back and told them the bird was dead, so they sent a bee out to see. The bee stung the bird, but the bird didn't move. The bee went back and told them the body was already spoiled and covered with maggots. So the people came out. They wondered what to do to escape from the island. 539*

The fox was smart and said, "Let's plan something or we'll stay here forever. Let's cut the tips off the bird's wings and throw them across the water and see if it would go to the land." So they cut one wing tip and all threw together but it landed in the water a little short of the land. They tried again with the same wing and it fell short again. So the fox said, "Let's try a bigger part of the wing." They did, and threw together, and it spread out and reached the land. The fox said, "That's much better. Now let's cross it." It was like a bridge. The fox said for no one to go off in the directions they had come from until all had crossed and together could decide what to do. They started to cross and kept going and going and going. The fox was the last to cross. He saw many houses there on the land and thought to himself, "It looks like a big village." When he reached there he spoke: "We have had a bad experience with a bird that wanted to eat us. It is a wonder we all escaped. Now is the time for all of us to go to our homes in the different directions." So the people started leaving and leaving and leaving, one by one, until Fox, Younger Brother, and a few others were left. The fox said, "We'll stay in this place." When all were gone except the two brothers, they were making the noise that foxes make that sounds like kao, kao, kao. They said they would stay in that place and live like foxes. That kind of fox is light brown and lives near the ocean. Foxes around Supai are a darker brown.

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15. Gila Monster and Hunter Hawk

[533] (The entire story is sung first, then repeated in speech, sung again, and spoken a fourth time. Sometimes it is referred to either as Gila Monster or Hunter Hawk.)

The hawk was camped alone. A small bird came to tell him that Gila Monster had killed his relatives, Mountain Lion and Wolf and other relatives. The relatives were sharpshooters, but they were killed. South of Walapai Mountain (South of Kingman) was Gila Monster's home. The small bird crossed the desert and came to the edge of some timber where Hawk was living on a high ridge toward Hackberry. The bird cried to the hawk. The hawk asked what was wrong. The bird didn't reply but kept crying with tears running. He finally told him, "All of your uncles were killed by Gila Monster." The hawk didn't believe anyone had nerve enough to touch lions or wolves because they were powerful and he didn't think Gila Monster had killed them with rain. So the next day he went on as usual hunting like nothing had happened. The bird was there when the hawk returned at evening, wanting Hawk to say something so he could take the word back. One morning Hawk asked the bird how come Gila Monster had been able to kill lions and wolves who were so much stronger than Gila Monster. But the bird was still crying as he was afraid of the hawk. The bird told him that one morning Gila Monster had rounded up his men and told them if they ran into any deer he wanted them to make a deer drive and chase them so the lions and wolves would follow the trails. Sharpshooters would wait there and kill the deer so they wouldn't have to pack the meat home. The lions and wolves were sharpshooters, so Gila Monster told them to wait along the trails for the deer, but Gila Monster wanted the main trail for himself because most deer came that way. He told the lions and wolves when they saw the deer coming they should leave it up to Gila Monster to do the shooting. A big buck came along the edge of the timber. They all saw it come up toward where Gila Monster was waiting. But somehow one of Lion's or Wolf's boys hid out in front of Gila Monster and when it came close they had first shot at it. When it ran close by Gila Monster it fell and died. They butchered it and had a fuss over the hide. They stretched it. Gila Monster claimed the hide and said he owned the place so it belonged to him and he put it to one side. Wolf's or Lion's boy went over and took the hide away from Gila Monster. They quarreled and got into a fight and killed the Gila Monster. This is what the small bird hold the hawk. After Gila Monster died, Lion and Wolf packed the meat and hide back home. Just before they reached home a dark cloud appeared and spread over the sky; rain and hail fell. The hail was twice as big as a thumb. It knocked them down and killed or drowned them all. The small bird told the hawk this.

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The hawk thought it over and thought it wise to make a plan. Toward morning Hawk told the bird to get up and run as far as he could around the world and tell what had happened and summon everyone to Hawk's camp which everyone knew. The next day Hawk made a headdress with feathers and hide of a lower deer leg sewed together for a hat. Next he made deerskin pants, from knee down like Hopis use, wrapped buckskin, and a pair of moccasins. In four days and nights the small bird returned and said he had covered the world and everyone was coming. People had already started arriving on the first day from close by. On the morning after the fourth day, everyone had come.

The hawk make a speech and said, "We don't want to act foolish like a lady and show off by going to the place Gila Monster lives. We want to make ready and go over there and have a real man fight." All preparations were completed. The next day at sunrise Hawk was the leader and started to Gila Monster's home. They crossed into the desert and came to the middle of the desert when one man saw a big buck antelope. They wished for some meat to eat when they camped that night. They wondered which man would be best to sneak close to the antelope. The snake and coyote were both with the group. Coyote had the snake wrapped around his neck. The snake asked Coyote to put him down so he could crawl close and poison the antelope to kill him. The Coyote said, "Don't say that. Hawk is leader and is going to get someone to go close and shoot the antelope." The hawk asked the mountain lion and wolves to try but it was open desert and they had no way to get close. The wildcat also said, "I'm a good hunter but there is no way to sneak up." So the snake asked Hawk if he could try. The hawk said, "O. K., we want meat tonight when we camp. So don't let him get away." So Coyote let Snake down. He had no feet or legs to walk. Everyone watched Snake go along the ground out of sight. After awhile the buck jumped up and ran a short distance then fell down, kicked awhile, then lay still. They thought Snake had got him, so good runners went to the antelope and saw the snake near the antelope. But the snake said, "Stay away 'til I get all of the poison out. Then you can skin and dress it." Then the snake went to the antelope and sucked all the poison out. He told them to skin and dress it. All the people gathered prepared it by cutting it in small pieces and packed it to the foot of the mountain near Gila Monster's home. They started fires and cooked the meat and ate it up by morning.

Before the dawn the snake made song to the coyote to wrap him around Coyote's neck and pack him to the place where Gila Monster usually made a speech to his people: a rock pile for a morning speech. He told Coyote to put him under the pile of rocks so he could kill the chief of the Gila Monsters. Coyote said, "Stop talking like that. I don't want to pack you around for nothing." The snake kept telling him to do it, so before morning Coyote did as Snake

*539 wished. During the night Hawk asked the people to make a circle around all of Gila Monster's people. "Make a frame against our enemies sitting side by side at Gila Monster's home village. If you have more people make a second row. If more, make a third row. This will protect us so not all will be killed." He asked if anyone knew how to block Gila Monster's home (hole) in the rocks. Some men said they were good at doing that. A mouse was the one chosen to go to each camp where they had bows and arrows and chew the strings almost in two so when pulled they would break at once. The mouse did this while Hawk waited. Just before morning the mouse returned and said, "I think I cut all of them nearly in two." The men arranged themselves in three rows around the gila monsters' homes. Hawk asked a few sharpshooters to go with him and he told the rest to stay in the circles.

When the sun was almost to rise, Hawk said, "Now it's time for us to make believe we are friends traveling to the gila monster village." They started out; when they were close the sun rose and they saw some gila monsters out of bed starting fires. Some gila monster men said, "Here's some of our friends coming." The next thing they knew they saw the headdress that meant war. So the gila monsters grabbed bows and prepared to fight. The chief gila monster started for a hole, where no one could reach him. At the entrance he stopped and turned. The hawk said, "All right, let's start shooting." The gila monster shot but his arrow moved slowly and Hawk grabbed the arrow. Gila Monster told Hawk to shout at him. Hawk wet the arrow and pulled the bow hard and shot at Gila Monster. The arrow went into Gila Monster's body at a soft place under the arm and Gila Monster grabbed at the arrow with the point sticking out the other side. Gila Monster started to run into the hole but Hawk grabbed a tomahawk and he pounded Gila Monster to death there.

The other gila monsters were still fighting, but Hawk's relatives were slow. By evening they had killed all of the gila monsters.

Meanwhile Snake was at the rock pile. When Hawk started for the gila monsters' homes, Gila Monster made a speech. Then they heard the speaker say, "Snake bite me, Snake bite me." Gila Monster killed Snake there. He had no way of coming alive. But Snake wanted it that way. He had asked Coyote for a one-way trip; he had wanted to be killed.

About mid-day Hawk made a speech to the people: "It is no use to run back in groups to your homes. Make a camp together and keep in one group on the desert. The next day I'll make a speech. I'm taking charge of this trip." So the people thought it right to follow him.

On the way the people gathered dead timber between Kingman and Valentine; this caused the open desert there. In the early evening they saw

a cloud rising south from Walapai Mountain. It was a heavy dark cloud. It 539* was already snowing. It hovered overhead above their camp. Snow fell heavily. By the middle of the night the fire was still going strong, but the firewood was getting low. It snowed steadily all night. The wood was all gone a little later and only charcoal was left. They didn't know how to manage snow, so the people lay on the ashes for warmth. The people piled up on one another. The fire died out and it snowed more heavily and crowded people closer together. The snow began to cover the pile of people. Hawk looked around and saw the people already dying from the cold so he decided to turn into a bird so he could fly and escape. So he did and flew up into the tree at the camp. It had thick limbs near the top where he could find protection. The snow got so deep it nearly covered him, too, but then it stopped snowing. Hawk stayed in the tree till morning. When the sun came up Hawk said to the sun, "A good hunter shouldn't be waiting around this time of morning." So he flew away.

16. Porcupine

(A story for children and adults.)

Once a porcupine lived by himself. He decided to go out hunting, to hunt a big buck to get more meat than from a fawn or doe. The porcupine knew that during the fall of the year bucks have lots of fat on them; so he started out. He gathered arrowweeds and straightened crooked places by putting them on a charcoal fire. He used to fix a mud arrow straightener; he would heat mud in the fire, then run the arrow through and straighten it. He made many straight arrows, as many as porcupine quills and put them on his back to his shoulders and sides. He wanted to kill a buck that way. Porcupine quills turn black. He got points (obsidian) from a ridge along Rose Well. [An abpriginal pitchstone quarry has been recorded in this area.] The porcupine had arrows, but no bow. He started out from camp early and found deer signs. He traveled slowly, looking out. He went quite a ways, stopped and saw a buck lying where he thought it best for him to go. It was on the pointed end of a ridge and he saw the horns sticking up. He decided to hide among the trees and bushes so the buck wouldn't be frightened and run away. He crept up slowly until he was near the buck. He got up close and entered the buck through its (anus). He stuck an arrow into the buck. It was hurting so he jumped up and ran. It fell dead. Then the porcupine came outside again and wanted to skin the buck. He reached around his waist for his knife and found he had left it at camp. He wondered how he could skin it. He looked around and found rocks but none were sharp. He threw one against another and made a lot of noise. He tried to break it to make a sharp edge but couldn't make a good one. He looked all around.

*539 Then a coyote heard the noise and came to the place. He saw what Porcupine was doing and heard Porcupine talking to himself: "I forgot my knife. I don't know what to skin it with. It's a big buck. I wonder if I can find a sharp rock."

Coyote listened awhile and moved closer. He said, "Porcupine, what are you doing here? What are you missing?" Porcupine stood there kind of excited not knowing what to say.

Then he said, "I didn't say anything. I'm looking for a sharp rock to cut a limb from this bush to make an arrow."

Coyote said, "No, I heard you talking to yourself. I know what you said."

Porcupine said, "No, I didn't say anything. I'm looking for a sharp rock to cut a limb from this bush to make an arrow."

Coyote said, "No, you didn't say that. I heard you say 'I wish for knife, I don't know what to skin my big buck with.'"

Porcupine stood, not knowing what to say. Then he admitted it and told where the buck was, a little way back there.

Coyote felt better and began to think what he would do. Coyote said, "I'll help you skin. I have my knife." So they went to the buck. It was a big one. Coyote felt the horns and body. He saw how big it was, and he looked at it awhile. Coyote said, "Well, let's do this before we skin the buck. Let's make a line over there and run one by one and run from there and jump over the buck and see who jumps farther. The one who jumps farther we say is the one that killed the buck."

Porcupine said, "That isn't a good way. I already killed the buck." Coyote said, "Yes, let's do it that way." Finally Porcupine agreed. They drew a line. Porcupine said, "O. K., you take first chance." Coyote said, "O. K., watch me." Coyote ran and jumped but not very hard. He made a mark where he landed. He called back to Porcupine to get a start.

Porcupine ran and came to the buck, tried to jump, but bumped against it. He couldn't go over. Coyote laughted at him.

Porcupine said, "I'm the one that killed it. I'm not really doing it. I'll start over." So he started again but only jumped a little and bumped into it.

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Coyote said, "That's enough. Let's quit."

Porcupine said, "No, I'll try again." They did, three or four times, but still he failed.

Coyote said, "This is enough." So he started to skin the buck and Porcupine sat there and watched. Coyote skinned it all. Porcupine didn't have a word to say. After Coyote finished he had to pack it away to a big tree to put it up high so the meat would be safe. After he finished, Coyote went home.

Before Coyote went home he sat at the foot of a tree and defecated there and left it to keep an eye on Porcupine so he couldn't get the meat and hide it.

Coyote called his children and his wife the next morning to go to the place where the buck was up in a tree.

When Porcupine thought Coyote was far away, Porcupine went to the tree and started to climb it to get the meat. The (feces) called to Coyote and said, "Coyote, Porcupine is reaching your pile of meat to take it away." Coyote ran back and grabbed Porcupine and threw him on the ground and killed him. Coyote said, "Porcupine, I'm the one that killed the buck," even though Porcupine was dead.

Coyote started for home when the (feces) called him again a few times like before. Coyote returned and found Porcupine was alive again and trying to reach the meat. Coyote ran back and caught Porcupine and killed him again. He cut his shoulders and legs off and threw them in four directions. Coyote started home again. The wind blew Porcupine together again. He came alive again. He reached the meat and the (feces) called again.

Coyote returned, killed Porcupine and threw him away again. Then the wind blew the pieces together.

On the fourth time Porcupine found a round jasper rock and thought it was a good thing to take along. He started to climb the tree again but kept an eye on the (feces) until it was ready to open its mouth to holler to Coyote. The Porcupine reached around and threw the rock into its mouth so it couldn't holler to Coyote. Porcupine got the venison and dropped it all to the ground. A little distance away he saw a pine tree. He moved all the meat halfway up the tree. He found a place to build a fire. He cooked the intestines and boiled the blood and put it in the large intestine and boiled it to drink. For awhile he did it a few days; he thought he had a good place to have a home there.

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Coyote told his wife and kids he killed a big buck in the woods. "We'll have to move our camp over there." They started for the place, stopped, pointed to the tree and he told his two sons to race to that tree. He said, "The winner will get that bag of the buck hanging on a small limb."

The boys raced to the tree, looked around, but saw no meat. Coyote and his wife and the other kids came up and saw the meat all gone. Coyote thought it over and said, "I think Porcupine must have gathered it and took it away. Let's hunt it. He can't be very far." By then the boys saw Porcupine in a tree and hollered, "Here's Porcupine in this tree." They gathered at the base of the tree. Coyote hollered and asked for meat. Porcupine saw all of them below and reached for a front quarter. He told Coyote and his family to stand to one side close together. "Don't stand scattered or I might hit one of you." Coyote agreed, and all stood close together. Porcupine swung the front shoulder, made believe he would throw it to one side, but hit them all. They fell over and all fell dead. But later on Coyote's baby was crying and crawled from beneath the dead people.

"Porcupine, will you take me up there. I'm dying for meat, for soup." Porcupine had an idea to act like an old lady. He put a burden basket on his back, ran down the tree, put the baby in the basket, and climbed the tree again. Then he boiled blood in the gut; the soup was red, everything was all red. The baby was hungry. Porcupine gave soup to the baby. The baby asked for more. "I want more." Porcupine said, "O.K., get all you want; fill up with the soup." Then he ate more and said, "I got enough." But Porcupine told him to eat all of the pot of soup. He said, "I've got enough." But Porcupine forced him to drink more and more till he was filled up to his neck. Then the baby asked where the toilet was. Porcupine said, "Go up to the top of the tree." He warned him it would bend but he must go to the very tip. The baby boy started up and came to the place where it bent over. He called, "Is this high enough?" Porcupine told him to go higher. The baby said, "Is this the place?" Porcupine said, "Yes, that's it." Porcupine grabbed the trunk of the tree and shook it until the baby fell and broke, scattered all over the ground. His blood turned into prickly pear [cactus] with fruit all ready to gather, to fall on the ground.

Porcupine said to himself, "This is the year for prickly pear. I don't want to see it waste. I'll gather it."

He took the burden basket and went down the tree, gathered a lot of fruit, and prepared it to dry so it would keep. While doing it he said to himself, "If there is any human in this world, I'm the one that makes this cactus fruit for humans to use."

17. Porcupine (version II)

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[A second version of the preceding story.]

The porcupine was living in his house. He wanted some meat so he sharpened his quills and went out hunting. He saw a deer and was thinking, "How will I kill it? If I get in from his (anus) I can get into his stomach and will shoot my quills out so I can make his blood run out and he will die." This was his plan. He saw the deer lying in the shade, sneaked up close, entered through the (anus) and ejected his quills so the deer's stomach filled with blood. The deer jumped up and ran, but in a short distance he dropped dead. Porcupine came out of the deer and was going to skin it when he noticed he had forgotten his knife. Porcupine walked around talking to himself saying, "I wish I had a knife so I could skin the deer." He didn't think anyone would hear him, but Coyote was hiding nearby in the bushes and heard him. Coyote came out and asked "What did you say?" Porcupine said, "I didn't say anything. I forgot my knife. I wish I had it so I could whittle a stick." Coyote said, "No, you didn't say that. What were you saying?" Finally Porcupine gave up and told Coyote he had killed a deer and had forgotten his knife. Coyote said, "I have my knife. I'll tell you what we'll do. We'll race to the buck and the one who jumps farthest over it will be the killer and can skin it and eat it." Porcupine said, "No, I'm the killer, it's mine." But finally Porcupine gave in and agreed. They were a short distance from the buck and Coyote said, "O. K., you try it first." Porcupine tried but wasn't fast enough and couldn't jump over it. Then Coyote tried, ran fast, and jumped way over it. Coyote came back and said, "I'm the one that killed the deer, so you sit there and watch." Coyote skinned it and took all the meat but the guts. He threw the guts on Porcupine's face so Porcupine ate the guts all up. Coyote tied all the meat in the deer hide and hung it up on a tree, then went home. He had a wife and children. Next morning he told them he had killed a deer and hung the meat in a tree. He told them to move camp over there to eat the meat. They did this. When they were approaching the tree, he told two of his sons he wanted them to race to the tree and the winner was to eat the kidney. When the winner reached the tree he didn't see the kidney. The sons walked around and said, "I don't see any kidney around here." Everyone came along. Coyote said, "I hung it around here." He looked up higher where the other meat had been and it was missing too. They looked around and found a trail leading to a tall pine tree. Porcupine was building a fire up there and cooking the meat he had taken while Coyote was gone. Coyote called, "Porcupine, give us some meat." After that Porcupine said, "All right. I don't want you to scatter around, stay together in a group." He was thinking he could hit them all at once. He said, "I'm going to throw down a front quarter. If you move I might hit you." He threw it and hit them all on the neck and cut them all.

#539 After he threw the front quarter down and killed them all, there was one baby who wiggled around under the dead bodies and finally came out from underneath and called, "Porcupine, come and get me. I want to come up where you are." Porcupine made a good path with sand to the top of the tree for the child. The child crawled up. Porcupine cooked the blood of the deer for him. The child ate and he was full. Porcupine urged him to eat more. He ate and said he was full. Porcupine urged him to eat more. Then the baby said, "Where is your toilet?" Porcupine said, "Go to the top point of the pine tree. That is where I go." So the baby started up and called, "You mean here?" Porcupine said, "No, go higher." He kept urging him until he reached a soft branch. Porcupine said, "Yes, that's where I mean." Porcupine shook the tree so hard the baby fell to the ground and burst open. The blood he had eaten ran out. From it grew prickly pear with red fruit. Later Porcupine took a basket and gathered prickly pear fruit and took it to the top of the pine tree and dried it. He lived there from that time on.

18. Bat

(Another Coyote story for children.)

A bat had two wives; he had a home; he had many children almost like chickens when eggs hatch. During the daytime he don't stay around the house; he gets up early in the morning, takes his bow and arrow and goes out hunting big game: deer, antelope, mountain sheep, mountain lion. At night when he returned and came close to the house he hollered, "I'm coming, folks, with a pack of the fat on my back, so keep the flames of the fire down, just charcoals so we can roast the fat." He never returned home in the day. Regularly he came at night so he didn't show his face.

One day the bat children asked their mother, "What does our father look like? He always leaves early and returns late so we can't see his face."

So they made a plan to see what kind of person he was. The children made the plan, asked their mother's permission, and the wives said, "O.K." They hadn't seen his face either.

One day the children gathered cedar bark and made it ready to throw on the fire so it would blaze up. When the bat approached and called out as usual, one child was ready with the bark. When Bat came in with a load of fat on his back it was not real fat. He had gone on the ocean and had gathered ice and tied it together and pretended it was fat. He had been feeding this to his wives and children for fat. He unloaded his pack, exhaled and said, "I'm getting tired." The child sneaked around and lighted the bark so the flames

flared up. They saw his face, very ugly and hairy. They could see his teeth but not his eyes. He couldn't see very well and tried to look around for a place to hide from the flames. But they, the wives and children, saw what an odd person he was. The children said, "This is not a man we have for a father. He looks odd." They jumped up and ran off toward the east crying out, "We don't want him. He is not our father. It is a ghost or something to scare us." 539*

The bat ran after his wives and children hoping to catch them and bring them back. They ran on to edge of the world where the sky and the edge of the world met. The bat had to stop when he came to the edge of the sky. He prayed for them to keep on going until they turned into stars. They ran up along the inverted dome of the sky. The bat blew out [exhaled] and said, "I want you to turn into stars." They became stars close together. Now this is called the Little Dipper.

(There is no song in this. When adults want children to sleep, they make the story long by saying it over and over. They make it long by repeating parts such as saying "Next morning he goes out and comes back. Next morning he goes out and comes back," etc. This story should not be told in summer, only in winter.) [538]

19. Coyote and His Family

(A children's story.)

They lived in the desert where cactus and soapweed grew. There were many rats in the desert. Coyote had one son and the rest were daughters. The boy was small. Coyote was getting old so part of his upper and lower teeth had fallen out. He had only a few left. He wondered how he could replace his teeth. His daughters were grown and ready to marry. They were good-looking. Coyote tried to think how he could marry one or both of his own daughters.

They went hunting with the boy in the desert all day for rats, and returned in the evening.

Coyote took shiny jasper rocks and thought he would make himself some teeth. They came back from hunting. One evening Coyote pretended he had a bad headache. He had two wives. The next day he said it was worse and said he didn't think he would live. He pretended to get worse. He told his wives and daughters that the daughters were big enough to marry, and told them if some man came around at night after he was dead not to whip him or chase him away but let him come to them.

*539 In a few days he told them they should pack his body over to a high ridge, over the other side where there was a lot of dry wood. He told them to pile it high and start a fire on four sides, then leave. "Don't wait and watch me, as I'll be smelly. It isn't good for you to stay and smell that bad odor. Run back to camp and don't dare to turn back to look at the fire. It will burn me up so I can't come alive. I believe there is a man coming to our home. Let him come in and lay close to my daughters if he wants to. That means he is a good hunter and will hunt food and feed you folks."

A few days later Coyote died. His wives wrapped him in a rug and sewed it up. They took hold of his feet and head, with the kids on the sides, and carried him away to the ridge. They gathered wood and started a fire on four sides. It blazed up hard and they saw it was burning good so they said, "Let's go back home. The man said not to look back at the fire." They started home crying along the way. They were lonesome.

Four nights later someone who looked like a man came to the door. He walked slowly to the bed of the two big daughters and lay between them. They didn't chase him away. Before morning he took the boy with him and went hunting rats.

When Coyote died he was just make believe. When the women were quite a ways off, Coyote rose up and saw the fire close but not near enough to burn him. The women were going over the ridge and couldn't see him so he jumped off the fire and got his blankets. He stayed near that place. He hunted jasper rocks and made teeth to fitl all the places where he had no teeth. He thought he was now a better man than before so his daughters wouldn't know him with his new teeth. He felt inside and blew and found the teeth were tight fitting and wouldn't come out easy so he thought he could eat anything.

After that he took his small son out hunting early when it was still a little dark. They hunted rats and returned home later. One day his son tried to scare a rat by poking the rat's nest with a long stick to chase it out. Coyote was waiting nearby for it to come out. The rat would come out, sit a minute, then run. One place they had a hard time. The rat didn't come out when the boy poked the nest. Coyote took an arrow and poked the nest and made a blowing noise, "Sh-h." His teeth were loose and came out so the boy recognized him. The boy got excited and Coyote was afraid of the boy. The boy was afraid and ran toward home. Coyote chased him but the boy was fast and Coyote couldn't get him. Near home, the boy cried out, "My mother, the man is my father." The family heard him and everyone came outside. The wives thought he was dead, so they said, "That's a ghost. Let's run off away from the house." So all of the family ran toward the

east. Coyote never caught up with the women. He chased them quite a ways, stopped, and returned home. He was lonely and just wandered from one place to another. That was the start of Coyote living as a solitary wanderer. 539*

The women ran on to the east, climbed up on the sky and turned into stars. Some folks say this is the Little Dipper.

20. Coyote Steals the Heart of a Chief

It starts with a snake and a family I don't know the name of. They lived west of Supai. No one in the family knew some songs; to learn you had to pass it from one generation to the next. They wanted to pass them on but knew no songs.

The head man of the family told Coyote to start out early in the morning to hunt for the snake's head. In those days Snake was long and had no legs. The leader told him to follow the body all around the world. Snake was wrapped around the world four times. He wanted him to follow its body till he came to its head and ask Snake to come and make songs for him as Snake was a good singer and storyteller.

Coyote started out and found the body. He said, "This is the snake." He ran fast all day but didn't find the head. When evening came he returned home and told the chief he had found the body but not the head. The next day he returned where he had left off and followed on from there.

People at the camp were waiting. They cleared a place in the timber for the snake to curl up and tell stories.

Coyote ran fast until he came to Snake's head and gave him the message and directions to camp. Snake agreed to come and followed along with Coyote. The head part came to camp but the body was still crawling along to reach the place where the timber was cleared. Snake asked Coyote to keep him under shelter. "I need a shade to stay under while singing." Coyote said, "O. K., I'm a good builder." Coyote put up a brush shelter. Snake saw it and said, "This isn't the kind I want. I want one that moves from one side to the other with the sun." Coyote said, "O. K., I know what you wnat." He made a brush shed, round, with an opening on one side. Snake said, "No, it isn't the kind I want. I want a shed to stay in." Coyote said, "O. K., I'll build another." Coyote built a house like Molly's [a brush-covered, subconical wikiup, patterned somewhat after a Navajo hogan] with a place for a door. Coyote told Snake to see if it was the right kind. Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind I want. I want one that the shade moves from one side to the other. I don't like the opening."

*539 So Coyote built a rock house and said, "Snake, I'm through, I think this is the kind you want." Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind. I want one where the shade moves from one side to the other."

Coyote thought hard but didn't know what kind Snake wanted, but said he would try again. Coyote went to a cottonwood tree, dug it up by the roots and took it over and planted it. The sun moved across the sky and the shade shifted from side to side. Snake said, "This is the kind I want." Snake began to move to that tree and the people assembled. Snake said he was ready to start the song, but his body was still moving far away. Somewhere someone saw it was still moving. Coyote started to cut the snake in the middle so someone could pass through. Snake knew they were cutting him in half. So Snake made up his mind that he wouldn't sing the good songs he knew but would pick out the top parts of songs. So he made a salt song to begin with. [These salt songs were Mohave. They could be sung at any time although today few Havasupais know them. Some are funeral songs sung by, but unintelligible to, the Havasupai.] The people all sang together with him.

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Then the chief of the people got sick and died. Before he died he said he wanted the people to burn [cremate] him.

While the people were singing, everyone liked the songs, and women came, too. The kids at home were crying because their mothers had gone to hear Snake. Some people were quarreling. Snake said, "This is a round dance song. It looks like people are going to have trouble and be mad." The chief told them not to bury him, but burn him. The chief said, "I am afraid of Coyote. He is a person-eater. If you bury or throw me away he will dig me up and eat me. South of here is a mountain with a fire in it. Ask Coyote to go there and fetch a burning coal to start my funeral fire. But you keep the fire here and burn me while he is gone so he won't know. I'll burn until I am ashes and I'll turn into a plant. Where my body is burned, pour water on the ashes and keep it wet. Then the plant will grow and will be called corn."

When the chief died, the people sent Coyote off for coal. People started the funeral fire when Coyote was a little way off. People stood around and poked the fire to make it burn faster so it would be gone before Coyote returned.

Coyote ran about halfway, then looked back and saw smoke. He guessed what it was so he ran back. All was burned except the heart, lungs, and liver. People were poking it around as the chief had told them. It smelled good to Coyote, who ran up to the circle. Two short men were in the circle so Coyote planned to get over them. He said nothing, but jumped over them, the badger and porcupine, and grabbed the heart. He went off still running and ate the heart.

People kept the ashes wet and the plant grew. Roasting ears came on 539* the stalk. They kept watering until the corn ripened. They got the short roasting ears for the Mohave tribe south of here. The Mohave will never get long ears. The longer ears belong to Havasupai. From here on east, people have better long-eared corn (Hopi).

21. Coyote, Wolf and Lion

The coyote, the wolf and the lion lived up on the plateau in Supai. They all lived together. They all had many children. All three were males, no women. The bear stayed a little ways from them and had many daughters. When the bear went hunting he always ate the food and brought the bones home to his wife and children. His wife finally became angry and left Bear and took all the children. She went to the neighbors. She married Coyote, and her daughters married Wolf and Lion. While Bear was away hunting they left. When he returned he went hunting and found them at the neighbors. He called to his wife to come out of Coyote's house. She refused. She said she didn't want to return to Bear's house. Bear told Lion to come out and fight with him. (This is repeated three times.) Lion didn't reply until way after. Lion finally asked the bear, "If two die how many times will two come back to life?" The bear replied, "Four times." The bear asked the lion how many times he was going to live and the bear said, "Eight times." The lion said, "All right," and came out and wrestled the bear and killed him and threw him in all directions (not in four). Later the pieces all came together and came to life. They started wrestling again. Bear killed Lion and did the same to him. He came to life again. They wrestled again. Bear was killed and Lion cut him up. (Repeated.) Bear came to life and started wrestling again. Bear killed Lion the third time. (Repeated.) He came back to life. This was the fourth time to kill the Bear. Lion was thinking to himself it would be the fourth time to kill the Bear, so he got a rock and put it in the fire and got it red hot. He said, "O. K., let's wrestle." He killed Bear, cut out his heart carefully, split it and put the rock inside. He buried it down under the fire and waited to see if Bear would come alive. Bear really died that time and didn't return to life.

After Bear's death the lion, coyote, and wolf all lived on happily with the lady bears.

Toward summer the lion decided it was time to go out hunting. He said that mountain goats [sheep] have young about this time of year and they don't go far. So he asked Coyote to go ahead and chase them toward where the lion, wolf, and coyote lived. He told Coyote to chase them to a lower place where

#539 they were going to move their camp. Coyote pretended to start making arrows. Wolf and Lion were going ahead to the new camp while the women stayed at the old camp. Coyote went out to start rounding up mountain goats. He crossed a river, then looked back and said he forgot his arrows, and called to his wife to send the middle daughter across with the arrows. The women thought something was wrong so one said she would send the youngest daughter. But Coyote asked for the youngest. The wife sent the middle daughter. Coyote called that halfway across the water was deep and told her to pull her dress all the way up. She didn't want to but when the water got deep she pulled up her dress. Coyote watched and saw her naked and wanted her. When she reached his side he had sexual relations with her, his own daughter. Then Coyote went on alone and rounded up the mountain goats. When he came to the new camp, the lion and wolf asked if he had done what they told him. The girl went back to her mother and told her what Coyote had done. The mother said that Coyote was no good. The mother was thinking for awhile, "When Lion goes hunting he never stays long, so we'll have to start taking down camp before he returns." After they took down the camp, the lady said she and her daughters would turn into deer, rabbits, lizards, or any animals so there would be nothing left when Lion and Wolf returned. The mother changed her children into animals, but she decided she didn't like it because when Lion's sons hunt, they never fail to get their prey, so she decided to change them all into buffalo. The mother said that was good. Everything they owned in their house became part of their body. The roof became their fur, the fireplace stones became their hoofs, the water jug became their head, the carrying basket became their mouth, the lodge poles became their ribs, the grinding stone became their kidneys. The lady said that was good. Coyote had a small son. The mother told her daughter to put Coyote's boy between her horns so he could warn them when the hunters returned and they could turn another direction. The hunters were at their camp drying the meat, making jerky. Coyote wasn't behaving like himself. Coyote was crying and would move into the smoke every time the breeze changed it, so he could pretend the smoke was in his eyes and they wouldn't know he was crying. Lion asked him what was wrong. Coyote said in his dreams that something was wrong at their old camp. Lion told Bobcat to go back to the old camp to see because he was sneaky and they wouldn't see him. Coyote objected that Bobcat couldn't run as fast as he could. Finally, they let Coyote go. He started off, then went another way and lay down and slept all day. Then at evening he returned and told the others that everything was O. K. at camp; that the women were cooking and awaiting their return. The Lion said they would return home next day. They packed their meat and started home. When they were nearing home they saw buffalo in a bunch. As they came nearer, the buffalo turned and started off southeast.

Below Desert View where the Little Colorado[River]comes in [to the Colorado River]it was level. Lion told Coyote to make a canyon there so the

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buffalo couldn't cross and they could kill them there and get the hide to cover a sweathouse. Coyote made the canyon but the buffalo jumped across. Then Coyote made Redwall[limestone]of Moenkopi Wash but the buffalo jumped across and went on their way. They went straight on southeast until they reached the big ocean. Lion told Coyote to make ice around the water so they would slip and break their legs. The buffalo kept slipping but got through except for an old lady. The lion and others killed her after she broke her hip. Other buffalo went under the water like moose, not drowned. That is where buffalo started from and there are still lots of them in a country somewhere. They dressed the buffalo and took out the organs and meat, then they came back toward home.

22. Coyote Packs a Pole

(Also called Wolf and Coyote.)

Wolf and Coyote lived together. A close neighbor was a mother bear with her young, probably four. Wolf said to Coyote one day, "We need grass food. Mrs. Bear had gathered enough at her home. Wolf sent Coyote to visit her with a gift of dried meat mixed with fat so she would repay with grass seeds. He told Coyote not to stay close to the door. Mrs. Bear went out every morning to gather food in a burden basket. When she returned, if she found Coyot at the door she might not like it as she had young to play there. So Coyote said, "O. K., I'll take this bood and fat well done, boiled in guts." He thought he could make Mother Bear feel good toward them so she would give them grass food.

Wolf told Coyote not to bother her. In the evening when she returned she always put her burden basket at the door and exhaled a big breath like she was tired out. When she entered the house she always grabbed her bag of tobacco and pipe [the tubular "cloud blower" type.]. She would start smoking the mud pipe. Wolf told Coyote, after she finished smoking she always lay on her back and used the pipe in her vagina until she had an orgasm. When she finished, she put her foot against the wall and turned all the way around several times before she finished. "I always just watch, never bother her. She may grab you if you get too close." Coyote then thought it would be a good thing to go see what would happen with him.

Wolf went hunting and Coyote started to his aunt's home, Bear Woman. About noon he came to her home. He saw the little ones playing near the door. He hung his pack on trees a little way from the house like Wolf had said, but took the blood and guts and cut them into pieces and gave some to the young bears to eat. He watched them closely until they went to sleep. Then he

#539 packed them inside and lay them side by side with a cover to sleep till their mother returned.

While they slept he took cool charcoal from the fireplace and put them in a line down the center of each child's stomach. Supais say this makes the child sleep longer.

Then Coyote went back under the tree where he could look into the house through the door, and waited.

Later in the evening Bear Woman made a sound like she was approaching the house, her claws hitting against sticks and rocks, moving slowly, so Coyote knew it was hard on her feet. She can't travel fast like other animals. She did as Wolf had said. She put her burden basket down, went inside, looked for her tobacco, lit her pipe, smoked, then used the pipe in her vagina. Coyote watched her do this but he can't wait. Pretty soon Coyote's penis was getting hard. He wanted to wait. He pressed it down, but he just can't wait. So he went to the door and whispered to her, "My aunt, this is the kind they use." So he went in and put his penis in and they had orgasm quickly. Then he tried to pull away, but she tightened her legs and tried to keep him there. Later he felt her legs loosen and tried to jump away, but she tightened up again. He said, "It's getting late. I want to go home." She did this over and over but he could never get away. Then she loosened up and he jumped up above where she lay. She reached for the soft, fleshy muscle on his back beside his backbone where the sinew comes from and grabbed this from his back. Coyote ran quickly away. Bear got up and called, "Coyote, I've got your backbone meat." He said, "That's not my meat. That's your red paint bag." Then Coyote went on his way home. But Coyote really had pain in him. By the time he reached home, he was walking crooked with pain. When he came in and lay down, Wolf was already there. Coyote told Wolf, "My uncle, I came to the place where you sent me. I went there and did what you asked all the way through, but before I left, my aunt asked me to fetch wood. She wanted a long pole to last awhile. I looked around and found a tree with the limbs partly broken. I broke off others and packed the tree on my back. When nearly there I stumbled and fell and scraped the meat off my back. So my aunt told me to come home because I couldn't pack wood farther."

Wolf knew this was false and knew what Coyote had done because he knew the coyote's way.

The next day he sang to Coyote, "I told you what would happen if you fooled with your aunt. I know what you did. Next time I send you over there, you must mind me. I don't want you to get in trouble. She had many relatives living to the north. Don't act that way with her; try to be good to her."

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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The Wolf had just brought in fresh meat that evening. He went outside where the bloody meat was hanging. He found a good piece to cut for Coyote's back and plastered it on Coyote's backbone, pressed it on firmly. Coyote felt better. He told Coyote to lay close to the fire so the patch would warm up. Coyote said, "O. K." Wolf went hunting. Coyote lay there and talked to himself. "I'm not supposed to do that trick to my aunt. I should have minded my uncle. Next time I'll do what he says. I don't like my pain."

It didn't take long to heal up. Wolf said the same thing in song to Coyote, telling him, "Go to your aunt, Coyote, go to your aunt, and this time don't get in trouble again. She has relatives, cover a big country. This time I want you to mind me. Do as I say. What I need now is to put her and her baby bear all to death because she put you in bad shape. This time we'll go around and we'll use her for our meat. This time you must mind me. Do the same thing, pack meat, cook blood but mix it with fine pieces of obsidian and it will cut them inside and kill them."

They prepared this. Coyote took it to Bear's camp and Wolf went hunting. That night Coyote returned without packing those bodies. Wolf sang, "If you put them to death you were supposed to gather green leaves and spread them on the ground beneath the bodies so no hair or blood will touch the ground and pack them back to the house. Dress the bodies but don't let a single hair or drop of blood on the ground or you will turn into a bear." Coyote did things right until near the end where they died of eating blood and obsidian. When he started dressing them, the hair on bear's hide kept falling on the ground. Blood kept dripping on the ground. Coyote thought it was a good way to butcher. He cut inside, the heart, lungs, and guts, and bundled them together where he had put green limbs. He just packed the meat part on his back and started home. On the way Coyote said, "I think my uncle will say I am doing my work the wrong way. He ordered that I shouldn't let the hair or blood on the ground. I'll leave this pack here and run back fast and get the other parts and put it with this load." He ran back but found nothing there but fresh footprints of many bears going to the north like Wolf had said. He followed them a ways, then stood and looked and thought of a plan. He ran back to where he had left his pack. From there the rope he had tied it with was in loops on the ground and many footprints were on the ground traveling north. He felt bad. He thought, "If I return to the house my uncle will kill me or do something to me." But he took the rope and carried it on to the house.

Wolf was there but said nothing to Coyote. Next morning early, Wolf sang to Coyote, "My nephew, Coyote, you didn't believe me. This is the second time I asked you not to get into trouble with your aunt. We are in danger now." Coyote knew Wolf knew the mother bear and young were alive and had gone to the north.

*539 "This time my nephew you must get up and make a strong rock building four stories high with a little room on top and holes on each side so I can shoot in all directions." They ate. Coyote was afraid of Wolf, so he said, "I'll try to make the building." Coyote cut trees and made a round brush building, open on one side. Coyote told Wolf, "I'm through with my house. Go see if it is good." Wolf said, "All right, I'll take a look." He said, "This is not a house. I want a strong house to stay in when enemies come."

Coyote said, "O. K., I'll try again." This time Coyote built a brush shade. He came to Wolf and said, "I'm through with the house now. Come over and see it." Wolf looked and said, "This is not a fighting house. We are in danger now. Bears will come after us any time. Get busy and build a house four rooms high." Coyote said, "O. K." This time he put up a hogan, pointed at top, dirt-covered. It had a door. He told Wolf, "The house is built now. Come and look at it." Wolf said, "No." He repeated his instructions in detail, with holes at the top to shoot enemies. Coyote said, "O. K.," and started again. He built a rock building, put rock walls four rooms high. At the top it had four little holes on the sides, so Wolf could shoot enemies. In the evening they went to bed. Next morning Wolf said, "It looks like Mother Bear reached the north already. I had planned for you to do something else before she came back to us." So Wolf told Coyote to run out and make a line in a circle around the house and jump as far as he could and dig a hole as deep as he could so their enemies would fall off into it.

Coyote went out and jumped half the circle and they dug the hole deep. Coyote was going to be the one to fight. They stuck arrows upright in the bottom of the hole so Mother Bear would fall in and be killed and they would eat her. They fixed this hole with arrows.

The next morning it was time for Coyote to whistle through his mouth by sitting on the edge of the hole; sitting on the south of the hole facing north and be ready to jump across so Bear would jump too. Wolf would be in the building Coyote had made, with part of their food inside.

Coyote sat beside the hole. Wolf went into the top room of the tower. He looked down and told Coyote to whistle. Faced to the north, he made the wind start right away. Wind will start if you go around whistling. Wolf told him he was doing good. Later, wind started from the north, stronger and stronger. Clouds began rising, snow flying. When the snow began to hit Coyote's face he stopped whistling and asked Wolf to exchange places; the wind was too hard on his face. Wolf sang, "No, keep it up. Mother Bear and young will be coming soon. You're doing very well. Keep it up."

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Mother Bear was running toward them. Coyote was afraid and wanted to run into the house. Wolf said, "Don't try to run into the house. You must face the hole and be ready to jump."

Coyote jumped across the hole and Mother Bear jumped, but Coyote was small and could turn quicker. When she jumped across, he jumped toward her, passing under her. The third time Mother Bear missed with her hind legs and tried to pull herself up, but was too heavy and fell backwards into the hole so the arrows pierced her body. Wolf came down. He and Coyote knocked her head and killed her. They pulled her out, and dressed her out, being careful of hair and blood as they were supposed to be. They hung the meat up for jerky.

Wolf cut her claws and made a belt by hanging them on a buckskin string. Then Wolf made Coyote wear it around his waist. Coyote was glad; he thought it was pretty, but Wolf said, "You can't wear it every day. Just wear it in a crowd or for dances." They put the belt away.

They were doing good so far. A few days later Wolf worked out a plan for Coyote to start with close neighbors to tell them to put up a dance. He told Coyote to run around all four corners of the earth to tell everyone and "We'll dance with this belt. Don't tell them we have a good thing for them to see." Coyote said, "O. K." The next morning Coyote went out and started to tell everyone. People began to come in and ask Wolf if he was the one putting up the dance and he said, "Yes, I have many relatives around and I want them all to have a good time." Coyote took four days to make the trip around the world. He returned and told Wolf he had told everyone. Every night people were practicing dances part of the night and sleeping the rest until Coyote returned.

Wolf asked the people to keep the dance going all night till dawn. Wolf and Coyote had a big time, quit awhile, danced awhile. They had dry meat cooked so the people could eat any time. They kept doing it until the middle of the night.

Some of the people were dressed pretty for a round dance. Coyote saw their clothes and thought of his belt. He stopped dancing and ran to his house to look for the belt. Later he heard the dance going and didn't want to miss it so he ran back. He kept going to look for his belt. He searched off and on till daylight among the things Wolf had put away. He scraped the dirt floor all over. Finally close to the ashes he found the belt under the ground pretty well covered. He put it on and was practicing in there to the song he could hear outside. He looked at the belt on himself and thought, "It looks good. I think everyone is going to like it."

*539 He ran to the circle and joined the dance but before he made one round everyone looked funny, whispered to each other, and singers lowered their voices. They had a big circle but the dancers began to quit and prepare to go home. The circle grew smaller. By then morning was coming, but before it was light the dancers all stopped. All was quiet, and the people were all leaving for home. Coyote looked around and saw this. Before sunrise everyone went away.

Wolf said to Coyote, "Back at the house, Coyote, you find out now. I told you not to wear this in a crowd. We are in danger again. Right away they will return on the warpath. We must prepare to fight. Pack part of the food in the stone building. Bundle up the scraped buckskin and pack a load of dried meat in it and go west over the ridge and lie under the tree. Leave the camp by itself and listen for me. If no one returns to fight, we'll separate for four days to see if they come. If they don't come in four days we'll say they aren't coming."

Coyote went over the ridge to wait. He heard a big noise. The enemies fought Wolf all morning. About noon Coyote was hungry and couldn't wait, so he prayed aloud for the enemies, "My uncle, Wolf, is not a hard man on a fight. Try to wound him, kill him right away. I'm hungry." Later on Coyote heard the enemies holler. One of the men said, "Now we've got him crippled." A little later he heard another one holler and make a noise like boo?o. It meant they had killed Wolf. Coyote was glad. All was quiet before sundown for awhile. Coyote walked back and found Wolf already dead. He had a few arrows and had some cuts where he was dressed out. The skin was gone; just the meat was there. He knew the enemies had taken the hide. They feared Coyote and had left without putting Wolf in the fire. It happened late in the fall. The first snow was when they killed Mother Bear.

By next year at the first snowfall Coyote was living there alone and had nearly eaten everything they had. There was snow on the ground. He thought, "I'd better go out rabbit hunting. I'll see rabbit sign easy. This is rabbit season."

He started north that morning. He took a fast run and came to open timber, where a lot had been burned; dead timber in the ridges. He thought it a good place to hunt rabbits. He looked for signs where cottontails go into holes in the timber. It is an easy way to catch them in holes. He slowed down, and not far from the place he saw where some people had passed by going north, fresh tracks. It looked not far for him to catch up. He followed them and forgot about hunting rabbits.

He got [sic] up with an old lady with a burden basket, fur blanket, cane, and a little food in the basket. She moved slow. Coyote sneaked up close to see her. He circled her, running, and saw her passing. He ran to her and stopped in front of her. "Say, Old Lady, where are you going? I thought this was a cold day for an old lady to be traveling. Everyone should be inside." 539*

The old lady was following the enemy. She didn't go fast. She was still following the enemy still this next fall. She said, "I think you are our enemy that we are afraid of." He said, "I'm just out hunting rabbits."

She hollered like ladies always holler, then said, "Once we were at a dance and Coyote used the claws of our close relative for a belt. We fought but Coyote had disappeared. We all go to the north where he can't find us. I think you are Coyote. I smell Coyote."

Coyote said, "No, I'm not Coyote. I'm another man. Tell me what you always do in camp at night."

She said, "I think you are Coyote. You smell bad." Coyote said, "No, I'm not Coyote. They always lay around and eat up food; they don't go hunting; they are lazy. Don't fear Coyote, he's lazy."

Then Old Woman felt better. She told a story. "When my relatives got there they made camp for me. When I got there the children ran to me and said, 'Grandmother, Grandmother.' First I had danced outside the circle by myself. The second time I made a round with those kids and other relatives hanging on to me. Then I went to camp where they had wood for me, like I always do. They had Wolf's hide and had it hanging on a pole in the center."

Coyote said, "I'm glad you told me everything. You're doing all right.

Coyote was halfway mad while she told this. He knocked her down, killed her, jumped on her body,bounced up and down, and beat it with heavy wood. When he had it all mashed up, he cut it open by the hind end, picked it up and shook the body out of the skin. While it was wet he crawled inside the skin and picked up the basket and cane and imitated her gait.

By the time he reached camp, he saw a big round dance at one end, but still he walked slow. Children ran out and hung on his clothes. He danced around outside of the circle, one round. He saw a short guy, a badger, on one side and a porcupine opposite. On the second round when he came to the short man he jumped over, grabbed his hide, jumped across, and ran off.

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People said, "That was our enemy." They started chasing him south. Good runners at first nearly caught up with him but just before they could grab him he figured to turn into something. He made a sharp turn and turned into a dead cedar tree nearly rotted down. They passed by and didn't see him ahead, so they returned, circled around, found his tracks, and came toward him. He turned into a human again. They saw Coyote ahead and almost overtook him again. He made a turn behind a tree and turned into a jumping cactus [the cholla cactus, Opuntia bigelovii]. They passed by him. He watched them go around, return and track him. Coyote turned into a man again and ran. They saw him and ran after him again. He started whistling again, trying to make the wind blow. Coyote saw nuts [acorns] from the oak brush. They were round with holes in, like fruit. The dried shells were empty. Worms grew inside. Coyote went inside that hole. The nuts were rolling by him. They were light weight. He said, "This is the thing I'm asking." He jumped inside and the wind rolled it on south slowly, but Coyote thought no one would find him. He thought he was far enough so he came out and looked around and went on to his camp.

He didn't think his enemies would come that far after him. He stayed there the next day. In the morning he thought of a way to try to make Wolf come alive. Coyote put a skin down where he had a pile of old wolf bones. He put all the bones inside the skin. He put it over his feet and kicked it. The bones and hide were dry. He kicked it west, with no result. He kicked it south. Each time he returned to the same place. There was no result. He tried again toward the east. It felt like the bones were heavy when it started out and it was a wolf when it lit on its feet. He wiped his face and exhaled twice. Wolf said, "What's wrong with me. I have been asleep here hard."

Coyote said, "Yes, I've had a tough time here. You weren't asleep." He told him what happened.

Wolf said, "I was asleep all this time. I wasn't dead." He told Coyote to start a fire and cook food. Before, they had a lot of food, but now they had none. Wolf said, "I'm going out of here and hunt for food." He started the next morning, killed a deer, packed it in, and roasted it different ways, like in former times.

They stayed there awhile. While Wolf was dead all that time, his spirit had left the bones. His spirit had gone underground and found a lady for his wife. He stayed with her until Coyote put the skin and bones together.

Wolf thought of the lady while hunting but said nothing to Coyote. Then Wolf told Coyote to cook meat well done for the next meal. He put a pot on the fire. Coyote went to gather wood to keep his fire going and the pot boiling.

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Coyote kept doing this, with more and more wood each time. Later in the day, Wolf decided the boiling pot on the fire would be a good way to jump in and go underground and get the lady he had left. He did it while Coyote was outside. Wolf went through the pot, underground to the lady. He thought Coyote would never come to where he was, but when Coyote returned, he missed Wolf and looked all around the fire, and saw no sign of Wolf leaving, just footprints by the fire. Later on Coyote thought, "I think this is the place where my Uncle Wolf went in. I don't want to stay here alone." He tried to jump in but each time he was afraid and drew back. Finally he got up courage and jumped in. Then he saw wolf footprints and tracked him to the home where Wolf and his wife lived. Wolf said, "Coyote, you have come to my place. I have a place to stay, but I'm glad you've come." Wolf had a pretty young lady for his wife. All three stayed together.

Wolf and his wife slept on one side of the fire. Coyote stayed on the other side. Coyote kept wood on the fire, so there was light, and he watched every night to see what Wolf was doing with his wife. Later Wolf asked Coyote to go out on the ridge. Wolf said, "I saw some long timbers over the ridge. Go over, break off branches and pack them. Bring the tree trunk to burn on the fire."

Coyote said, "I believe I see a mountain sheep over here, my uncle. Come along. Shoot at them. There are big ones lying under an overhanging wall. I lay out over the wall and looked underneath."

Wolf said, "O. K.," so both went to the place. Coyote had put the heads of dead mountain sheep in a line under the wall, bedded down. Wolf went slow and said, "Where are sheep bedded around here?" Coyote said, "Lean over and look." Wolf looked and drew back, then looked again. Coyote pushed him off the high wall. Coyote wanted him to be killed. Coyote ran back to the camp to Wolf's wife and tried to grab her for his wife, but she was scared and pushed him away. Coyote kept touching her and tried to get her, but she kept fighting. She kept jumping in one spot and she sunk into the ground which was like quicksand.

By then Wolf had climbed the wall and came to camp. He said nothing. He knew Coyote must have fooled with his wife. That was the reason she was gone.

Later on Coyote said, "We'd better go back up above. We'll have better light and a better time." Wolf agreed. So they went back. By then the wind was getting stronger, later in the year. Wolf told Coyote to go over to the ridge and get wood for the fire. "We may have snow on the ground before morning." Wind from the south usually makes snow.

*539 Coyote said, "O.K." picked a long tree, and packed it back on his shoulder to the house. The wind was strong; it came in gusts bringing snow. It was hard to see ahead. Coyote came with the wood. He called, "My uncle, Wolf, I am bringing long wood for the fire. I might hit you. Holler if I get too close." Wolf heard him coming. He reached to one side, got a cane, dug it under hot ashes, and blew two hard breaths toward the east. He told Coyote not to come to the fire. "Pass by and go to the east. By giving me trouble, I'll give you a chance to turn into a star. Climb up to the sky and come in the sky this time of year. When dawn is coming Coyote's star is rising in the east. You'll be a big star, turn on the cold, sometimes bring snow and cold weather; a big star with a big log (four stars) in a bow above it.

Wolf stayed at that camp. He wished for his wife underground.

23. Wolf, Coyote, Bat and Elk

When animals were human, two persons, Wolf and Coyote, always stayed with big animals. They had someone to cook for them. They lived toward the west on the edge of a big ocean where many people lived. They had many games and had lots of fun, but Wolf found out no big animals were living there. They just had small ones, Cottontail and Jackrabbit. Wolf used them for meat. After he killed them he couldn't make moccasins with their sinew. He always was mending his moccasins. One evening Wolf asked Coyote to use what they had, bedding and clothing. Next day Coyote was having a lot of fun betting these things on games, betting rugs, feathers, for arrows, and other things. Wolf told him to bet them and after he lost everything in four days Wolf planned to make a trip to Pine [Walapai] Mountain just south of Kingman. So Coyote gambled, had fun, and lost many things until all was gone. In four days and nights, Coyote asked Wolf to move toward the east in the morning. Wolf did not count by days; his way was to call each year a day. Coyote thought he meant four days. After four years Coyote and Wolf started east. They traveled along. When the sun was getting low, Wolf saw jackrabbits jump up and run along. Wolf began to whistle at the jackrabbits, and they were witched by Wolf's whistle. Coyote ran to the dead rabbits and picked up five or six. The load was heavy for Coyote to pack. They stopped early to camp out, gathered small sticks, dug a hole, and built a fire, mixed with rocks to heat the rocks. When the rocks were red hot, they skinned the rabbits, took the insides out and put it away, and lay them at the foot of a brush enclosure they had made for camp. Wolf told Coyote not to bother the insides when they traveled on the next day. They barbequed the rabbits; put them in the fire and covered them with dirt. They roasted till morning, when they uncovered them and were ready to eat. Wolf told Coyote not to eat bones, to eat only meat but leave a little meat and pile

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it with the inside part. Wolf said, "By doing this we'll be safe on our journey, but if you happen to eat the insides or all the meat from the bone, then rabbits will keep on running and I won't be able to witch them with my whistle, and we'll starve before we reach Pine Mountain." They hunted this way and did the same thing each day until they were halfway on their journey. Coyote began to think of the bones and the little meat and thought, "Why do we leave them at our camp each time." Coyote was getting hungry before evening when Wolf got the rabbits. So, just before they reached Pine Mountain, Coyote hid out and made believe he was almost to make his toilet. He said, "I need to go to the toilet." Wolf said, "O. K., but don't take too long." Coyote said, "O. K." and ran back to where the inside meat and bones had been left that morning. He ate it all, filled up and felt better. He overtook Wolf and said he was feeling better. Toward evening Wolf began to whistle but the jackrabbit went on its way, shook his long ears, and ran fast and disappeared. Wolf knew what Coyote had done that morning. The next rabbit the Wolf whistled to again, but the rabbit kept on going. That night they had nothing to eat. Wolf said nothing to Coyote but the next morning he said, "You didn't listen to me. If you want it that way we'll camp out hungry. If you had minded me we would have rabbits. Now we have none from here on." So they camped out hungry without food from there to Pine Mountain.

Wolf knew that a natural water hole had big animals living under the water and that was where Wolf had wished to go. Wolf told Coyote to dive under the water and catch an elk by its horns and bring him up to the top. "If you bring it up, water will bubble and rise up. If you bring him up in the middle of the day he'll be wet; he'll roll around near the water hole and after his hair dries the elk will get up and start walking east. Elk is not a dry-land animal. He lives under the water here and he will travel east to the big ocean. So I want to kill him when he gets up from the sand and walks a little way. So, we can sneak up before he starts running. We can use his hide for our home and can dry sinew to sew our moccasins. It will be as long as our two arms. This is the kind of animal I wish to kill." Coyote said, "O. K., O. K., my uncle. Uncle, I'll jump in that water hole tomorrow morning." Next morning Wolf told Coyote to jump in. Coyote pretended to jump in but drew back and teased Wolf until Wolf was halfway sore at him. Wolf told Coyote to watch the waterhole and he would dive in himself. He told Coyote not to shoot the water. "It will boil up when I am on my way down and when you see the elk coming up I'll be on my way down. When you see the elk coming up, I'll be on his horns, so don't shoot then. But after he gets through rolling around, shoot at his belly from behind and you might hit his heart. But don't shoot the water while I am there."

*539 The sun was halfway up and Wolf dived in. The water began to rise up and boil, so Coyote thought the elk was on his way up. Coyote got his arrows and began to shoot in the water one by one until all the arrows were wasted. Then Coyote sat and watched the water. After awhile he saw Elk's head come up. It was huge, with big horns. Elk climbed up on a bluff, rolled around, shook his hair, and finally all dried up. Wolf was in the elk's horns, lying there. He saw Coyote standing nearby without arrows.

Coyote asked Wolf to hang onto a limb as the elk passed close to some trees on its way. Elk started to walk, then began to trot, walk, and trot. Coyote said, "There's a tree. Grab the tree and make the elk stop." Wolf said, "No, I won't. You want me to go to the big ocean. Elk won't stop at a mountain, timber, or anyplace. He is thinking of a big ocean where he wants to go. You are the one who is supposed to shoot him, but you used up your arrows. Just never mind."

The elk went along to Walapai Mountain, on east to Floyd Mountain, Bill Williams Mountain, to the San Francisco Peaks, across the open desert, and finally came to a place where he could almost see the big ocean waves. He saw one more mountain ahead, south of Pica. [The narrator confused the geographical locations somewhat at this point.] Wolf knew all the way that from that mountain he would run and could jump two draws (canyons) together when running. After Elk passed the San Francisco Peaks he would run as fast as a horse. then he would slow down, tired out. He knew there was the camp of a family, Bat, with many kids, close to the ocean. The children saw Elk approaching. They heard songs of Wolf as he called to Bat, "My grandfather, I'm bringing you a big animal to kill." The children went inside and told Bat come look at what was coming. [Bats were thought of as "disease-makers."]

Bat told his wife to lay on the ground and he tied one leg of his wife to one side of the house and the other leg to the other side of the house. Bat was having intercourse with his wife. He wiped his penis with buckskin and put it by his head and said it would cause a headache. Next it would cause cold, body ache diarrhea, and illness to cause death. He tied them the diseases up in a robe and put them away. But Father Bat told his children not to bother him when they kept coming. "I'm doing something." The elk passed by and the bat saw it. He thought it was a good animal to kill, so Bat quit what he was doing and got his bow. He put it against the wall, without a string, and got grass to use for food. He blew and spit on the grass and rolled it into string and made a string for the bow. The only stick he had was a fire drill stick, no arrow. He took charcoal and blackened the end and made it for a point. He wrapped it with string. He had no feather. Elk was tired and hadn't gone far. Bat

went toward Elk. Wolf called out, "Run close and shoot under his belly before he goes under the ocean." Bat shot. Elk trotted a little ways and fell dead at the edge where waves washed up over part of his body. 539*

From there the elk increased in the ocean and the horns were different. They were flat.

Bat's family brought a blanket and wrapped the elk in it. They skinned and cut up the meat. They packed it a little at a time to camp. They started boiling meat for Wolf. He was bony and almost starved. Bat gave him some of the meat to eat, but the meat went through his body and passed through right away. He couldn't hold it like we eat and just go to the toilet once in awhile. He had a hole where the food went out.

Bat thought it over and decided what would be a good plan to fix Wolf's hind. Bat got a piece from inside Elk's body and put it on Wolf's hind and plastered it against the bone part, and left a little hole, and made it part of Wolf's hide. So later he could hold his food and when pain comes on his body he knows he needs to go to the toilet. Then the food did some good and Wolf built up again and felt good. Then he told Bat he wanted to return to the camp where he had lived before. Bat said he thought it was time for him to go back. So, the next morning Bat gave him some meat to take back.

In the first day he reached Coyote at Pine Mountain. He reached it that evening. Before he went to camp he hung up his pack and went slow to listen if Coyote was still alive. He heard no sound. He stood in front of Coyote but Coyote was almost starved to death. Coyote listened for Wolf. He thought Wolf still alive and Wolf might come anytime.

A fly was buzzing near Coyote's ear. He snapped at it to eat it but it flew out of reach. Coyote said, "I want to listen for my uncle, Wolf." Coyote had his eyes shut and didn't see Wolf standing there. Wolf spoke and said, "Coyote what are you saying? I'm hungry, starving. What are we going to eat." Coyote said, "I used up the last cornmeal we had this morning." Wolf said, "What are we going to eat this evening?" Coyote said, "Nothing here." Wolf said, "I pack a little piece of meat here. You have to pack it here." Coyote said, "Yes, I'll do it." He got up and started running to get it, glad that he was going to get food. He found a big pile of meat. He didn't want to wait, so he started to eat, and filled up. So Coyote started to pack the meat but couldn't lift it all. Coyote ran back to Wolf and told him it was too heavy. Wolf went and threw it over his shoulder and said, "It's nothing to me." He packed it to camp and they ate it, but had no hide.

*539 They stayed in the same camp that fall. Wolf figured out a way that Coyote shouldn't stay with him any longer. One evening he said, "It's late in the evening. It's windy. Will you fetch a big long log?" Coyote was scared of Wolf and said, "O. K." He went to hunt a log to put on the fire till morning. He found one and packed it on his back. Wolf put a cane under hot ashes and told Coyote not to return to camp. Wolf blew on his hands and expelled his breath. "Coyote, just miss our camp and keep going east packing that wood. When you come to the sky, go up on it and turn into a Coyote-Packing-Wood star.

Coyote kept on going and did as Wolf said he should. He went up on the sky and turned into a star, the Wood-Packer star. By almost morning he climbed up in the sky. He kept saying to Wolf, "If I let this log fall down it might hit you." It is a big star with four smaller ones in an arch above it, Coyote with a pack.

24. The First Sweatlodge

Coyote built the first sweatlodge alone. Wolf told him how to do it and Coyote did the work. Wolf stayed around and told him and watched him build it. Wolf told Coyote to cut mesquite wood to make fire to heat rocks. "Don't use just any kind of rock and don't use red sandstone [it spalls explosively when heated]. Get hard, white rock [limestone]. Use any kind of wood to build the sweatlodge. Make it big enough for two people [Coyote and Wolf]. Use any number of supporting sticks, then wrap others around and tie them in place. Don't cover it with dirt." Wolf got a buffalo [?] hide and put it all over the top. (In another version, the sweatlodge frame was covered with a rabbit fur robe.)

Coyote began the sweatlodge in the morning and finished it about noon. Coyote built a fire and heated some rocks for about an hour; the rocks got hot quickly.

Wolf went inside and stayed in. He put water on the rocks and made steam. He sang to himself two or three times and lay in there about an hour to think. Coyote reached his hand inside the buffalo hide and kept putting water on the rock to make steam. Wolf lay in there till nearly sundown and Coyote stayed around outside. He sat on the ground by the door and wouldn't let Wolf out. Wolf got "all in" and just lay down. Then Coyote took him out and thought Wolf was pretty near dead. He lifted the buffalo skin up, pulled Wolf out by the arm, and dragged him about 40 or 50 ft. Then he got a wildcat hide blanket, covered him up, and left him there all night. When dawn came, Wolf woke up. He felt good and strong, so he went hunting deer.

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25. Coyote and Deer

(A children's story.)

Coyote went to the place where Deer lived alone. Coyote saw Deer, and they sat together and talked, told stories. They were glad to see one another. This deer had a bow and arrows. Deer asked Coyote to stay quiet. Deer took his bow and arrows a short distance away and shot an arrow into the air. He knew where it would hit. Deer watched it fall, and ran to where it would land. He turned his back side so it entered his (anus). Then he withdrew it with fat from his inside. They cooked it and ate it. When Coyote was ready to leave, he asked Deer how he had done it. He thought it was an animal Deer had killed. Coyote said, "I'm glad you told me that. You come to my camp in four days and we'll eat together the same way."

Coyote went home, took his bow and arrows, and tried it himself. But the arrow entered his (anus) and killed him. When Deer came by four days later, he found Coyote dead.

26. Coyote's Death

(A children's story.)

Beetle has a hard shell. He pretends to be dead if touched. But he can fly.

Beetle was hungry and wished for food. He put a hard cover over his back so nothing could hurt his body. He lay on the trail where sheep passed by to water. He waited on a ledge where sheep came. Some sheep came by. The first one stepped on Beetle and slipped and fell. He lay there moaning. One after another did this and broke their legs. Then Beetle arose and killed all of the mountain sheep. He skinned them and took the meat to where he lived. He put the meat up to dry on poles. Coyote thought he would call on Beetle and see how he was. He saw much meat and said, "I'm kind of low on food so I thought I would visit you." They talked for awhile, then Beetle got some meat and boiled it for Coyote to eat before he went. He gathered a big bunch of meat and fat together for Coyote to take home. When the boiled meat was done, they ate together. After eating Coyote asked how to kill it without a bow and arrow. So beetle told Coyote all about it.

Coyote said, "O.K., I know your story. Four days from now you must visit me. I'll hunt your way and we'll have meat and eat together."

*539 Four days later Beetle visited Coyote's camp. He waited several days for Coyote to return. Beetle tracked Coyote and found the place where mountain sheep had a trail to water. He found Coyote already dead. Mountain sheep had passed by, stepped on him and had mashed him to pieces.

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August-September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheeknpanyega and Mark

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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115 Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

194 104

a	as in father	ȧ	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ω	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dȟd*, water, *dȟd*, cottonwood tree; *kdθð'dd*, coyote, *kdθd'dd*, left hand; *θdálgd* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *θdúlgd*, a woman's children. K^r probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the
● 121 character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the
128 Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I
114 wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in
127 print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly
128 much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield
101 for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical
128

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. 121

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). 131

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. 133

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

Foreword

121 AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

122 The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

127

000 The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Torrey, President

Schwartz A.-8 (1953) 1956
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where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1500 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

BY LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterizing the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterizations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123-142, 1923.

7;Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

423 planted stand in the fields and not cut are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[423 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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complexities indicates that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious intricacies of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and coöperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgullo, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgullo never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Mischa Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the Nation of the Willows.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-paí men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess (Cheekapanyega and Mark

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report.

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman.

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication.

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 88 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement.

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter

114 papers, resulted from his field work in 1918, 1919, and 1921. My debt to Professor Spier will be self-evident to Southwestern scholars.

No attempt has been made to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task, since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier is cited where his monograph includes material not in my notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observations differ in any degree from mine or that a culture change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar example, and where Spier is directly quoted. In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhaustive search of literature, most of which is not indexed), only one example from Spier or other sources is cited, although additional references to the subject may occur in a publication.

0122 I wish to express my appreciation for assistance received from the University of Utah Research Fund. It made possible much of the field work on which the present publication is based.

I am indebted also to my husband, Harold Murray Smithson, who financed my first and fourth field trips.

000 Members of my thesis committee were generous in their efforts to evaluate and to improve the original paper. They include Professors Elmer R. Smith, chairman, and Henry Frost and Robert Anderson, committee members. Professors E. Adamson Hoebel and Edward Norbeck also acted for a time as committee members.

Many individuals have given me encouragement and invaluable assistance. My friend, Lois Snider, now Mrs. Lee Fetzer, shared the problems and inconveniences of the initial field venture. Verne B. Brown, author and professor emeritus of Santa Monica College, observed and took an interest in my field study. I owe to Mr. Brown a special debt, for at a time of difficult decision, it was he who urged that I apply for a fellowship and complete the Havasupai project.

Others who have assisted in ways too numerous to be described here are the following: Laetitia Viele, Episcopal missionary; David and Muriel Chambers, missionaries of the Supai Bible Mission; Marian and Victor Collins, former day school teacher and present resident agent, respectively; Mr. and Mrs. Olaf Barnard, former resident agent and day school teacher, respectively; Austin F. Ladd, assistant superintendent, Truxton Canon Agency, Valentine, Arizona; and Azahel Perry, extension agent, Valentine, Arizona.

S:Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1940
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Foreword

121 AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

122 The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

127

080 The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Tormey, President

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1500 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
Havasupai

FOREWORD

by

Jesse D. Jennings

Carma Lee Smithson was an ambitious woman, single-minded in her interest in anthropology. As a student she was interested in all the subfields, but in research her concern was only with the living. She selected the Havasupai as the aboriginal group she wished to know. Her sympathy with the Havasupai was recognized by the tribe. Its members proffered such respect and trust that Carma Lee had continuous good rapport as she pursued detailed study of the culture. The professional reception of her Havasupai Woman monograph, of which the tribe fully approved, led her to undertake this record of religious beliefs. 114 123

This material is woefully incomplete. The field work was never finished because Carma Lee fell prey to an illness finally diagnosed as lymphosarcoma, to which she succumbed in 1961. Work on this project really never got fully underway. She was able to visit the tribe for only brief periods after 1958. Late in her illness, she arranged a rendezvous with informants at Flagstaff because the journey down into their canyon home-land was then beyond her strength. On this occasion, her informants did not appear and she returned to Salt Lake City having accomplished nothing. It is a measure of her interest in the Havasupai and of her devotion to science that when it was evident she could not finish the task, she requested that her notes be made available to Robert C. Euler. 114

My own role in the Havasupai studies has been very limited. Aside from encouragement and the raising of funds, I took no part. I most appreciatively acknowledge the patience shown by the University of Utah Research Committee during Smithson's long illness when no progress was being made toward completion and, later, in leaving the unused grant funds available so that Euler could re-visit the tribe in 1962. 122 114

In publishing these incomplete notes on religion and mythology, I feel that we are not only adding something to the data of Southwestern anthropology, but are paying respect to Smithson's dedication as well.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

● 122

The research reported here was supported entirely by the University of Utah Research Fund. Aside from providing generous financial support, the Research Committee was patient and considerate in the face of long delay in the completion of the study.

14:Smithson & Euler K-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same. 101

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. 114

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established. 122 128 115

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices. 114 115

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

The family with which I lived in 1918 is typical. It consisted of Tokaoridja, aged seventy-five, her daughter Susie, fifty-five, both widows of long standing, and her two sons, Mark and Henry. Mark is a widower of thirty-four; Henry is thirty, his wife Nina is twenty-three, and his two sons are seven and three. They live in two houses standing side by side: Tokaoridja, Susie, and Mark in one, Henry's family in the other. Both the mother and daughter cook in their own half open house, and eat there with the two men and the boys. Nina sometimes joins them, but light hurting her failing eyes, she usually remains within her own brush house. To make the picture complete, there must be added the continual stream of visitors, mostly unattached men, relatives and otherwise, who share the ever ready meal. All five adults labor in their fields, which are their joint property, although more emphatically Mark's and Henry's. Nina also planted in a field allotted her by her father's elder brother for the sustenance of her two boys. The men give more attention to irrigation and their horses, and now that alfalfa is grown, to those fields too; the women have more concern in caring for the harvest.

592 [123] [574]

Groups of closely related families living and working together form still larger informal units. A typical case is the group of which Manakadja is the head. With him live his wife and two adult unmarried sons. The adjacent house belongs to his oldest son, Jasper, his wife and two daughters, the next house to his youngest daughter, Esther, her husband and infant. A short distance opposite, sufficiently far to be something of a separate camp, is the house of his oldest daughter Teĕk'idje, her husband and six children. All the women cook together in the open space about which the houses are grouped, although Teĕk'idje's family leads rather a separate existence and Jasper's also does to some extent. All of them work their fields in common, or rather Manakadja's, whose inherited holdings are extensive. Esther's husband has some interest in his father's fields, and Teĕk'idje's husband may own some land.

Watahomidja's family group comprises his wife, her aged Walapai stepmother, his oldest son and wife, his second son with his wife and two infants, and his third unmarried son. All these occupy one house and eat together. In 1918 his daughter, Callie, her husband and three children lived in an adjacent house, with the husband's aged mother living in a shelter alongside. This family led a somewhat independent existence, and in 1919 broke with them to live some distance off. This year Watahomidja was joined by his daughter's orphaned boy.

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for [545] except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." [684] When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

796 [65] on the condition of the Havasupais, and seek to gain their consent to send their children to the Indian school at Fort Mohave.

I was too tired that night to stay long. So after an hour's watching I returned to Hotouta's hawa, stretched myself out on the sand — *outside* — in my blankets, and was soothed to sleep by the monotonous chant of the dancers.

796 ● 123 Next day, in a burst of frolicsomeness I exclaimed to my friend, who was commonly called Tom by the whites: "Hotouta, why you no let me dance, all same Havasupai?"

It never entered my comprehension that Tom would regard the remark with serious attention, hence my astonishment can better be imagined than described when thoughtfully he turned to me and said:

"Maybe so! Me no know! Maybe so Havasupai no like 'em you dance. Maybe so they all same like 'em! I see pretty soon."

"Pretty soon" he came back with a cheery "All right! Navaho say you dance. Havasupai like 'em you!"

Here was a fine predicament! I had never danced a step in my life. In the few ball-rooms I had visited I had been a "wall flower." But in this case I had provoked the invitation myself, so, after a brief mental struggle, as gracefully as possible I accepted the consequences of my own rash speech.

When the hour arrived I placed myself under the hands of Hotouta, Yunosi his squaw, and their daughter, in order that I might be properly and appropriately apparelled for the occasion. The first salutation somewhat daunted me. Tom said, "You catch 'em white

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

shirt!" The only white shirt I had was a night robe which had done service to such an extent that I had placed it in my saddlebags when we left civilized regions for the purpose of wrapping up specimens of rock to take home. Its "whiteness" may have been somewhat of a memory. But I brought it forth, and waited anxiously for Hotouta's approval. He was delighted, and I felt reassured. 1796 123

When it was donned, and a pair of blue overalls, I was ready to receive the painted lines of sub-chieftainship on my face, and the eagle plume in my hair.

Then, in solemn dignity, we started down, Indian file, for the dance ground. At least Hotouta and I were dignified, while behind us Mr. Bass and the special Indian Commissioner were making frantic endeavors to hold in their laughter at the rude and brutal (!) jokes they were making at my expense. We had not proceeded far before Hotouta stopped me and with solemn face said: "You dance, you no laugh. Havasupai no like 'em you laugh!" I promised to be "as sober as a judge," and not laugh, and again we proceeded, to be stopped once more by Hotouta, who explained with perfect seriousness: "Maybe so you dance heap harnegi. Havasu squaw, she like 'em you. You catch 'em one squaw. Then you dance more and maybe so you catch 'em two squaw. She come, all same" (and here Hotouta illustrated how the squaw might come and separate me from my male companion to right or left, and take my hand in the fashion afterwards described). "She take your hand, all same. You no nip. She no like 'em you nip." I promised not to "nip," and with satisfaction Hotouta now led the way to the dance ground.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

796 123 After a formal introduction to all the chiefs and their approval given to my being accepted as Hotouta's brother and a fellow chief with him in the tribe of the Havasupais, the dance began. This is how it was conducted.

796 The "evangelist" sang over a strain of a new song. A dozen or so of the leaders took it up, and as soon as they were fairly familiar with it, the others joined in. Then the women took a hand, literally as well as figuratively, for they came in and separated the men, interlocking the fingers, midway between the first and second knuckle joints, standing shoulder to shoulder, and enlarging the group until a complete circle was formed. Then, with a side shuffling motion, moving one foot to 796 the left and following it rapidly but rhythmically with 152 the other, the while lustily and seriously singing the song they had just learned, the dance continued,—a dull, monotonous, sleep-producing ceremony, until the onlooker was awakened by manifestations he little expected to see at an Indian thanksgiving dance. Very often it occurs that women of the tribe are affected with a somewhat similar excitement to that which seizes the negro when he has "the power." With a shriek, the woman hysterically leaps within the circle made by the dancers, and howls and shouts and dances and jumps, and then, perhaps, throws herself in a heavy stupor upon the ground. Some will run to the centre post, and, hanging on with one or both hands, will swing rapidly around until they fall exhausted to the ground. When the male members tire of seeing these excitable females upon the ground, they unostentatiously step up to the prostrate figures, seize their long thick hair, swing it over the shoulder, and thus proceed to

The Nation of the Willows.

I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged 193 from the little grove. Below us stretched a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as 241 we rode along the river trail. These 311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails. 342 Here and there were little cabins, or 361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our 609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[P. 394 A]

[previous portion of this article not processed]

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of the Willows.
I

123 609 run forward and warn the tribe — whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, [574] a former host welcomed him and us with jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 374 B]

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT 14 Plateau Yumans NT 14
Havasupai

FOREWORD

by

Jesse D. Jennings

Carma Lee Smithson was an ambitious woman, single-minded in her interest in anthropology. As a student she was interested in all the subfields, but in research her concern was only with the living. She selected the Havasupai as the aboriginal group she wished to know. Her sympathy with the Havasupai was recognized by the tribe. Its members proffered such respect and trust that Carma Lee had continuous good rapport as she pursued detailed study of the culture. The professional reception of her Havasupai Woman monograph, of which the tribe fully approved, led her to undertake this record of religious beliefs.

This material is woefully incomplete. The field work was never finished because Carma Lee fell prey to an illness finally diagnosed as lymphosarcoma, to which she succumbed in 1961. Work on this project really never got fully underway. She was able to visit the tribe for only brief periods after 1958. Late in her illness, she arranged a rendezvous with informants at Flagstaff because the journey down into their canyon home-land was then beyond her strength. On this occasion, her informants did not appear and she returned to Salt Lake City having accomplished nothing. It is a measure of her interest in the Havasupai and of her devotion to science that when it was evident she could not finish the task, she requested that her notes be made available to Robert C. Euler.

My own role in the Havasupai studies has been very limited. Aside from encouragement and the raising of funds, I took no part. I most appreciatively acknowledge the patience shown by the University of Utah Research Committee during Smithson's long illness when no progress was being made toward completion and, later, in leaving the unused grant funds available so that Euler could re-visit the tribe in 1962.

In publishing these incomplete notes on religion and mythology, I feel that we are not only adding something to the data of Southwestern anthropology, but are paying respect to Smithson's dedication as well.

If one violated this prescription 343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not fre-
quently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suf-
fering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback
or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure.
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, [834]
the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the
same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson re-
corded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensa-
tions of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside,
and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.)
a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken follow-
ing long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs 763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabʔiyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

601 **wïnyégà** — son's wife, wife of all relatives except as noted elsewhere
paham'ïgà — husband of all relatives except as noted, wife's brother or her grandparents[1]

I am doubtful regarding the application of some terms. Sinyella did not know what a woman's female cross-cousin's children should be called, nor the terms for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's children. He said the latter would just be recognized as relatives. Djerdwaimo gave *notïgà* for a woman's male parallel-cousin's child, *btïgà* for the son, and *patïga* for the daughter of her female parallel-cousin; but I think she is mistaken. Probably she did not understand the question. She did not know what her daughter Helen would call Pete's grandchildren if he had any, i.e., Helen's father's younger half-brother's grandchildren (see the genealogical chart).

There are no terms for a husband's brother or sister, nor their spouses, nor for a wife's sister or her husband, nor a wife's brother's wife, nor for a husband's parents, nor a child's parents-in-law. There are no terms for step-parents; they are not called by parent terms, because "we are afraid, for the father and mother are dead." Half-brothers and sisters are called brothers and sisters.

[551] References to dead relatives are by the relationships they bear to the living, as Manakadja's father. The form *panyà'atatvïdj*, my father now dead, was recorded.

The reciprocal of *kotïgà* is said to be *nagotïgà*, but other terms are given for the reciprocal relationships. The word *gdtdj'ïgà* may mean relative in general, as *tnydnyan„ïkddjddj*, Sun, my relative, occurring in a prayer.[2] In a myth, "Wolf, my father" was recorded as *hatdgwïl n„anàkóta*, said to be an obsolete term; son-in-law, *ginyéga*, was also recorded as *ginyïyà*.

601 124 [115] These meanings were checked at the hand of genealogical data given by Mark Hanna, his sister Susie, his nephew Jess Checkapanyega, and Jess's mother, Djerdwaimo. A record was made of the terms used by Mark and Jess for every living relative, and the reciprocal terms, on the basis of the agency census, before any genealogical charts were drawn, so that the names did not occur in logical order. The accompanying chart gives Jess's relatives in full. For convenience I have separated his

601

[1] The following possessive forms were recorded in myths:—

nyân„ágwadá'ïdj	my mother's father	nyan„ádjad ïdj	my father's younger brother
n„amódïdj	my mother's mother	nyaïtcikàvà	my male cross-cousin (man speaking)
nyânïnïk'wïwïdj n„în„ówïwà	my mother's brother	nyaddjvïdj	my older brother's son (man speaking)
		n„anàkóta	my father

[2] However the more general word would be *n„atcpadjïvï*, my relative (*tnyadjïo djdjdïd kwadhut*, he marries a relative; literally, relative, he knows it, to take a wife).

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither extensive nor developed in systematic form. [794]

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'édjĭmptk*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*dmlyᵉ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hutdjidtd* was also given for ghost in an association test.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Thought

153 So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified.

828 The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*wwdélgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess, to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:—

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: [201] *kápdá'dídópígd*, "It is hard to say."

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

114 So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams 115 and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*ídsmddjígd*, *gwétásmá'djígd*, cf. 124 *smdgd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin.

787 A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 278.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 314, footnote.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

8:Service E-3 (1946) 1947
N714 Plateau Yumans N714
Havasupai

423 planted stand in the fields and not or are destroyed. These things are so closely
[423 bin that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whenever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
698 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending subdivision of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[3] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally subdivided accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wako was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Pays and Henry Hamus, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wako's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance patterns which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wako had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
● 125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of dispute and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

3 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

complexities indicate that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious intricacies of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and cooperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgulla, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgulla never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Micha Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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115 Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

194
104

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ω	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dhá*, water, *dhá*, cottonwood tree; *hdêd'dá*, coyote, *hdêd'dá*, left hand; *ñdéłgá* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *ñdéłgá*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ţ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

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128

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of 162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems 000 in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postpone- 582 ment of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that 582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former 127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this and other information.) 582 127

In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 26.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 35, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the eldest 18. 582

For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the older, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 24.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 38 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 30.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106]

Foreword

121 AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

122 The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

127

The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Tormey, President

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 763

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [71] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked good seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	ȧ	as in but
ą	hat		
e	fate	ę	met
i	pique	ɪ	pin
o	note	ǫ	not
u	rule	ʊ	put
ɑ	law		

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Southwestern tribe the comparisons do not clearly show the interrelations of this area. On the distribution maps I have entered the names of only those tribes for whom data are available.

A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* appeared when this manuscript was completed and should therefore be used for further comparisons with my material.

The long delay in the completion of this paper is due in part to a desire to include the comparative material, but in larger degree to more imperative duties which have crowded the last five years.

LESLIE SPIER.

University of Washington, July, 1925.

[p. 86 is blank]

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterizing the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterizations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

14:Smithson & Euler E-5 (1951-1958, 1962)1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

by

Robert C. Euler

In the aboriginal and early historic period the Havasupai and Walapai considered themselves to be a single ethnic group, Pai, the people, distinct from all others including the Yavapai (Dobyns and Euler, 1960; Euler and Dobyns, 1960). Their culture, including their religious and mythological tenets, was essentially the same.

Although basic ethnographic studies have been published for both (Kroeber, 1935; Spier, 1928), Pai religion has not been treated in detail. Smithson, in The Havasupai Woman (1959), concerned herself only tangentially with these matters as they pertained to women in the society. Yet, on her several field trips from 1951 through 1958, she had elicited additional and more detailed data from several informants. Her final trip to the Havasupai, for three months in the summer of 1958, was for the express purpose, and was supported by a grant from the University of Utah Research Fund.

These unpublished notes came into my hands after Mrs. Smithson's untimely death, at her initial request and through the courtesy of Jesse D. Jennings. Mrs. Smithson and I, when she first learned of her incurable illness, had discussed the matter personally. This was at a time when I was working independently on other aspects of Havasupai culture, but with essentially the same informants. We remain in her debt for concerning herself with the ultimate disposition of her notes during such a trying period of her life, and in that of Jennings for arranging for the editing and publication of the material. I should like, also, to express my appreciation to the University of Utah Research Fund for permitting me to utilize the unexpended balance of the grant in the preparation of this study. I also wish to thank those unnamed Havasupai informants who patiently helped me recheck portions of the notes in the summer of 1962. Their cooperation was due in large measure to the rapport that Smithson had earlier established.

That the data are not full is a factor of several matters beyond the control of the authors. Smithson worked with the last elderly Havasupai shaman who, in his advanced years, had limitations of recall. He had died prior to my last visit in 1962. Other, lay, informants had less knowledge of the more esoteric practices.

128 My contribution, then, except to clarify portions of the notes, has been largely to put the notes into a more readable style and format, as well as to add comparative data. These data appear in brackets. Direct statements from informants are indicated as quotations.

965

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.] [128] [177] [533] [535] [771] [964]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.] 535 177

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gätágäma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire. 533 535 177

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony; 796

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ö?wi?gath? ǵwä (rock split apart) and ö?ih?ga^{l}č? ǵwäv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arizona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five.

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and pifion trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

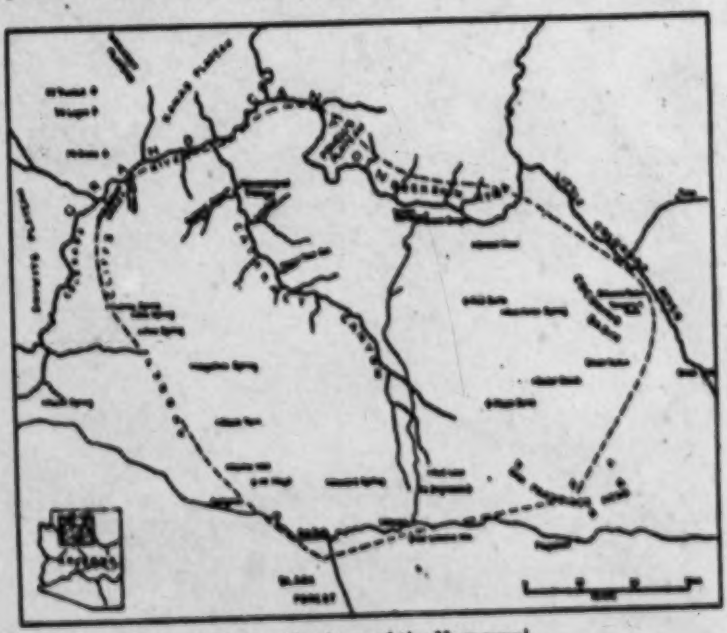

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[text continues on p. 94]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*hdtodzvhâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon 131 station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâtî'dâ, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pôkâdespai'îvâ, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigîvîlâ'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nalîsdhâ*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakdad*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Mohe Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moenkopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moenkopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Hrdlička observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] Handbook of American Indians, II, 41; Lummis, The Memories, 84 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mohahaves" four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 50 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, Personal Narrative, 130, 141.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the Ikhayápt, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Piesaho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them. In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[5] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 338. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1896*, I, 64.

[2] Bandelier, (a), I, 109.

[3] Sitgreaves, 16; (1, 14, 15, 16; Cremony, 222.

[4] Whipple, 62. He saw Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whence they were said to range to the junction of the Rio Virgen with the Colorado.

[5] Beale, 46, 48, 54, 55, 57, 60, 70.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] Ibid, 78, 82, 83. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's descriptions had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai knew them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. s).

3:James T-5 (ca. 1909) 1913
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

231 Chickapanagio. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Ibas's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [133]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

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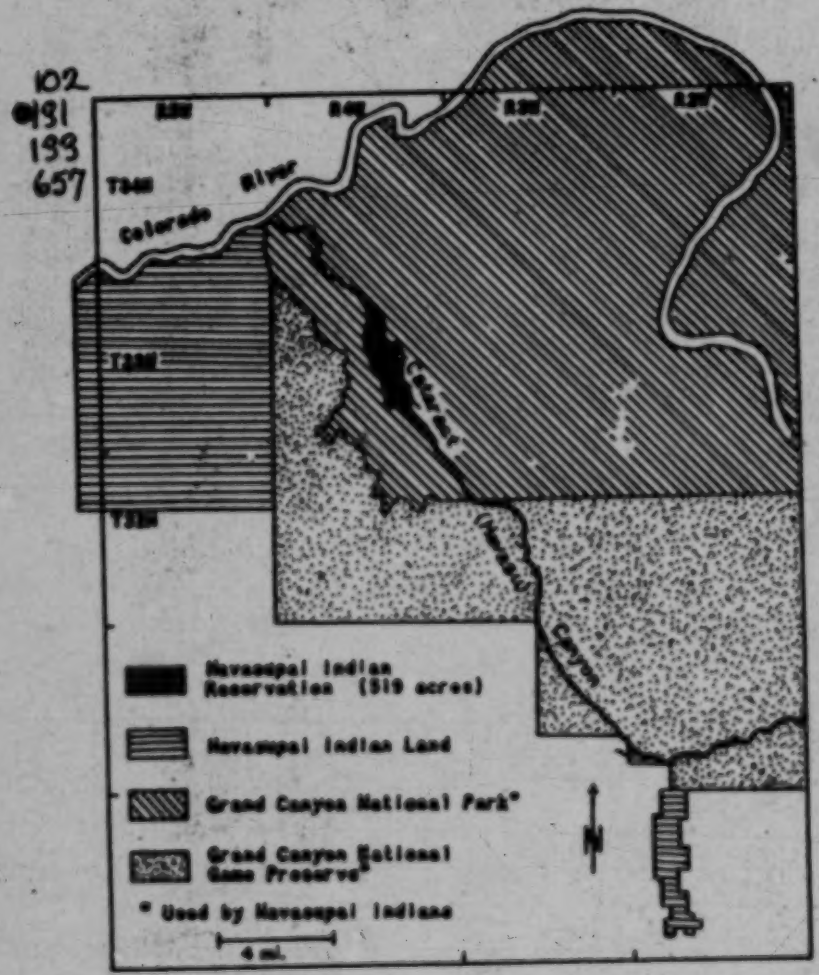

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

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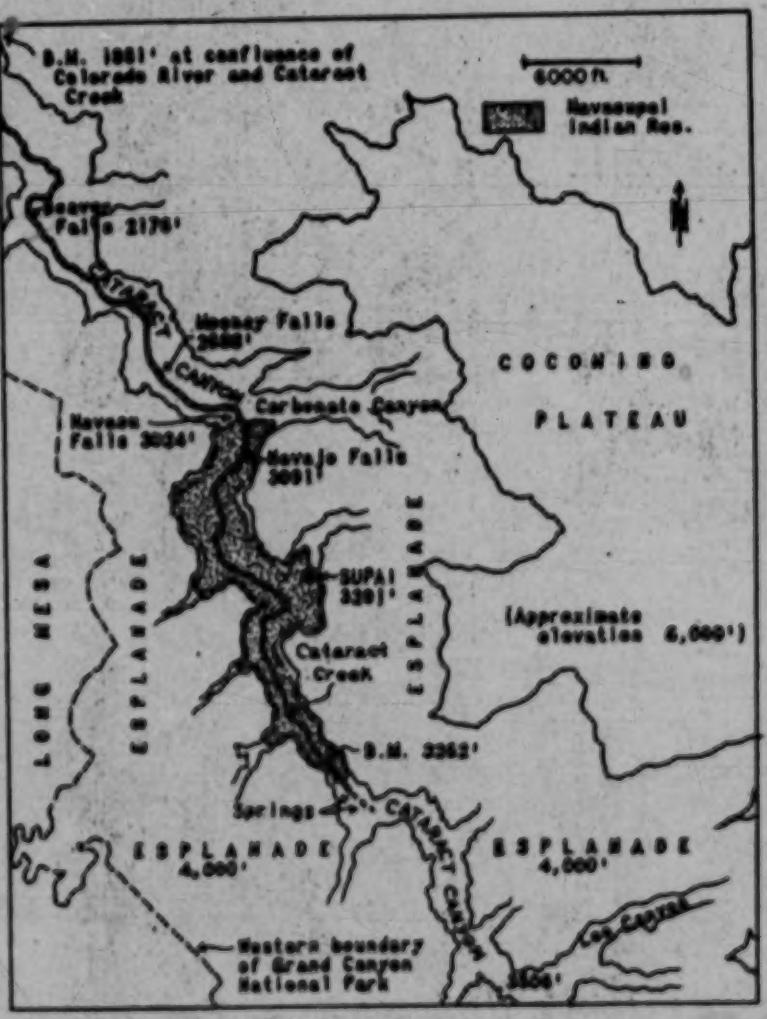

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1885 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

311 were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing
[231] frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even to-
day, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon.
Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside
for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer
[131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed
only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient
pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made
little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier
(1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco
Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three
parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the fol-
lowing century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences
which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along estab-
lished prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the
Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance
of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions
into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans
involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the
1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had
been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls.
[135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai
economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establish-
ment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial
mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did
not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers be-
tween the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and
adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area
between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai
and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and
direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai
plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure
[657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school
in Cataract Canyon in 1893 marked the beginning of a period of increased
isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while
their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years
the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the cold-
est winter months.)

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilised or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [174]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

By LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

125 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the
487 canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more
487 popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

10:Henshaw E-4 (no date)1959
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Havasupai ('blue-green water people').
A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in s.

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w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. i, 92, 1856) was informed in 1860 that the "Cosninos" roamed from the

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[P.538A]

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131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, 173 though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on [172] the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present 361 village, composed of temporary cabins or 342 shelters of wattled canes and branches 131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai 142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and 105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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Havasupai

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE NATION OF The Willows.

II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which it still retains.

The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, piñons, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many varieties.

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[137]
[p. 541A]
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/97/

The Havasupai

133 The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a
[131] branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and
487 he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor
131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an
133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

101 1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

/99 cont./
131 The inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[321] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 mesaal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and piñon trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

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Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[Text continues on p. 94]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*hatsdiwâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawalgâti'dâ, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pŏkâdcspal'îvâ, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaiptsâ'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nalîtsâd*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakâsa*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1880), and Mohe Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

Sailiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Later, I went out to have a look at the cottonwood tree that held the thermometer. It hugged the wall of the house, spreading heavy branches over the roof. A few years afterward, this tree became very important to one of my successors. He and his wife saved their lives by climbing as high as its creaking limbs would allow while a flood raged below.

A short ladder leaned against the gnarled trunk. By standing with one foot on its top rung, the other on a stout limb, I would be able to read the thermometer that was enclosed in a rectangular box, nailed to the tree's trunk. I had played in trees in my childhood; tree climbing had always been fun. But now, when I tried to picture myself in my ankle-length skirts perched on a rung of the ladder and a limb of the tree, peering into that box, I couldn't bring the picture into focus; I didn't want to. But that didn't keep me from taking the readings and sending the reports to Washington. The canyon's temperature, I learned, varied by ten degrees from that of the mesa, winter or summer. Even nature applied a special law to the land of the People of the Blue Water.

Mr. Ewing had been right about our isolation. I was soon hungry for news from the outside. Our mail was brought by Indian carrier from Seligman, and this was "mail day." We were so eager for letters that by the time the sun's rays had left the canyon at three o'clock, we were already watching the trail, hoping the carrier had made a faster trip than usual. However, we had lighted the lamps before Spoonhead came riding in with the mail-sack thrown across his saddle.

It was the first time I had seen Spoonhead, but I did not need to speculate as to the origin of his name; just as the Indians declared, his head was shaped like the bowl of a spoon.

Miss Goenawein kept the post office in one corner of her room. She sorted the mail while we waited. Among my letters was one from Mr. Ewing, asking me to prepare an annual report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs covering conditions on the reservation for the past year, a duty neglected by my predecessor. It was long overdue, and he urged that I submit it immediately. Although

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realise that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222.
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

resting there in the shadowy gorge, where nature rioted and roared; and yet, in the cool, protected place where they slept, there was an inner quietness and soul-resting peace. Reluctantly we turned our mounts back to the trail, leaving the park officials to make their observations at the falls. We did not suspect it then, but later we had reason to believe that their visit resulted in an invasion of the canyon that filled the Indians with terror.

The sun's rays had by now reached us. And the parching waves of heat which the walls reflected filled us with almost unbearable thirst. A large fat dog that we had not been able to prevent following us, crept under bushes or ledges of rock for one precious moment of shade, then ran, panting, to catch up with us. Finally he crawled under a rock and his pitiful moans told us that for him the journey had ended. On our return, we found his body huddled far back under a shelf of stone.

Beaver Canyon, a narrow crack in the terrain over which we were traveling, cut across our path. A short bridge would have spanned it, but when we peered into its depths it seemed bottomless; we made the twenty-mile detour around it. We had had no food since our early breakfast, so after rounding the canyon's head at four o'clock, we dismounted and prepared supper. Ute slid over a steep incline into the gorge, and filled two canteens from a spring. Our fried chicken, hard-boiled eggs, green beans, peaches and cocoa disappeared so rapidly that we were appalled when we discovered that Ute, who had agreed to bring his own food, had only a green watermelon (which he declined to cut) and a few peaches. We shared with him, and he was quite pleased with our contribution. We had yet to learn that an Indian carries a minimum of food and travels long stretches without water.

When we had finally completed the long detour around Beaver Canyon, Ute led us to a "rain tank" and the horses had their first drink since we had left home. Then darkness settled down rapidly and it was time to make camp. While we ate a hasty lunch from a shelf of stone, Ute cut his green watermelon and devoured it noisily in addition to the food we gave to him. He held himself

Sellff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Trial by Water

000 Whenever opportunity offered that hot summer, I slipped on an old dress in lieu of the bathing suit I did not have, and took a plunge in the wide pool only a few yards from our cottage. Completely screened by dense bushes and trees lining its banks, I floated lazily across its surface, catching enchanting visions of red walls and blue sky through the overhanging branches. God put something in running water and in trees that rests the soul; this secluded spot had that quieting touch. In its delicious coolness, I forgot the heat that beat back from the walls, the problems, the feuds, even the suffocating air in the crowded classroom. But duty refused to take a holiday, even in soaring temperatures, so the pool gave only momentary relief. One hope was left to us—the summer rains.

132 We knew that Arizona had a rainy season which broke the heat of its long, dry summers, but none of us realized that nature could react with a deluge out of all proportion to the need.

I doubt if anyone except the Indians knew what a flood would do to the canyon and to the houses and gardens on its floor. The Havasupai had an uncanny weather sense. If we had asked them, they would have interpreted the significance of the signs all about us and told us what to expect. But we didn't ask. The Indians must have been convinced that the Hicos knew everything worth knowing or we wouldn't be there trying to teach them, so they didn't bother to instruct us on the means of escaping from a water-filled canyon.

[p. 18.2]

Billiff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There was no letup in the heat. It was reflected from the walls in visible waves. Work in the classroom was almost unendurable. Heads nodded sleepily when the hot, still air in the low-ceilinged room became heavy with the smell of campfire smoke and sweat. There had been several sudden, pelting rains that passed quickly, leaving the air momentarily fresh and sweet and a little cooler. Now, we watched our narrow strip of sky for clouds, hoping for another shower. Even the occasional cool breeze that swept through the canyon lost its coolness when it came in contact with our torrid walls, so the nights, too, were hot.

Out under the cottonwood in our front yard, hung a weather-beaten hammock. Night after night Frances and I had tried to sleep in our poorly ventilated, sultry room; so one night I moved out under the tree. I found that making a bed in the tippy contraption was something out of my line, but managed to hold things down until I got in. It was like riding a bucking bronco; the more I struggled to maintain my balance, the more the bed tipped.

The commotion brought faint, squeaking protests from the tree; the small creatures that lived there resented the intrusion. We had amused ourselves many times trying to locate the bats sleeping among the leaves during the day, but I was to have a nocturnal view. At first, a thin squeaking line flew off into the darkness. Then the entire colony rose from the tree, soaring about on kitelike wings, to begin their nocturnal foraging. As if they had held a conference and agreed on the strategy, they swooped down, their bony wings brushing my face and hair. I was outmaneuvered and ran indoors.

The next day was a holiday, dry and hot as any day had been that summer. For a brief space in the afternoon the sunshine grew dim and watery; then, again, hot and bright. A change in weather was impending. We scanned our narrow strip of sky and hoped for one of those refreshing showers. There was only a hazy sky, and now again that peculiar misty sunlight.

Vera, one of the older schoolgirls, had come from the village to make a dress for herself on a school machine, and was hurrying

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
[Havasupai

132 to finish before dark. She was nervous about the weather, but wanted the new dress to wear to Sunday school, so went on with her work.

A hot wind blew through the canyon, bending the trees and swirling the sand about in clouds. Then came a breathless stillness. Vera threw her work aside, and ran out of doors. We followed. With a quick glance at the sky, the girl exclaimed, "Very bad storm up there, very bad!" Vera knew the canyon in all of its moods. She was terrified. So were we. Something sinister was brewing and our strip of sky did not tell us what to expect. If only we could see beyond the rim of that high canyon wall! Suddenly masses of black, heavy clouds boiled into view, rolling and tumbling ominously, the lower folds surging violently upward, those above shooting down in writhing, twisting masses. Through the blackness we caught occasional glimpses of a high greenish ceiling. What would the storm bring? If only wind, the walls would protect us; a hurricane could not negotiate so narrow a gorge; but if the clouds were loaded with water, we were in grave danger.

133 The topography of the surrounding country was against us; the plateau sprang, like an open fan, to the south, the east and the west, forming a drainage area of hundreds of square miles which poured its water into our canyon. We didn't realize then that the indentations in the rimrock were old watercourses, which this drainage had cut through the outer limestone walls on its way to our chasm.

132 The stage was set for quick action. The clouds rolled and boiled, but in the canyon there was only stillness pressing down. The big cottonwood leaves hung limp; the dead air warned of disaster. Then again came that inrush of hot air. The tension eased a little when big, misshapen drops hit the ground with vicious spats. The rain had come, but it was an unnatural rain that filled us with awe.

We retreated to the house and stood in the doorway watching the torrential downpour. Suddenly Vera burst into tears.

"Look! Look!" she cried, pointing to the high canyon wall back of the school building.

Sutliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It was covered from top to bottom by a sheet of water. Vera knew what that meant. The canyon might fill to any depth, depending on the quantity of water that poured over the walls added to the amount that fell in the canyon. She wanted the security her own people could give her; they had weathered countless floods. We realized our helplessness, so put a coat about her shoulders and told her to run to the village. She flew down the trail like a frightened deer. Weather-wise as the Indians were, she may have sensed that a cloudburst or storm of destructive violence was imminent. She had barely time to reach the village when the clouds opened, pouring down water in a solid column.

The entire west wall as far up and down the canyon as we could see was now hidden behind a curtain of water. Then the east wall, only fifty feet away, was likewise hidden—more drainage from the mesa! Those curtains, hundreds of feet high, were pouring tons of water into our gorge each moment. The thundering noise made conversation impossible unless we shouted. The confusion bewildered us. We tried, hurriedly, to plan, but still held to the foolish hope that the water would drain off as fast as it came in.

Then came a new danger—something beyond our imagining. With startling suddenness, a full-grown river, boiling with sand and debris, leaped over the east wall with a force that shot it far out into the canyon and a roar that drowned the noise of the storm. We knew then that the plateau was pouring its accumulated drainage down on us. We realized the volume and strength of the current when a large evergreen tree rode its crest and fell, beaten and crumpled, almost at our feet. Nothing could stand against that roaring waterfall. It hurled a boulder over the rim, spun it crazily and smashed it on the ground with an impact that shook the canyon. Other rivers dropped over the rim. Surely the end was near. How long could the gardens, the houses and the people take such a beating? How long could our building stand? Would the sturdy old cottonwood go down?

Our stream of clear, blue water had disappeared. A maelstrom of dirty suds, tumbling stones along its bottom, swept down the

2:Iliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Havasu's bed, spreading across the canyon from wall to wall. Each moment its power was augmented by the increasing drainage from the mesa and by the river that roared down from the upper end of our canyon. We were convinced that the house would go, and could think of only one means of escape—the trails.

We hurriedly decided to try the Lee Canyon trail, fifteen miles long, but not so dangerously steep as the Walapai trail. The rain was coming now in wind-blown sheets. If the trail remained passable, we could reach the mesa. Miss Goenswein and Frances were rushing around preparing to leave, so I put on my raincoat. When we closed the door behind us, we were almost beaten down by the storm; I had the forlorn feeling that this was the end. The mouth of Lee Canyon was a long distance from the school; we would struggle against water and rolling stones just to reach the trail's lower end. After that, the climb to the outside. Any Indian could have told us that boulders and landslides would block both trails; that torrents would tear out their weaker parts, leaving sheer precipices. However, the Indians were looking after themselves; there was not one within sight. Even though the village stood in a wide section of the canyon where the water had room to spread out and would do less damage, the Indians were moving their possessions and their families to places of greater safety.

By keeping to the higher ground in the center of the canyon, we avoided the waterfalls plunging over the rim on either side. The water deepened as the gorge narrowed, but we pushed ahead. Not until we heard the roar did we remember the hazard of the Gap where the passage narrowed to fifty feet, thereby increasing the river's force. The Gap was filled with churning water ten feet deep, thick with mud and tumbling stones. The flood spumed out in front of us, divided into two streams that flanked the center ridge and rolled on to create more havoc below. There was no way to pass this barrier; we stood quite still, staring at it, beaten.

"The Walapai trail!" Francis shouted. "We can't stand here. Stones are cutting my legs."

So we retraced our steps, wading back to the mouth of the

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Walapai Canyon, and followed the trail to the Corduroy Bridge 132
over which our mounts had stepped so gingerly that July day, weeks before. Here too was a gap, narrower than the one that had just turned us back. The torrent leaped over the bridge to the ground, a fall of thirty feet. It cut off our last chance to escape by the trails. We had traveled in a circle, up to the Gap and back, only to meet defeat. Then Frances began climbing the talus of sand and stone banked at the foot of the canyon wall. Here was safety, within a few yards of our house! The talus took us above the flood water. We still got the full force of the storm, but soaked and bedraggled, we felt intense relief in being safe. Our greatest fear had been of being caught in that current, carried over the tremendous Havasu falls and dumped into the muddy Colorado. From this point, we watched the water plunging down the canyon bed, striking tree trunks, boulders or angled walls and shooting long streamers of spray high into the air. It surged against the buildings, ran up the walls, then fell back heavily. Fearful for their survival, we watched our sturdy cottonwoods twist and bend before the onslaught. If they went down, the buildings would go; the canyon would be swept clean.

Then quite suddenly, we sensed a change in the storm; the rain struck with less force. The clouds rolled away and never before had our strip of sky looked so serene, so blue, so beautiful!

We shivered in our wet clothing while the water subsided, which did not take long due to the sharp incline of the canyon floor. Frances began laughing and crying in hysterical relief. To divert her attention, I said, "Imagine how hungry you'd be, Frances, if we had climbed to the plateau; I didn't bring a thing but the clothes I have on."

"I know I brought food," she said. "I remember thinking we might be gone a long time, so crammed a lot of things that we'd need in my pockets."

She pulled a bunch of hairpins from one pocket and from another a few well-soaked slices of bread. All three of us shouted

132 with laughter, released at once from the numbness of strain and fatigue.

We walked back to the buildings, admitting, with chagrin, that we would have been safer and drier had we never left them.

I took my camera and went out to get pictures of the rivers that still cascaded over the rim in five or six places between the school and the village. They were rapidly diminishing in size, but some of them drained in until late the following day.

731 The Indians' gardens and orchards that had been in the path of the main current were washed out and swept over the falls. The houses that stood on low ground were destroyed; however, the sagacity the Indians had acquired through long and bitter experience with floods enabled them to escape without the loss of a life, and with only minor losses of clothing. Each family had a crevice in the canyon walls that made a safe shelter. Here they set up temporary housekeeping.

I expected the children to appear for school Monday morning half-clothed, but only one pair of pants was missing. Six-year-old Dan, face clean, hair brushed and dripping wet, wore his uniform blouse, shoes and stockings, but no pants. He was a comical sight, but no one laughed.

133 731 The Indians warned us that nature would deal us another blow before we could settle down with our usual feeling of security—which wasn't very secure, after all. Many columns of stone stood out from the parent wall, separated from it by fissures in which water from rain or melting snow collected. Freezing weather turned the water into ice, increasing the pressure which widened the crack. This freezing and thawing, over a period of years, left the column unattached. A flood brought such sections tumbling down. This new danger was almost as exciting as the flood had been. It was always a gamble with us, not with the Indians, as to which section would topple over. The one directly back of the school building leaned out threateningly, but when I asked Bob for his opinion, he shook his head.

"Him no fall yet," he assured me, and since Vesnor agreed, we

3James T-8 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mesquite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpouring of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3 James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
HT14 Plateau Tumans HT14
Havasupai

summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineering is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

system on the north and west. From the top of the San Francisco Peaks to the bed of the Colorado River, and within a span of about 60 mi., there is a difference in elevation of roughly 10,000 ft. Elevations on the plateau are between 6000 and 7000 ft., while the Havasupai farmlands lie on the floor of Cataract Canyon at an elevation of 3200 ft. This altitudinal range is accompanied by a change in climate with significant differences in flora and fauna. 198

Geology

The geology of the Grand Canyon, which contains one of the most complete stratigraphic exposures on earth, is a striking feature, but beyond that it is of particular importance in relation to the water supply.

The Coconino Plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which exhibits some karst topography and is extremely pervious. The mountains to the south and east are mainly basalt, being of volcanic origin, and a number of smaller cinder cones dot the landscape. The San Francisco Peaks have no permanent surface streams draining from their slopes, and it has been speculated that subsurface drainage from this area may be one source of the springs which emerge from pervious geologic strata in Cataract Canyon.

The Cataract Canyon drainage system, one of the major tributaries of the Colorado River, drains a region roughly rectangular in shape, approximately 50 mi. wide and some 60 to 70 mi. long, comprising an area of about 3500 sq. mi. Its southern boundary extends from Mt. Floyd and Bill Williams Mountain on the west to the San Francisco Peaks on the east. The area includes a major part of the Coconino Plateau.

Although, in this semiarid climate, the thirsty soil with its struggling plant cover and the underlying pervious limestones of the plateau absorb much of the precipitation, the torrential rains and sudden winter thaws so characteristic of desert country produce flood conditions in the lower canyons, an ever threatening hazard for the Havasupai. [132]

The Cataract Canyon drainage system originates in shallow valleys and deeper arroyos eroding the surface Kaibab limestone. The trellis pattern of arroyos on the plateau channels all run off into two canyons, Lee's and Walapai, which are the major tributaries of Cataract Canyon. The two main horse trails entering Cataract Canyon also follow these two tributaries. [147]

Cataract Canyon is formed by a broad upper gorge defined by the massive Coconino sandstone standing in sheer walls 1000 ft. high. Locally designated the Whitewall (Fig. 1) this prominent cliff has a talus composed of the Hermit shale which gives way to the Esplanade, a broad shelf sloping gently to the rim of the canyon's inner gorge.

193 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled
731 melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[321] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a
[648] series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually
311 divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft.
731 fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation
648 boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal-cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 3 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 155

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[53] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[353] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
[45] on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[38] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of
THE WILLOWS.
II

500 varieties. Upon this strange desert,
● 132 some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the
136 latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-pai," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cata-
133 ract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime.
132 The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered
137 by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the
[273] material for the mescal, or *al-aa*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-su-pai, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and
[262] eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and
[P. 541B] October.

1:Spier
102, 133, 361

Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

[The map of the settlement has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

P. 392 C-1	P. 392 C-2
P. 392 C-3	P. 392 C-4

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arizona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five.

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 137 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau: at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and pifion trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102] [131]

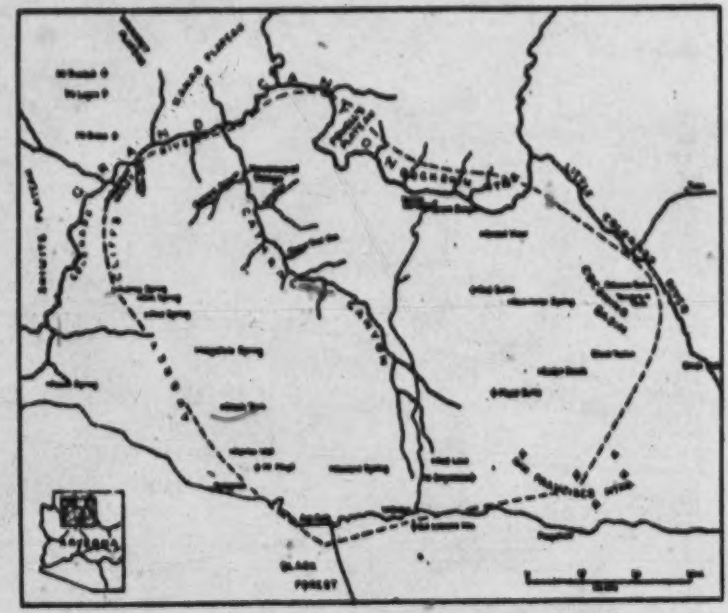

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the 132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded 731 cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[text continues on p. 94]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133

Fig. 2. Havasupai Village in Cataract Canyon. The lower canyon level (red bench) shows in the middle ground, the level of the plateau in the distance.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupa

lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moenkopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moenkopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Lipps, *The Navajos*, 84 et seq. In 1858 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Nabahoes" four days' travel up the San Juan River, this was "not 50 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 138, 144.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

591 583 551

51. Shorty lived with his mother, Ca;t. Burro's sister, near her brother's house, 63. Teyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house, 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house, 60. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (207); she died. Took Mecca from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 57?)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 10. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 423

Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated. With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the

311 ● 133 423

chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,

311 423

when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desiring additional fields.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaδada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaδada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 55 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 80) which Kaδada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaδada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 55 lay abandoned for years. Kaδada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1919, he cleared it.

● [139]

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her
423 father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

423 The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who
465 assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

423 Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush may not be cut without his consent. Austin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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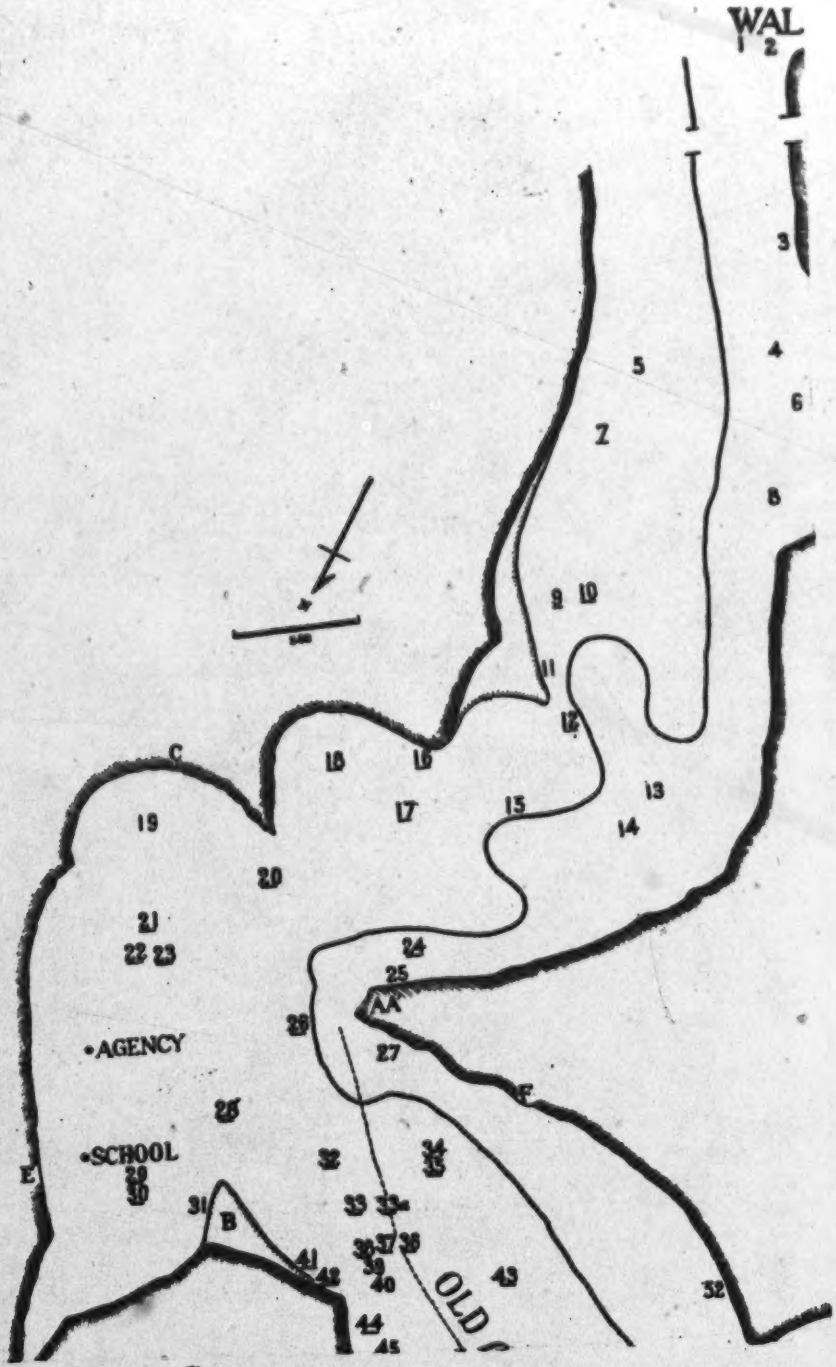

[p. 392 - C]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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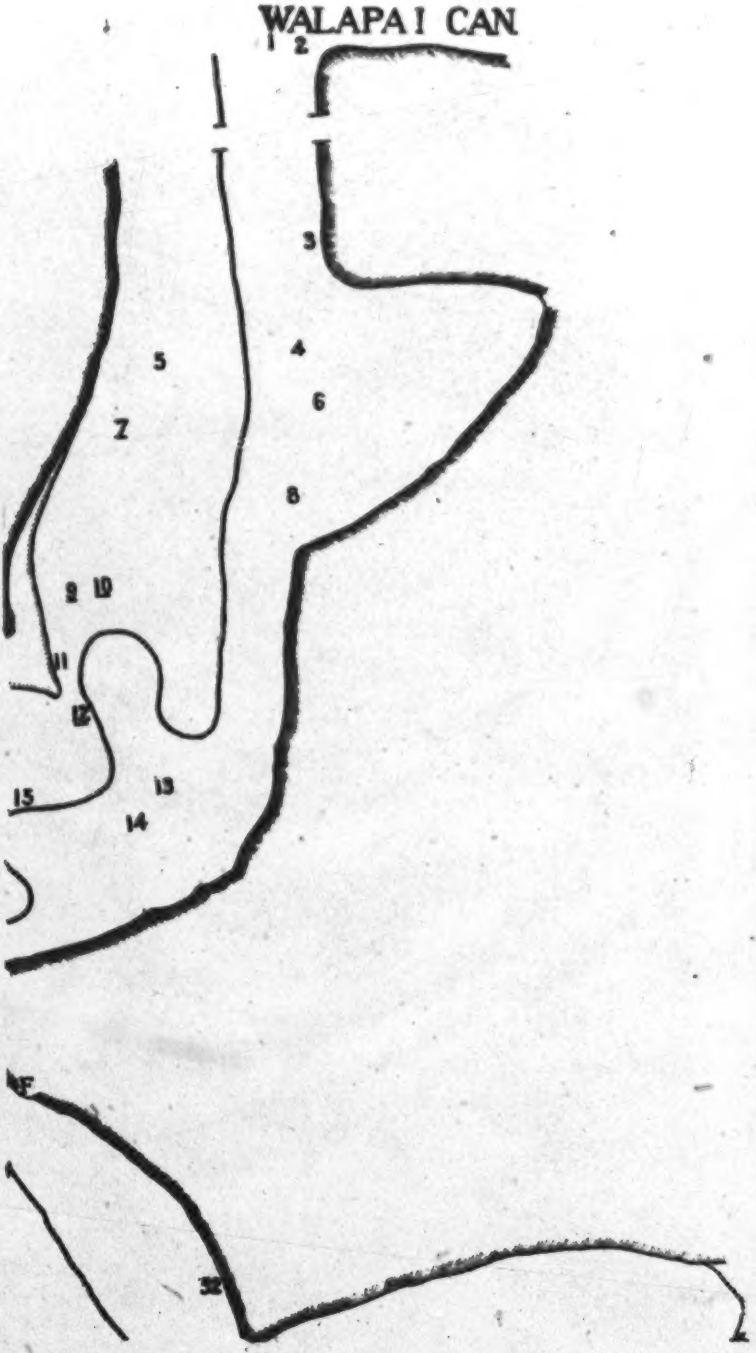

[p. 392 - C-2]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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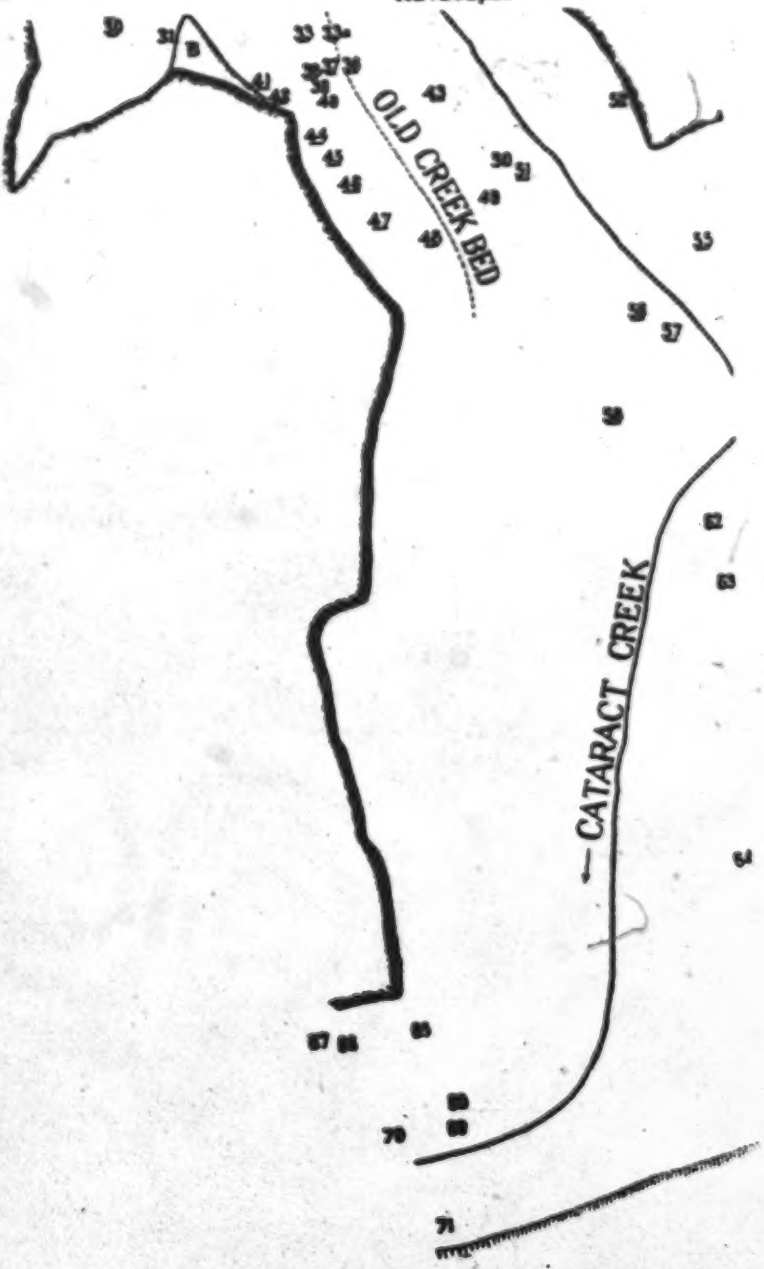

Fig. 10. Map of Camps in the Havasupai Village, Cataract

[p. 292 c-5]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

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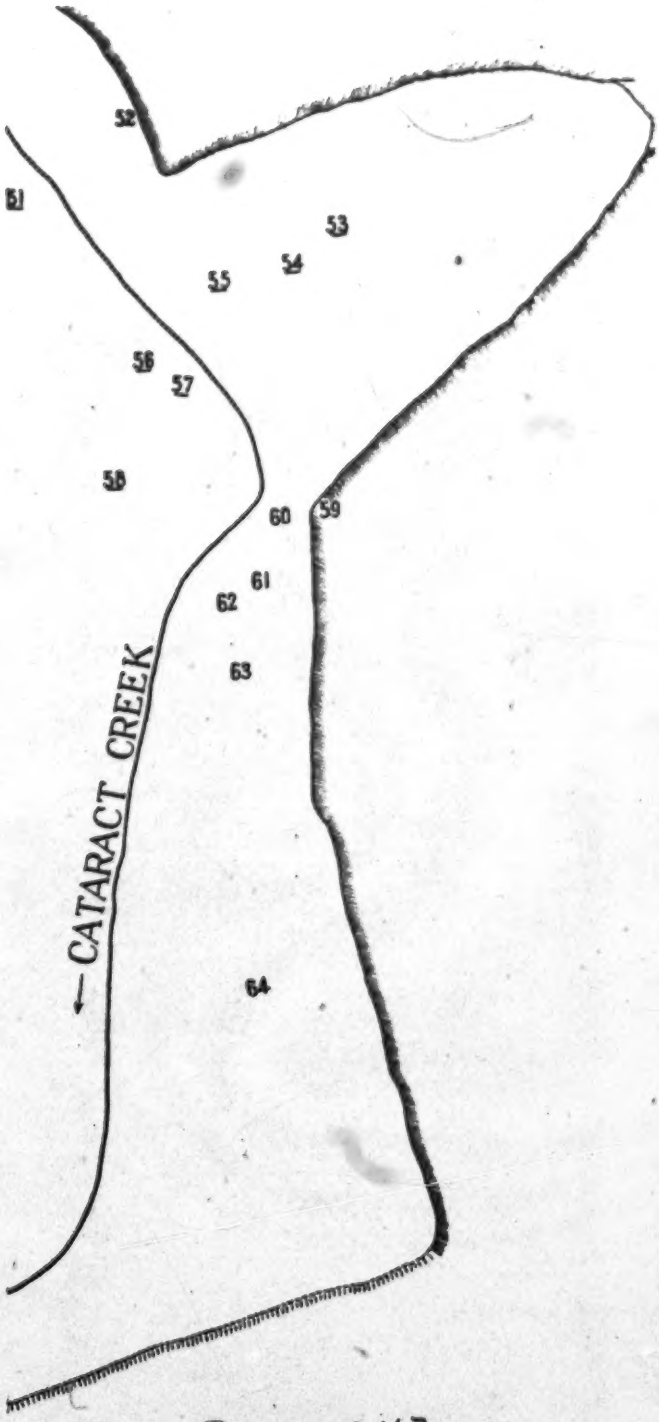

[p. 392 c-4]

the Havasupai Village, Cataract Canyon.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tunnels NT14
Havasupai

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

A packtrain on the trail from Hilltop into the Havasu Canyon

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

In these two stone pillars on an outjutting arm of the canyon wall, lived the god-spirit that protected the Havasupai and their gardens from harm

[p. 116 D. Pp. 116 A-C not processed]

Bailiff T-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tennessee NT14
Havasupai

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Mooney Falls, "Mother of the Waters," showing the wild gorge in which Lanomen's wife was cremated

[p. 116 L]

2-Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1884 NT14 Plateau Tumacu NT14
Havasupai

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Crude ladder by which the Indians descended to the pool below Mooney Falls, which is out of the picture to the left

[p. 116 M]

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Hovenweep homes of today with fenced plots for gardens at circle. Note the illusionist cliffs of the outer walls in the distance

[p.116P]

2:Iliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

522 soft. They joked, hilariously mimicking the picture we would make on our return—wilted as a squash vine severed from its root.

231 We jogged on until we came to the mile-long strip the Indians used as a race course. Without an instant's warning, my horse took the bit in his teeth and ran like the wind. At the mile's end, he stopped, heaving and gasping for air. He was, I discovered later, Walapai Bill's best race horse.

133 Our party of three and the two men from the forest reserve followed old Ute along the widening stream, which was so highly charged with minerals that every root, branch or leaf obstructing its flow was coated with solid stone. I gathered some of these leaves from the stream; each tiny vein and serrated edge was plainly marked in the stone coating. The debris along the banks had been transformed into a filigree of great beauty, concealing hollow places and deep caverns that became a danger when one walked too near the edge.

We passed Navaho Falls, so concealed in its jungle of tangled growth that we could not see it, but only heard its roar as it dashed over cliffs and boulders. This was the first large falls, and by some considered the most beautiful, perhaps because of its isolation.

The stream dropped rapidly, but we continued at the same level, traveling on a wide shelf that flanked the chasm. On the rim above Bridal Veil Falls we halted and looked down on the impressive scene two hundred feet below. Here the canyon formed a bowl or amphitheater, centering attention on the falls. The river spread across a high, wide cliff, dropping like a wind-tossed, gossamer veil into a deep blue pool. Thick mysterious folds of mist churned up from the pool, curtaining the gnomelike caves. Weird mineral formations, deposited by the water on shrubs and vines, covered the canyon walls on either side. Shaded by tall trees, the floor of the bowl was a tangle of bright green grass, climbing clematis, mosses, ferns and columbine.

In the past weeks we had visited this amphitheater several times and entered the caves back of the falls, finding giant stalactites and stalagmites and long stone-coated tendrils of maidenhair fern,

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

fragile as old lace. Branches of trees, roots and trailing vines, heavily encrusted with mineral, hung over and almost concealed the entrances to the caves. We broke off some of these and found the wood, in some instances, still green and alive underneath.

As we continued down the trail we rode to the rim again and again, unable to resist the wild beauty of our river, roaring with such violence through its narrow gorge.

We passed Crematory Gulch, a western branch of our canyon where the Indians had cremated their dead before accepting the practice of burying in a canyon nearer the school. A former employee once told me that he had visited Crematory Gulch and was surprised to find large Navaho blankets, undamaged by fire, medicine gourds, saddles and, most gruesome of all, the partly burned club of a man's graying hair. He fully realized the danger of desecrating an Indian cemetery, but slipped away with a shaman's gourd rattle. At the time he told me of his venture, he was hoping for an opportunity for a second visit, but whenever he made the attempt, an Indian appeared with disconcerting suddenness, and stood, watching, until he gave up the quest.

We rode to the brink to look down on Mooney Falls where the river roared in a solid column over a ledge higher than Niagara. The noise of its crash into the foaming pool below was deafening; the picture it made, hundreds of feet below us, was like a bit of toyland. Mineral accretions were plastered, like the halves of umbrellas, against the sides of the precipice. I knew that just below our feet were the dangling remains of the frail Indian ladder down which Lanoman and his friends had tenderly lowered his young wife to her funeral pyre. There, too, rested the bones of James Mooney, a sailor turned prospector, who with a few companions had tried to descend below the falls to locate abandoned mines, about which he had heard such fantastic tales. The rope they lowered over the precipice had been too short, and Mooney, the first to make the descent, fell to his death. As a tribute to his memory, white people gave the falls his name, but the Indians continued to use "Mother of the Waters." I thought of those two,

2:111ff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

800 resting there in the shadowy gorge, where nature rioted and reared; and yet, in the cool, protected place where they slept, there was an inner quietness and soul-resting peace. Reluctantly we turned our mounts back to the trail, leaving the park officials to make their observations at the falls. We did not suspect it then, but later we had reason to believe that their visit resulted in an invasion of the canyon that filled the Indians with terror.

132 The sun's rays had by now reached us. And the parching waves of heat which the walls reflected filled us with almost unbearable thirst. A large fat dog that we had not been able to prevent following us, crept under bushes or ledges of rock for one precious moment of shade, then ran, panting, to catch up with us. Finally he crawled under a rock and his pitiful moans told us that for him the journey had ended. On our return, we found his body huddled far back under a shelf of stone.

133 Beaver Canyon, a narrow crack in the terrain over which we were traveling, cut across our path. A short bridge would have spanned it, but when we peered into its depths it seemed bottomless; we made the twenty-mile detour around it. We had had no 000 food since our early breakfast, so after rounding the canyon's head at four o'clock, we dismounted and prepared supper. Ute slid over a steep incline into the gorge, and filled two canteens from a spring. Our fried chicken, hard-boiled eggs, green beans, peaches and cocoa disappeared so rapidly that we were appalled when we discovered that Ute, who had agreed to bring his own food, had only a green watermelon (which he declined to cut) and a few peaches. We shared with him, and he was quite pleased with our contribution. We had yet to learn that an Indian carries a minimum of food and travels long stretches without water.

When we had finally completed the long detour around Beaver Canyon, Ute led us to a "rain tank" and the horses had their first drink since we had left home. Then darkness settled down rapidly and it was time to make camp. While we ate a hasty lunch from 609 a shelf of stone, Ute cut his green watermelon and devoured it noisily in addition to the food we gave to him. He held himself

9:1165 Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Mr. James and Frances brought up the rear, taking turns in releasing the young pack burro from the catclaw bushes into which she repeatedly rammed her way—packsaddle and all—in order to thrust her head into the cooling shade. Occasionally I interrupted my lesson with old Ute to take my turn at extricating the animal from a thorn bush.

About eleven o'clock that morning, old Ute pointed ahead and shouted excitedly, "Hackataia! Hackataia! (Roaring noise!)"—the Colorado River. In the distance we saw the red north wall of the Grand Canyon. We rode on as far as the horses could travel then tied them to some bushes and climbed a mile to a point where Havasu Canyon joined the Grand Canyon.

I had promised myself that I would not leave the school until I had traced the Blue Water from its source to its mouth. This was the end of the stream. In one of his books, Mr. James had expressed the hope that he might make this trip we had just completed; so he too had realized an ambition.

So far as we were able to learn, no white person had ever before stood on this point—two thousand feet above the rivers and several thousand feet below the upper rim of the canyon. We could neither climb down the precipitous wall to the water nor make our way over the canyoned white limestone to the plateau, but must return by the route we had come.

The Colorado—two thousand feet down—was no more than a brown ribbon, twisting, and threshing its way through a crooked gorge. At this point it made a turn, and into the apex of the curve the Havasu River poured its torrent of blue, sparkling water. Its clear, strong current could be traced for a long distance before it disappeared in the muddy water of the larger river. Havasu Canyon was filled from wall to wall with a dense, green jungle, forming a vivid contrast to the bed of sand and stone through which the Colorado roars.

I took my camera and went to the rim. Below were outjutting rocks from which I could get a picture of the junction of the two rivers. I eased my way down but the heat curled the film, making

2:11iff Y-S (ca. 1931) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

173 Desert weary, they tarried by the stream, reluctant to leave a spot that had everything they so much desired, but their gods had not yet spoken. Discouraged, they began the long climb up to the plateau and westward. A child cried. The procession halted and the child's voice was stilled. Each effort to resume the journey brought that cry of protest. The wise men quickly issued their edict: "The gods speak to us through the voice of the child; this is the home to which they have led us."

Joyously the people unpacked their loads and began building houses and making gardens.

173 Handed down through many generations, this old tale expresses
77b the Indians' desire to lay in the laps of the gods every problem that affects their lives. On the canyon rim overlooking a wide section of the floor, they found the god-spirit in two gigantic pillars of stone. So they built their houses on either side of the stream of blue water where the gods could watch over them night and day.

133 The Indians' accounts of the god-spirit residing in the two stones
● turned our attention to the walls of the gorge. Miss Goenawein, the only old-timer employed at the school, had visited every point of interest within walking distance, so she acted as guide.

From the Indians she had learned of the Black Man. After Sunday school she took Frances and me to a side canyon where we gazed up at the shiny, black form of a giant stone man, lying prone as if he had dropped down and fallen asleep. We stood in the hot sun, trying to discover what force had caught and held the black mineral while the red sandstone built its layers around it. Doubtless the old men had a tale about this phenomenon, had we asked them. But in the discomfort of the intense heat and the sunlight striking our faces as we gazed upward, our interest in the Black Man quickly vanished. So we wandered over to examine some pictographs on a boulder, beautiful primitive art that could hold one entranced indefinitely.

212 The boulder stood in the center of the canyon; the base, worn away on one side, left a projecting ledge some four feet above the ground. Stooping low, we crawled under the ledge, straining for

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

487 - we had heard rumours of a secret crack in the canyon wall through
133 which the Indians fled to the outside when pressed by enemy invaders. Immediately we planned to investigate. When Vernor learned that we intended to go through the passage, he shook his head gravely and cautioned, "Indian moccasin walk trail all right. Think white man shoe no good." Before we were through with the experience we agreed with him.

After a walk of several miles, we stood in a side gorge and gazed up at a long triangular crevice that split the wall to an incredible height. A ledge of stone, fifty feet above the canyon floor, seemed to form the base from which the crack rose to an apex. We realized that this might prove a little more dangerous than some of our other ventures—but if the Indians went through, so could we. It would be worth the climb to stand under the open sky free from sharp, enclosing walls.

[41] Two Indian ladders (logs on which crosspieces of heavy sticks were tied with leather thongs) took us up to the stone ledge. The loose rungs, giving under our feet, swayed the logs threatening to spill us. Shaky from our tussle with the ladders, we pulled ourselves up, single file, onto the stone ledge and faced the entrance to the crevice through which ran the old Indian trail. And behold! this was not the base of the crack at all, but its center—the fissure continued downward so deep into the earth that we could not see the point where its sides met. The trail, a mere edge of stone clinging to one of the close-set walls, ran through the narrow crevice midway between the top and the distant bottom.

Mr. Burnett took one look at the precarious trail, then scrambled down the ladders as fast as he dared to solid ground, where his dog anxiously awaited him. How deserted we felt when he left us to face the dark passage alone! I began to realize that we might encounter unsurmountable difficulties in that thin crack before it landed us somewhere "up above." We stood peering into its darkness, wondering what force had cut this vertical chasm through solid stone. Had a river come in from the plateau, carving its way through the sandstone wall, then disappeared? Or had an earth tremor split the stone apart? A few yards ahead the jagged walls

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

seemed to reach across and touch, but the entrance was fairly wide. Rather than turn back, we started the climb.

The trail grew narrower as we advanced toward the earth's interior, the light from the entrance dimmer, the walls damper. Then, in the darkness, we came to that tricky section that is dreaded by those who use the trail. The ledge we followed disappeared. There were only rounded knobs on the wall for footholds, slippery with the slime and water that oozed over them. Oh, what a fall we might take! We did as the Indians must have done, leaned across the narrow chasm, pressing our hands against the opposite wall to brace ourselves, and cautiously stepped from knob to knob. We tried to keep our nerves steady by refusing to look down at the close-set, ragged walls which fell away to such terrifying depths. I wanted to get down and crawl, but the knobs were too small, spaced too far apart.

Vesnor had warned us, so we had put on shoes suitable for climbing, but I kept thinking of the moccasined feet that had worn this path, and the surer ease with which they walked. I knew that one misstep would plunge me to those sharp points far below, or farther down to the bottom of the slimy crevice.

After what seemed endless hours, a dim light appeared ahead. It grew brighter as we worked our way toward it. Presently we emerged in a deep, bowl-shaped depression, but a stone roof above the bowl shut out the sunlight.

Miss Goenawein used the Indians' footholds, while Frances and I boosted her up to the surface. Then she pulled and Frances boosted me out of the hole; together, we pulled Frances up. We were bent double under a boulder that would have completely covered the bowl from which we had just climbed, had not this section of its base been broken away. Crawling out into brilliant sunshine reflected from miles and miles of sparkling sand and red bluffs, we were careful not to stray far from this boulder that hid the mouth of the crevice, for there were thousands of others like it strewn over the barren land. We lacked the Indians' instinct to mark a spot so surely that it could never be lost.

2:Iliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Over at the rim, we looked down into the canyon we had so recently left, trying to locate the farmer and his dog, but they were not within sight. We stood about, discussing the Indians' frantic escapes through the crevice, and the fact that now it was a short cut for men who had a few ponies grazing on this level. Then one of the girls, just to hear the racket it would make, pushed a small boulder over the edge. Others followed. As they clattered over the wall, striking projections and bouncing far out into the canyon, the farmer came into view, running for his life, his dog leaping at his heels. We were as frightened as he, for we still could hear the falling stones crashing their way down, and knew that if one struck him, the blow would be fatal. We returned, as fast as the slippery crevice would permit and descended the wobbly ladders to the canyon floor.

The farmer confronted us with blazing eyes. "Those stones you rolled down would have killed me and my dog if we hadn't run with all our might," he exploded.

We tried to explain and apologized, but realized we could never again persuade him to accompany us on an exploring trip.

At our cottage, old Gentle Annie in her accustomed place at the foot of the cottonwood, waited for me. She wore a strawberry-red dress, my dress. She had wanted clothes, but could no longer see well enough to make them. So each time I came within reach, she grabbed my skirt and begged, "Dress, you give 'em." I was obligated, in a way: hadn't she shared her mescal slab with me? So I had given her the brightest dress I owned. She had been effusive in her appreciation, put it on over her other dress and walked proudly home. As I watched her, aged and tired, making her slow way down the path, I thought of the young wife she had been, standing by her man's side, fiercely defending their possessions, their home and her own body from the grasping hands of the enemy. One of these battles was particularly vivid in her memory.

In their younger days, Annie and her man had lived for a time in a cave high up on the canyon wall. In the dark hours of a summer morning, they were awakened by the soft scuff of moccasined feet.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Dimly they saw the hurrying forms of the enemy slipping stealthily past the mouth of their cave toward the village. Escaping through a rear opening, the young couple were working their way down the wall, leaping crevices, scrambling down cliffs, hurrying to warn their tribesmen, when, with a triumphant yell, the invaders gave chase. Gentle Annie and her man outran their pursuers and reached the village already alarmed by the commotion and frantically arming for defense.

At nightfall, when the thieving marauders retreated laden with booty, fighting their way up the trail, many dead, both enemy and tribesmen, lay on the canyon floor. Houses had been emptied of their dried corn, pumpkin and venison. Warm blankets were gone. Corrals held no ponies. Children had been orphaned. Bitterness was in the hearts of the Havasupai at the loss of their tribesmen, and the prospect of the almost impossible task of again providing against the cold winter.

In trying to describe the bitter fight, in the few English words at her command, Gentle Annie's knotted hands clenched and her dark eyes flashed with the violence of her emotions in living again the cruelty and hardship. "We work, we make—they take," was the simple statement that ended her story. The strawberry-red dress was a small gift but it had brought momentary happiness to an old woman in whom the fire of youth had not completely died.

On this visit, Gentle Annie was not thinking of wars; she had business to transact. She carried a little basket containing five fresh figs; offering them to me, she said, "Pigs, pive cent." I bought her figs, split them open and laid them on my window sill to dry. Within a few days they would be rich and sweet.

One day Miss Goenawein mentioned some small rooms or caves excavated in the sandstone wall beneath the gods, that held secrets of the tribe's exciting Days of the Long Ago. My old urge to explore flared. I wanted to learn what possible use the caves had been to these canyon dwellers. Were they granaries such as honeycombed the walls on either side of the village? Were their interiors brightened with pictographs recounting the tribe's turbulent past?

133 Were they carved there by Those of Old? A short trip might give the answer.

We scrambled up the talus on one of the steepest trails I had ever climbed, followed a ledge until we came to many openings in the face of the wall, each a tiny doorway. Stooping, we passed through one of the doorways, but could not stand erect under the low ceiling. The sandstone walls were bare. The floor beneath our feet gave a hollow sound for the caves were in tiers; a row of such cavities was immediately below the ones on this level. The ledge formed a path on which the occupants could pass from one cave to another.

We returned to the ledge and looked down on the peaceful scene so far below: the village, bathed in dazzling sunlight . . . men drying buckskin . . . women weaving baskets or gambling fiercely under their porch shelters . . . a wide pool, dark with the bodies of frolicking children. What need had these people for dome-shaped holes in their canyon wall, holes that bore no evidence of recent use? Yet across the canyon on a flat-topped bluff stood a [712] fort; through the portholes in its masonry, the canyon could be defended from wall to wall—with help from these ledges.

726 714 With the battlefield a panorama below us it was easy to visualize the battles that had been fought on the canyon floor, Gentle Annie and others of her generation unwilling participants. In preparation, the Havasupai armor-bearers hastily scrambled into their armor—buckskin robes falling from their necks almost to the feet protecting the body front and rear, a wad of buckskin in the left hand to protect the face, a roll of it about the neck, the right hand free to wield hatchet or club. The shield-bearers, carrying strong wooden sticks from which buckskin aprons depended, accompanied the armor-bearers in the forefront of the battle or, in retreat, covered the rear. The shield-bearers were of particular importance, for the enemies' arrows clung to their buckskin shields or fell harmlessly from them. Armed men, crouched in the protection of these shields, sent their salvos against the enemy at every opportunity, while the armor-bearers clubbed and beat the invaders.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

to finish before dark. She was nervous about the weather, but wanted the new dress to wear to Sunday school, so went on with her work.

A hot wind blew through the canyon, bending the trees and swirling the sand about in clouds. Then came a breathless stillness. Vera threw her work aside, and ran out of doors. We followed. With a quick glance at the sky, the girl exclaimed, "Very bad storm up there, very bad!" Vera knew the canyon in all of its moods. She was terrified. So were we. Something sinister was brewing and our strip of sky did not tell us what to expect. If only we could see beyond the rim of that high canyon wall! Suddenly masses of black, heavy clouds boiled into view, rolling and tumbling ominously, the lower folds surging violently upward, those above shooting down in writhing, twisting masses. Through the blackness we caught occasional glimpses of a high greenish ceiling. What would the storm bring? If only wind, the walls would protect us; a hurricane could not negotiate so narrow a gorge; but if the clouds were loaded with water, we were in grave danger.

The topography of the surrounding country was against us; the plateau spread, like an open fan, to the south, the east and the west, forming a drainage area of hundreds of square miles which poured its water into our canyon. We didn't realize then that the indentations in the rimrock were old watercourses, which this drainage had cut through the outer limestone walls on its way to our chasm.

The stage was set for quick action. The clouds rolled and boiled, but in the canyon there was only stillness, pressing down. The big cottonwood leaves hung limp; the dead air warned of disaster. Then again came that inrush of hot air. The tension eased a little when big, misshapen drops hit the ground with vicious spats. The rain had come, but it was an unnatural rain that filled us with awe.

We retreated to the house and stood in the doorway watching the torrential downpour. Suddenly Vera burst into tears.

"Look! Look!" she cried, pointing to the high canyon wall back of the school building.

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

132 with laughter, released at once from the numbness of strain and fatigue.

We walked back to the buildings, admitting, with chagrin, that we would have been safer and drier had we never left them.

I took my camera and went out to get pictures of the rivers that still cascaded over the rim in five or six places between the school and the village. They were rapidly diminishing in size, but some of them drained in until late the following day.

731 The Indians' gardens and orchards that had been in the path of the main current were washed out and swept over the falls. The houses that stood on low ground were destroyed; however, the sagacity the Indians had acquired through long and bitter experience with floods enabled them to escape without the loss of a life, and with only minor losses of clothing. Each family had a crevice in the canyon walls that made a safe shelter. Here they set up temporary housekeeping.

I expected the children to appear for school Monday morning half-clothed, but only one pair of pants was missing. Six-year-old Dan, face clean, hair brushed and dripping wet, wore his uniform blouse, shoes and stockings, but no pants. He was a comical sight, but no one laughed.

133 731 The Indians warned us that nature would deal us another blow before we could settle down with our usual feeling of security—which wasn't very secure, after all. Many columns of stone stood out from the parent wall, separated from it by fissures in which water from rain or melting snow collected. Freezing weather turned the water into ice, increasing the pressure which widened the crack. This freezing and thawing, over a period of years, left the column unattached. A flood brought such sections tumbling down. This new danger was almost as exciting as the flood had been. It was always a gamble with us, not with the Indians, as to which section would topple over. The one directly back of the school building leaned out threateningly, but when I asked Bob for his opinion, he shook his head.

"Him no fall yet," he assured me, and since Vesnor agreed, we

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

continued our school sessions. The men pointed out another pillar, farther down the canyon, that endangered neither school nor village, that would come down "four suns, maybe five."

From the day of the flood, falling boulders and landslides had kept us in an unsettled state, but on the fourth day, as the men had predicted, the big column fell. It leaned out from the wall, toppled crazily, its center buckling, and burst apart with a roar as if the gorge itself had split open and was shaking itself to pieces. A bedlam of sound struck the angled walls to be tossed back, echoing and re-echoing until it seemed there would never be an end to it. We hurried down to view the ruin, arriving before the dust had settled, while the stones were still sliding over one another, groaning and grinding as they shifted to a lower level.

The Indians patiently repaired their houses, dried out the furnishings, rebuilt fences, replanted gardens and orchards. How many times in the past had they undertaken this same task, I wondered. I wondered, too, at the leisurely way they worked, stopping to gamble a little, to visit and make merry for awhile, or to eat food some neighbor brought. If a task could not be done one way, try another; if it could not be done today, try it tomorrow. They had never worked by a clock, nor permitted time to become their master, so they, as a people, remained cheerful, unhurried.

Portions of the Walapai trail had been wiped out. The Indian men, using their native methods with brush and stones, soon had it passable but dangerous, so we were greatly surprised when several men rode down from the plateau and stopped at the school. One of them, Mr. Jacobs, an engineer in charge of a surveying party on the government reserve, expressed his surprise in finding us alive and the buildings standing. He said, "We watched the storm from our camp a few miles back on the mesa. From there, it looked as if a cloudburst hit right in this canyon. We expected to find this place swept clean as a whistle."

According to his report and that of his men, our danger was as real as it had seemed. But now that it was over, I was prepared.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XIII

THE PEOPLE OF THE BLUE WATER AND THEIR HOME

OF no people of the Southwest, perhaps, has so much utter nonsense been written as of this interesting People of the Blue Water, the *pai* (people) of the *wuzu* (blue) *hahe* (water) — the Havasupais. As far as we know, Padre Garcés was the first white man to visit them in their Cataract Canyon home, and he speaks of his visit in his interesting Diary translated and annotated by the lamented Elliott Coues shortly before his death.

Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Ives, Captain Palfrey, Major J. W. Powell, Lieut. F. H. Cushing, and others in turn visited them, but very little was either known or written about them when, over a dozen years ago, I was conducted to their marvellously picturesque home by Mr. W. W. Bass, the well-known guide of the Grand Canyon.

The journey on that occasion was a remarkable one for me, as, though I was fairly well versed in the trails of the Grand Canyon (having then descended four of them), I had never seen such a trail as was the Topocobya Trail down which we descended late in the evening. Leaving our wagon, after sixteen miles' drive through the Kohonino Forest from Bass Camp, we packed food, blankets, and cameras on horses and burros, and, after two miles of travel in what in Western parlance is called

[pp. 1-198 not processed]

a "draw," the real head of the trail was reached. We walked in the closing dusk of day to the edge of the precipice and looked off to where our guide told us we must shortly be travelling. Far below, almost a thousand feet, without the sign of a trail, it seemed as if he must be hoaxing us. Soon, however, as we followed him, we found ourselves on a rocky shelf, and then began the most stupendous series of zigzags I had ever been on. Back and forth we wended, our trail a mere scratch on the rocky slope, here descending rugged steps, where a misstep meant sure and awful death. Higher and higher the walls rose around us; darker and darker grew the night; more weird and awesome the wind and weather carved figures sculptured on the sides and summits of the walls, and still down we went. At last we reached a vast cavernous-like place where Topocobya Spring is located. A small flow of water comes from the solid rock, and there we watered our horses and filled up our canteens prior to advancing on our seemingly never-ending descent. At last we reached the level, and there, lighting a fire, made camp and rested before penetrating farther into the deep and mystic recesses of the Havasupais. Early in the morning we began the farther descent. Mile after mile we traversed, first riding on the dry bed of the winter stream, then entering the narrower walls formed by the erosion of centuries through first one stratum of rock, then another. Now we were riding on a narrow shelf, on one side of which was a high wall, and on the other a deep, narrow ravine, in the bottom of which the erosive forces have cut a number of holes,—small troughs or bath tubs in the sandstone, where during the rainy season pools of delicious water may be found. In a short time

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 36 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

133 241 311 [487] [312]

342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again [291]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and
[137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep
132] the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of
491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer-
499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend
133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

down, the Cataract Canyon trail goes over a portion of this talus to avoid the creek, which has here crossed from the other side of the canyon and has become a rapidly flowing stream some two feet or more in depth. Attached to this talus is a large mass of solid concrete made of pebbles, rocks, and sand that have been washed down in the creek and made cohesive by the lime from the water. Here the canyon narrows again and the stupendous walls seem very near to the willow-fringed stream and the small fields. A few hundred feet farther it opens out again, and as one rides on the trail he gets exquisite views of the gray stone walls superposed on the red sandstones to the northwest. These gray and creamy sandstones, with their numerous and delicate tints and shades, afford most delightful contrasts to the glaring and monotonous red of the walls beneath. From this point we gain our first view of the so-called Havasupai stone gods, named by them "Hue-gli-i-wa," the story of which is told elsewhere.

These rocky pillars with their supporting walls seem as if they were once a part of a great wall that entirely spanned the canyon, the towers being sentinel outlooks to guard from attack both above and below. The portion of the wall to the right, as one descends the canyon, has been washed away, but the tower-crowned mass to the left still preserves a broad sweep into the very heart of the canyon as if it would bar all further progress. Following the sweep of this curve and passing the wall immediately underneath the outermost of the two towers, we view from the trail which ascends a mass of talus at this point another widened-out part of the canyon, which seems entirely covered with willows, here and there overshadowed by a few straggling cottonwoods.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Flatema Tumans NT14
Havasupai

133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
778 take place.
776 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the canyon from the Hue-gil-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

000 One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated
[648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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HAVASUPAI FORTRESS AND HUS-GLI-I-WA, OR ROCK FIGURES.

[facing p 206]

should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 1. Cataract Canyon, looking south from the old Apache trail. Twin monoliths, the Wegaleva, extend from the canyon wall at right. The Whitewall rises on the horizon in the distant background. The rock promontory, jutting from cliff in right foreground, has ruins of fortifications once used for defense against raiders.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [133]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 2. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wealeva at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

system on the north and west. From the top of the San Francisco Peaks to the bed of the Colorado River, and within a span of about 60 mi., there is a difference in elevation of roughly 10,000 ft. Elevations on the plateau are between 6000 and 7000 ft., while the Havasupai farmlands lie on the floor of Cataract Canyon at an elevation of 3200 ft. This altitudinal range is accompanied by a change in climate with significant differences in flora and fauna. 133

Geology

The geology of the Grand Canyon, which contains one of the most complete stratigraphic exposures on earth, is a striking feature, but beyond that it is of particular importance in relation to the water supply.

The Coconino Plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which exhibits some karst topography and is extremely pervious. The mountains to the south and east are mainly basalt, being of volcanic origin, and a number of smaller cinder cones dot the landscape. The San Francisco Peaks have no permanent surface streams draining from their slopes, and it has been speculated that subsurface drainage from this area may be one source of the springs which emerge from pervious geologic strata in Cataract Canyon.

The Cataract Canyon drainage system, one of the major tributaries of the Colorado River, drains a region roughly rectangular in shape, approximately 50 mi. wide and some 60 to 70 mi. long, comprising an area of about 3500 sq. mi. Its southern boundary extends from Mt. Floyd and Bill Williams Mountain on the west to the San Francisco Peaks on the east. The area includes a major part of the Coconino Plateau.

Although, in this semiarid climate, the thirsty soil with its struggling plant cover and the underlying pervious limestones of the plateau absorb much of the precipitation, the torrential rains and sudden winter thaws so characteristic of desert country produce flood conditions in the lower canyons, an ever threatening hazard for the Havasupai. [132]

The Cataract Canyon drainage system originates in shallow valleys and deeper arroyos eroding the surface Kaibab limestone. The trellis pattern of arroyos on the plateau channels all run off into two canyons, Lee's and Walapai, which are the major tributaries of Cataract Canyon. The two main horse trails entering Cataract Canyon also follow these two tributaries. [487]

Cataract Canyon is formed by a broad upper gorge defined by the massive Coconino sandstone standing in sheer walls 1000 ft. high. Locally designated the Whitewall(Fig. 1) this prominent cliff has a talus composed of the Hermit shale which gives way to the Esplanade, a broad shelf sloping gently to the rim of the canyon's inner gorge.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumana NT14
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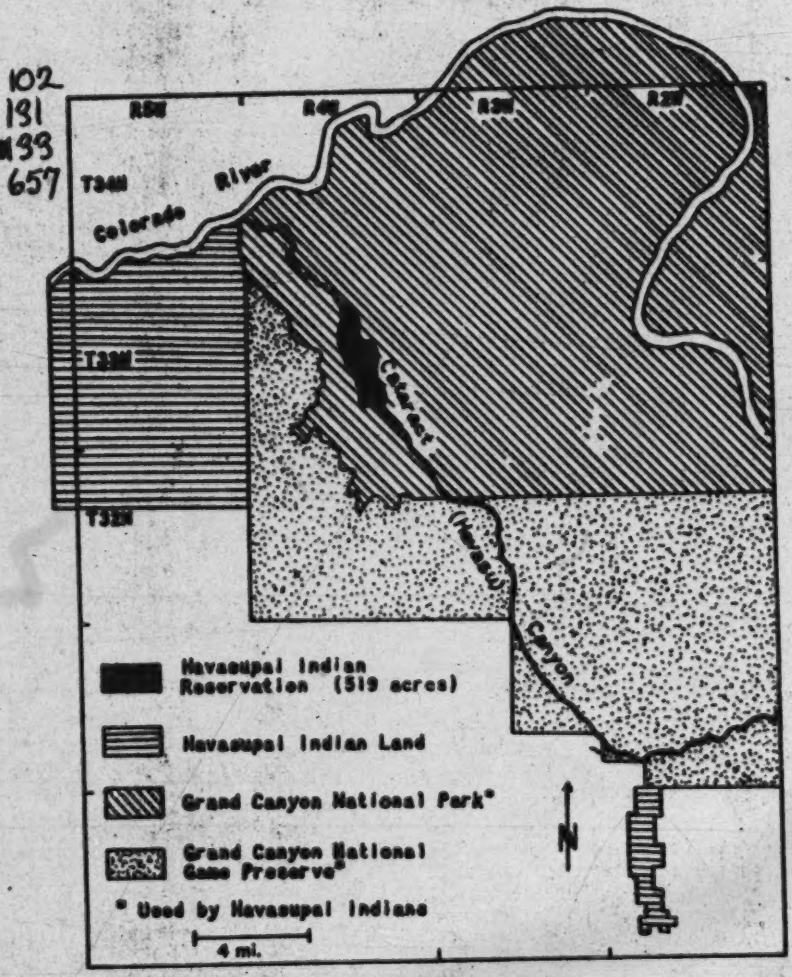

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below.

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The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers.

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Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasupai in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation.

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In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

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*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

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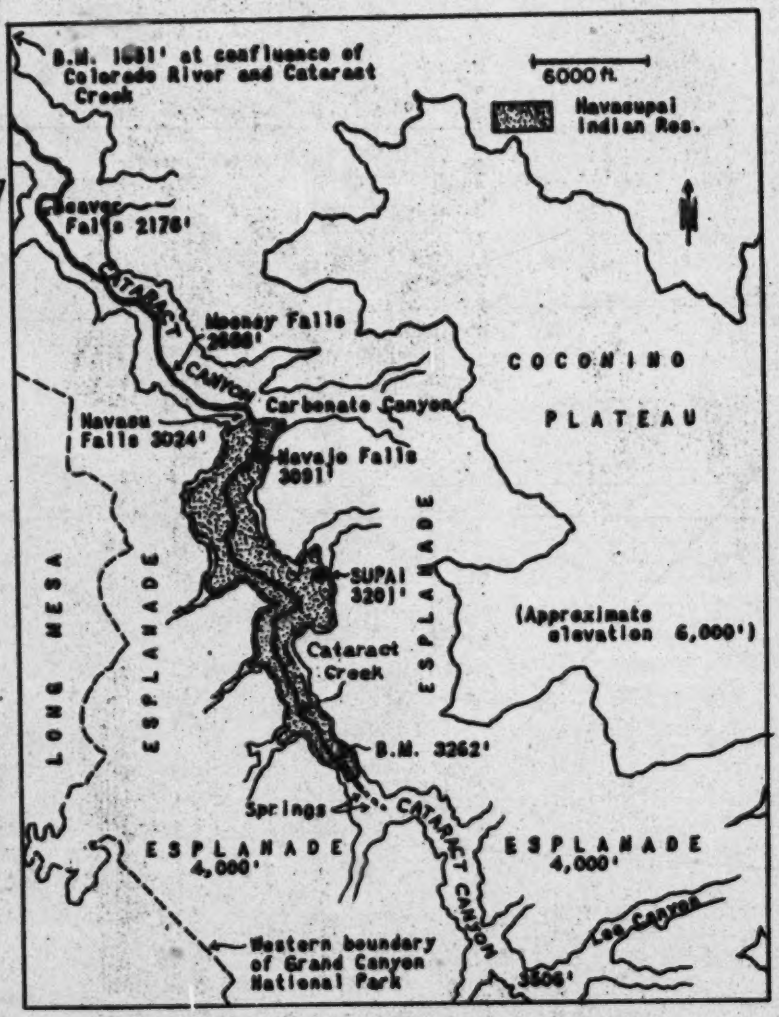

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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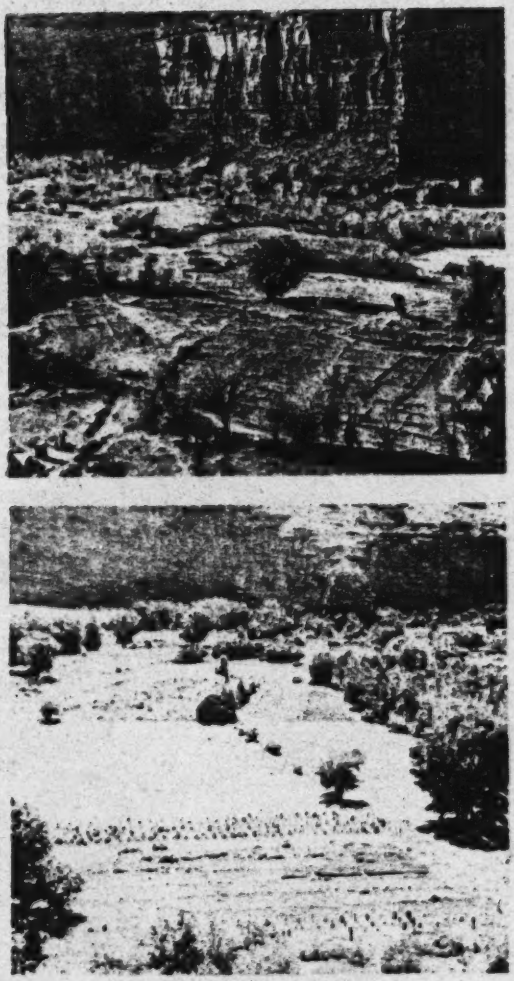

Fig. 6. Fields in Cataract Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

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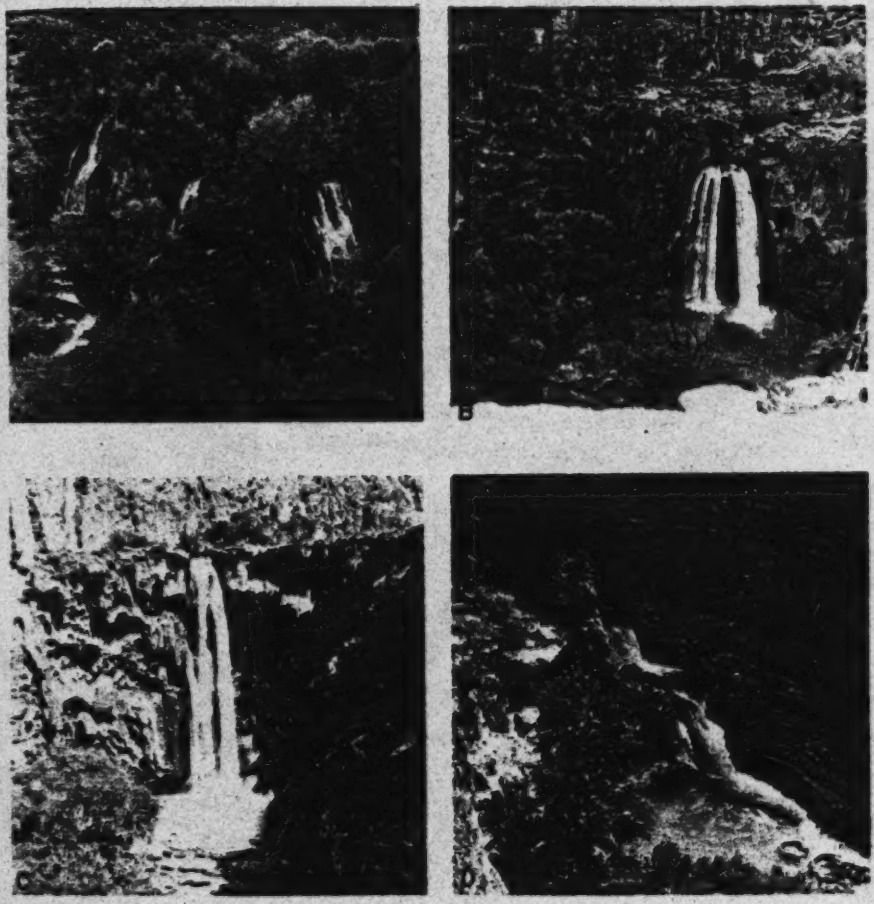

Fig. 7. Waterfalls below village. A, Navaho Falls, 80 ft. high. B, Havasu or Bridal Veil Falls, 110 ft. C, Mooney Falls, 220 ft. D, Beaver Falls, about 25 ft.

133 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled
731 melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a
[648] series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually
311 divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft.
731 fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation
648 boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the canyon floor. [372] Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. [276] Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

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Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A, Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B, Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C, Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

5:Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1940
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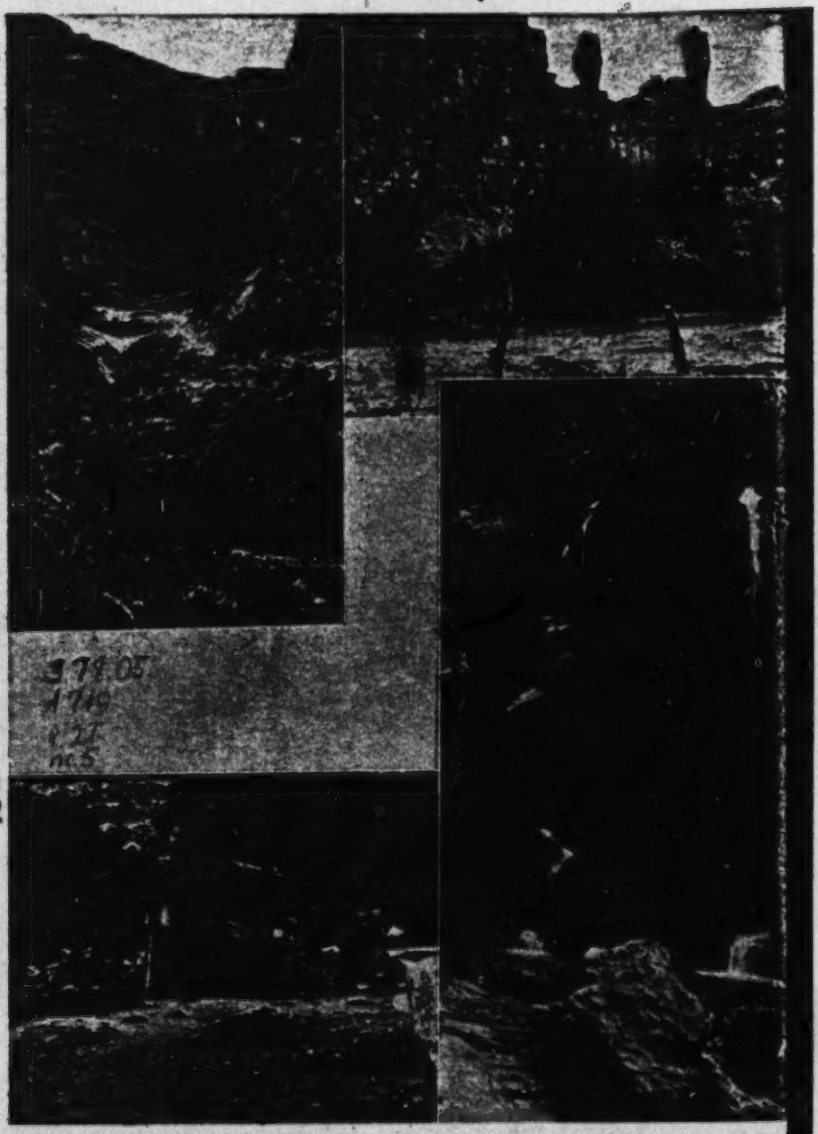

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Crematory Gulch in the lower "haunted" section of the canyon, where the dead were once cremated in the caverns along the sides of the gulch. Top right shows the Twin Gods opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai hogan and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall below Mooney Falls.

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The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [147]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

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Cataract Canyon viewed from the northwest.

[P.32]

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

1 I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come.

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown.

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians.

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for

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Mamie Chickapaniga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the lush reward for much tender care.

●133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of three magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

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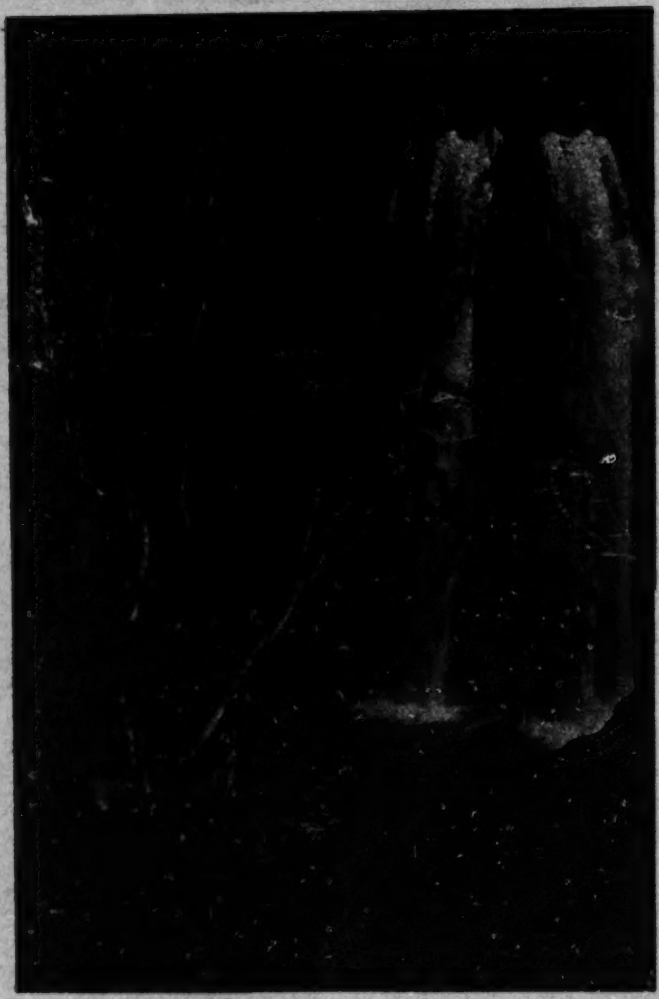

Havasu falls is the loveliest of the three cataracts over which Cataract Creek tumbles and is one of the most memorable sights in the Southwest.

[P.38]

11:Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 195 101 [342]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 195 [241] [385] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [133] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Ank'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 993

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw [291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a [133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses, [241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed [312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed [342] in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows [361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the 114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that [756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a [515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great [231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, [648] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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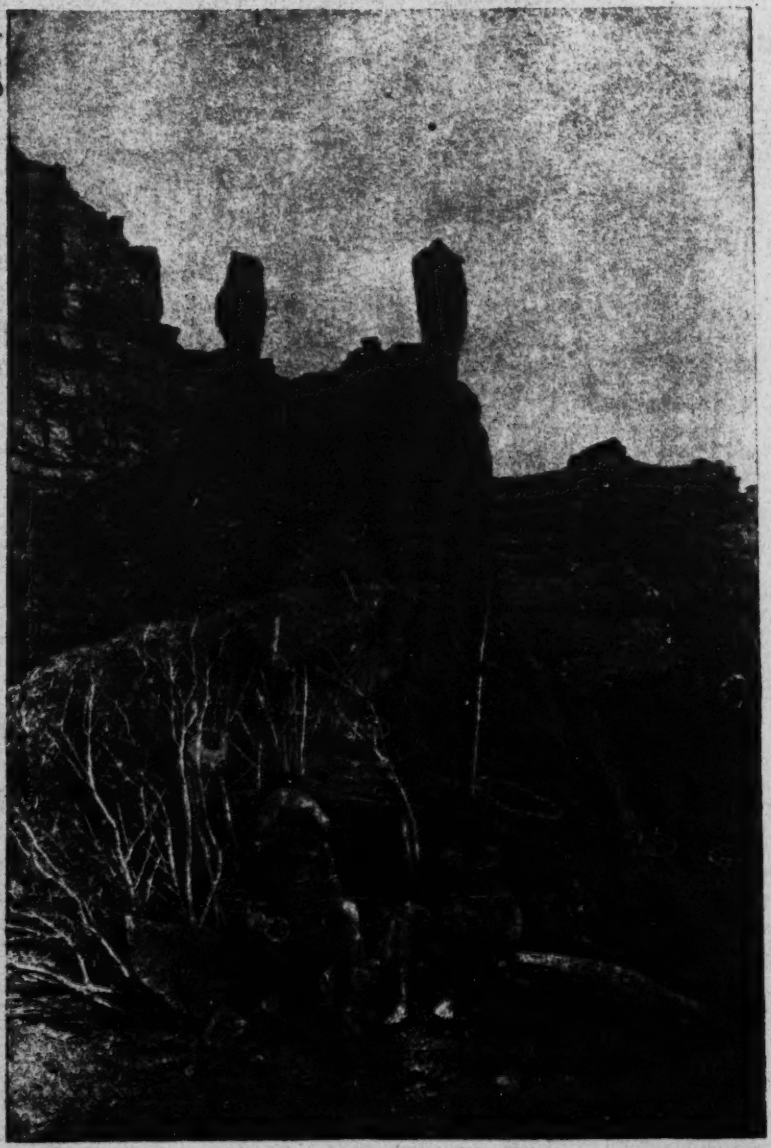

AN AGED PAIR OF HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

[p. 390 - A]

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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AN HAVEBU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

[p. 390 - B]

The Nation of the Willows. I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched
● 133 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as
241 we rode along the river trail. These
311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
342 Here and there were little cabins, or
361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our
609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[previous portion of this article not processed]

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

500 varieties. Upon this strange desert,
132 some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the
136 latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-pai," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cata-
●133 ract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime.
132 The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered
137 by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the
[273] material for the mescal, or *ak-na*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-supai, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and
[262] eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and
[P. 541B] October.

October. Quail and smaller birds, rabbits, squirrels, and a few burrowers constitute the sparse fauna, although along its unscaled cliffs still wanders the bighorn, or *Ovis montana*. No fish or aquatic animals, save the Gila monster and a few lizards, appear. Luxuriant vines and shrubbery; willows, cottonwoods; flags, tules, and other aquatic plants, with a marked absence of grasses, save a kind of cane along the river, and of flowering plants, with here and there the amole, or Spanish bayonet, and agave, — these make up the richly growing but unvaried flora.

Only two trails descend this cañon: the one from the southeast, — by which we entered, — with a southern branch, over which the cavalry had passed; the second from the southwest, winding and climbing through a maze of side cañons, a wonderful example of Indian engineering skill, unsurpassed in grandeur, difficulties, or dangers. The passage of either of these trails, especially of the latter, requires the greater part of the day. From the entrance at the head of the little side cañon, tending down from the southeastward, through which the first-described trail leads, forty turns are made, each one leading further downward, and revealing entirely new views of the indescribably grand and beautiful rock scenery. During all this passage of more than twenty miles, scarcely a place is encountered that a stone's-throw or an arrow-flight would not span, notwithstanding the depth gradually increases to three thousand feet. In some places the rocks overhang the traveler's head on either side, leaving only a narrow strip of sky, while at others the opening assumes a funnel shape: the gray lime sandstone, which forms the upper half of the rock walls, gradually slopes back a quarter of a mile, where it suddenly ascends in a rugged series of promontories, buttes, and cliffs; the red sandstone, which forms the immediate cañon-border, more obdurate, re-

487
133 tains its primitive narrowness and angular beauty, only here and there worn by the blasts of rain and wind and sand. These features are characteristic until the last turn reveals a bending plain, in no place exceeding half a mile in width, formed by the junction of the lesser southwestern cañon with the main southeastern, and reinforced by the wearing of the emerging river for ages, — and this is the sandy, loamy plain where the Ha-va-su-pai or Kuhni kwe dwell,
133 and the groves of cottonwood and willows grow. Below the little village,
[361] which numbers about thirty-five huts, are four beautiful cataracts, from which the stream derives its American name. The first two are inconsiderable, although beautiful, sheltered as they are
[137] by thrifty, irregular growths of cottonwood and willow, the forms of which are reflected, and torn into a thousand fragments of green and silver, by the rippling, boiling, surging, rushing waters. The geologic history of these two is repeated in a third and grander fall, a mile or two below the head of the village. Huge rocks have tumbled down to the very water's edge from the cliffs on either side, which here almost meet each other, leaving only a broken path on the eastern bank, difficult for the passage even of foot travelers. The unaided waters have built for their own adornment a horseshoe-shaped, overhanging dam of carbonate of lime, three hundred feet in height, filling in the basin above, to the very surface of the pool, with a confused jumble of petrified trees, mosses, ferns, flags, and what not, preserving only one deep, narrow, serene channel through the middle. And from their stony, dead ancestry spring ever fresh trees, mosses, ferns and flags; their rootlets and dead leaves continually changing to stone, their branches shooting upward to form a network so green and massive that it hides the waters which are at once their life and destruction. Over the top and very

● 133 edge of this rock-wall springs a dense grove of cottonwoods and willows, with branches so abundant and green and high that they challenge the blue, cloudless sky, which only here and there peeps through them into the waters. The whole Kuhni River spouts forth in a mass of snow and crystal blue from out this marvelous verdure, sprinkling the leaves with its spray in its downward course, — leaves which reveal only now and then the red and yellow of the rock-wall to which they cling. It flattens itself, splits, midway down, on a huge stalagmite of its own making, and sinks into the vast green pool at the bottom, one mass of spray and foam and mist. It is useless to try to paint these falls, with their crown of perennial verdure, their three hundred feet of crystal glory, their footstools of eternal, circling rainbows, which sink far into the clear green depths of the fathomless pools, or rise on the clouds of mist, and turn to ashes and lime on the leaves of the trees around them. You descend a series of niches cut into the vertical rock-wall, and, after slipping and grappling, and covering yourself with lime, skinning your shins and nose, and meditating for a moment on eternity, you find yourself at the bottom. A huge side-cañon comes in from the right, and, joining the main one, widens your view. But what care you for sky and clouds? Are you not face to face with a fairy grotto under the falls, white as snow and streaked with red and yellow? Are you not among the rainbows, even holding your breath to count the glories around you?

[497]

You turn your face from all this, cross the stream on a crust of lime bridging it below the pool, climb a great mound of fallen rocks under the shadow of thick, lime-frosted trees, and make your way with difficulty along the deep, narrow, almost straight, but impetuous channel of the river, through a low, tangled forest, for a mile or two, when you

●133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-paí a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-paí are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

/97/

The Havasupai

133 [131] The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] 487 To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor 131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an 133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

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1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotŧunína, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the
197 parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.
174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.
[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

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8. The Sun and His Daughters

●[133] [Sunset Crater National Monument, the vivid cinder cone of a volcano that erupted in the 11th century A. D., is located several miles northeast of Flagstaff, Arizona, on the southeastern edge of the former, aboriginal range of the Havasupai.]

The sun used to live at Sunset Crater, its home. Tribes used to gather around Sun's home and play games. Tribes played with Sun; Sun was the hero and always won. They played the sixteen-stick game. The tribes kept betting a little bit of hair on their bodies at a time until they lost all their bodies. Sun used them for meat. He made prickly pear cactus red fruit from the blood of animals. He used tears for drinking water. He took the liquid from inside the eyeball and made corn from it. He made beans from the kidney. He used this method to get food to feed men when the tribes gathered to play games. He gets the guts and makes dried pumpkin (the way it was cut [in strips,] for storage). He took meat from people and made deer meat from it. He fed them this food, called different tribes to games, and beat them until he killed all the tribes but one from the north rim [of Grand Canyon], the lion. The ground was higher on the north rim, and he looked toward Flagstaff. The lion could see smoke from a fire built by Coyote who built a fire in the brush they lived under. Then Coyote could get them and eat them (muskrats, ground squirrels, small ground animals, about the size of a mouse). The lion kept watching, and went across the canyon to see what Coyote was eating. He crossed on this side of Red Lake. [Near the present Williams, Arizona-Grand Canyon highway.] A large village was there. He went to house after house but all were empty. He found no human being, just one old coyote (always a man, and he always made him cook). The lion approached him by sneaking up to see what Coyote was doing. The lion watched from outside. Coyote lay inside a house like he was starving, snapping at the flies that came around on his face. The lion asked where everyone was. Coyote said, "There is no one here but me. I built all this village myself and am alone here." Lion said, "This can't be true because I have seen (feces) from babies wrapped up in the trees." Coyote said, "No, this is all from me, all my (feces)." Lion knew Coyote was lying and asked Coyote to tell him the truth, but Coyote kept insisting he was the only one around and no other people lived there. The lion said, "Well, if you said you are by yourself, give me some food to eat." Coyote said, "I am hungry. I've got nothing to eat. I'm starving."

311 [231] were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer [131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls. [135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mohn Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure [657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1893 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There was no letup in the heat. It was reflected from the walls in visible waves. Work in the classroom was almost unendurable. Heads nodded sleepily when the hot, still air in the low-ceilinged room became heavy with the smell of campfire smoke and sweat. There had been several sudden, pelting rains that passed quickly, leaving the air momentarily fresh and sweet and a little cooler. Now, we watched our narrow strip of sky for clouds, hoping for another shower. Even the occasional cool breeze that swept through the canyon lost its coolness when it came in contact with our torrid walls, so the nights, too, were hot.

Out under the cottonwood in our front yard, hung a weather-beaten hammock. Night after night Frances and I had tried to sleep in our poorly ventilated, sultry room; so one night I moved out under the tree. I found that making a bed in the tippy contraption was something out of my line, but managed to hold things down until I got in. It was like riding a bucking bronco; the more I struggled to maintain my balance, the more the bed tipped.

The commotion brought faint, squeaking protests from the tree; the small creatures that lived there resented the intrusion. We had amused ourselves many times trying to locate the bats sleeping among the leaves during the day, but I was to have a nocturnal view. At first, a thin squeaking line flew off into the darkness. Then the entire colony rose from the tree, soaring about on kitelike wings, to begin their nocturnal foraging. As if they had held a conference and agreed on the strategy, they swooped down, their bony wings brushing my face and hair. I was outmaneuvered and ran indoors.

The next day was a holiday, dry and hot as any day had been that summer. For a brief space in the afternoon the sunshine grew dim and watery; then, again, hot and bright. A change in weather was impending. We scanned our narrow strip of sky and hoped for one of those refreshing showers. There was only a hazy sky, and now again that peculiar misty sunlight.

Vera, one of the older schoolgirls, had come from the village to make a dress for herself on a school machine, and was hurrying

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time. 526 231

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their 515 515 136

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

515 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say,
136 I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in
[462] my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows
[137] suitable for this work.

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt. 252 262 [263]

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses. [272]

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants. 273

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance 136 ● 223 411

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

223 411 of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

136 At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

224 Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

[103]

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

The Nation of
THE WILLOWS.
II

varieties. Upon this strange desert, some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-paí," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cataract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime. The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the material for the mescal, or *ak-na*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-su-paí, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and October.

[P. 541B]

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136 October. Quail and smaller birds, rabbits, squirrels, and a few burrowers constitute the sparse fauna, although along its unscaled cliffs still wanders the bighorn, or *Ovis montana*. No fish or aquatic animals, save the Gila monster and a few lizards, appear. Luxuriant
137 vines and shrubbery; willows, cottonwoods; flags, tules, and other aquatic plants, with a marked absence of grasses, save a kind of cane along the river, and of flowering plants, with here and there the amole, or Spanish bayonet, and agave, — these make up the richly growing but unvaried flora.

487 Only two trails descend this cañon:
133 the one from the southeast, — by which we entered, — with a southern branch, over which the cavalry had passed; the second from the southwest, winding and climbing through a mass of side cañons, a wonderful example of Indian engineering skill, unsurpassed in grandeur, difficulties, or dangers. The passage of either of these trails, especially of the latter, requires the greater part of the day. From the entrance at the head of the little side cañon, tending down from the southeastward, through which the first-described trail leads, forty turns are made, each one leading further downward, and revealing entirely new views of the indescribably grand and beautiful rock scenery. During all this passage of more than twenty miles, scarcely a place is encountered that a stone's-throw or an arrow-flight would not span, notwithstanding the depth gradually increases to three thousand feet. In some places the rocks overhang the traveler's head on either side, leaving only a narrow strip of sky, while at others the opening assumes a funnel shape: the gray lime sandstone, which forms the upper half of the rock walls, gradually slopes back a quarter of a mile, where it suddenly ascends in a rugged series of promontories, buttes, and cliffs; the red sandstone, which forms the immediate cañon-border, more obdurate, re-

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arizona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five. 131 133

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow 133 137 [241]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamissa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and piñon trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

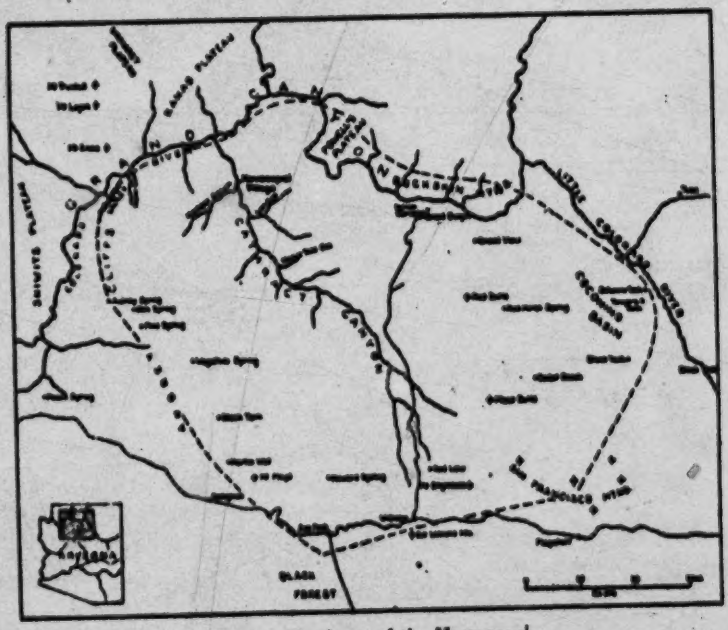

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains
132 (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[Text continues on p. 94]

Schiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumsm NT14
Havasupai

While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

482
291

Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Pick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

137
412
415
262

American Museum of Natural History

[p.116 0]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

fragile as old lace. Branches of trees, roots and trailing vines, heavily encrusted with mineral, hung over and almost concealed the entrances to the caves. We broke off some of these and found the wood, in some instances, still green and alive underneath.

As we continued down the trail we rode to the rim again and again, unable to resist the wild beauty of our river, roaring with such violence through its narrow gorge.

We passed Crematory Gulch, a western branch of our canyon where the Indians had cremated their dead before accepting the practice of burying in a canyon nearer the school. A former employee once told me that he had visited Crematory Gulch and was surprised to find large Navaho blankets, undamaged by fire, medicine gourds, saddles and, most gruesome of all, the partly burned club of a man's graying hair. He fully realized the danger of desecrating an Indian cemetery, but slipped away with a shaman's gourd rattle. At the time he told me of his venture, he was hoping for an opportunity for a second visit, but whenever he made the attempt, an Indian appeared with disconcerting suddenness, and stood, watching, until he gave up the quest.

We rode to the brink to look down on Mooney Falls where the river roared in a solid column over a ledge higher than Niagara. The noise of its crash into the foaming pool below was deafening; the picture it made, hundreds of feet below us, was like a bit of toyland. Mineral accretions were plastered, like the halves of umbrellas, against the sides of the precipice. I knew that just below our feet were the dangling remains of the frail Indian ladder down which Lanoman and his friends had tenderly lowered his young wife to her funeral pyre. There, too, rested the bones of James Mooney, a sailor turned prospector, who with a few companions had tried to descend below the falls to locate abandoned mines, about which he had heard such fantastic tales. The rope they lowered over the precipice had been too short, and Mooney, the first to make the descent, fell to his death. As a tribute to his memory, white people gave the falls his name, but the Indians continued to use "Mother of the Waters." I thought of those two,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and
137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep
132 the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of
491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer-
499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend
133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

515 136 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say, I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 [462] Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows [137] suitable for this work.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the canyon floor. [372] Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. [276] Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topdcoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

THE HAVASUPAI

silla, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his 422
possessions independently.

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually 492
has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips.

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with 241
stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running [215]
from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land.

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when re- [108]
munerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot 241
and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with 412
a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a [237]
horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds.

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; 241
even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted.

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six [137]
inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the 251
roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use.

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

12: Cushing E-4 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

THE NATION OF The Willows. II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

175 More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which is still retains.

131 The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, pifions, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many

● [137] varieties.

[P. 541 A]

[pp. 376 – 540 not processed

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of
THE WILLOWS.
II

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[P. 542A]

[87] tains its primitive narrowness and an-
133 gular beauty, only here and there worn by the blasts of rain and wind and sand. These features are characteristic until the last turn reveals a bending plain, in no place exceeding half a mile in width, formed by the junction of the lesser southwestern cañon with the main southeastern, and reinforced by the wearing of the emerging river for ages, — and this is the sandy, loamy plain where the Ha-va-su-pai or Kuhni kwe dwell,
133 and the groves of cottonwood and willows grow. Below the little village,
[36] which numbers about thirty-five huts, are four beautiful cataracts, from which the stream derives its American name. The first two are inconsiderable, although beautiful, sheltered as they are
[37] by thrifty, irregular growths of cottonwood and willow, the forms of which are reflected, and torn into a thousand fragments of green and silver, by the rippling, boiling, surging, rushing waters. The geologic history of these two is repeated in a third and grander fall, a mile or two below the head of the village. Huge rocks have tumbled down to the very water's edge from the cliffs on either side, which here almost meet each other, leaving only a broken path on the eastern bank, difficult for the passage even of foot travelers. The unaided waters have built for their own adornment a horseshoe-shaped, overhanging dam of carbonate of lime, three hundred feet in height, filling in the basin above, to the very surface of the pool, with a confused jumble of petrified trees, mosses, ferns, flags, and what not, preserving only one deep, narrow, serene channel through the middle. And from their stony, dead ancestry spring ever fresh trees, mosses, ferns and flags; their rootlets and dead leaves continually changing to stone, their branches shooting upward to form a network so green and massive that it hides the waters which are at once their life and destruction. Over the top and very

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kolfunína, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 199 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

174 144 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separation must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields, the boys and girls at work or play in the village, and the men in the sweathouse. The afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweathouse or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping.[8] Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 101; 1902, 163; 1903, 200; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 170; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 339). When the mothers are principally old women, as in the case, the figure is too high; for according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their survival.)
[4] Hrdlička, (a), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Garcés, 341; Cushing, 340; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172. 161 174

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll. 163

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

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[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 100). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because in counting to observe the youngest children of such women would more frequently ignore among the older sisters than the elder. (The longer the roster of the children's life the greater the chance of there being other children.)
[4] Hrdlička, (a), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the wheels of the ear is common.
[6] Garcés, 341; Cushing, 340; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

2:Hiff Y-S (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumaas NT14
Havasupai

Manakadja, late chief of the Havasupai, father of the present chief

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Old Ute, a Havasupai, blind in one eye, guided us over trailless country to the junction of the Havasu and Colorado Rivers

[p. 116E]

2-Iliff T-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tennessee NT14
Hawaiian

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Policeman Vesnor, whose somber eyes reflect the iron will and fearlessness of primitive tribal life, had been healed by the Great Healer. Later, when a very old man, he was converted to the Christian religion

[p. 116J]

2:Hi6f Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumuru NT14
Havasupai

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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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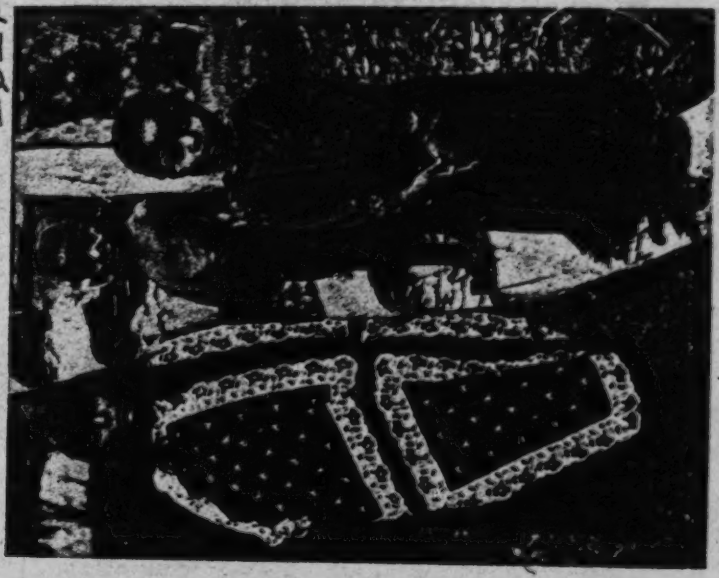

A Family Group of Havasupais.

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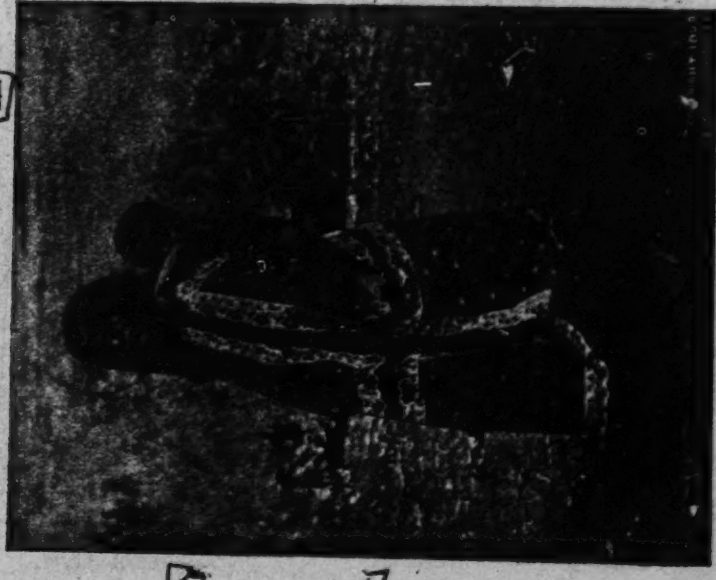

Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-[who's] son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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LAHOMAN'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHAMCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EDUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

3-James T-5 (ca.1909) 1912
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Bottle, with Brine, used for Water.

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Rock Joist, Leading Musicians Man of Hawaiians.

[Facing p. 256]

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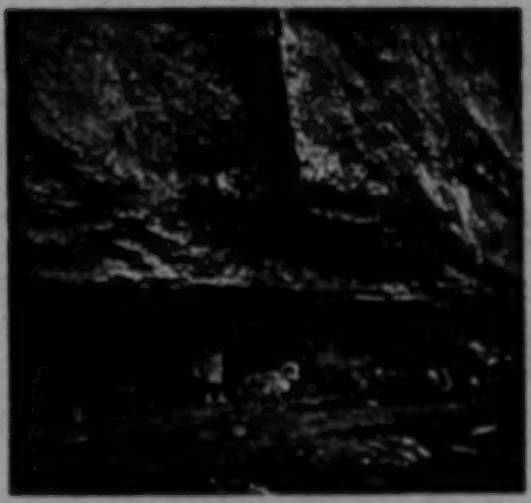

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Fig. 5. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Hyde.

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Smyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Littlewave inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

4: Smithsonian X-8 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumana NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins. Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B. Tommy Hyzjk, age two years. C. Rose Pays, age six, with doll in toy cradle-board made for small girls.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumana NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 19. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Upshaw and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tamana NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A. Linda Chick, age 13. B. Neil Upshie, age 12. C. Lorena Marshall, age 17. D. Bert Jones, age 18.

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

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The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

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The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

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Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

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Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumana NT14
Havasupai

Fig. 18. Maturity. A. Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B. Jack Jones, age 34. C. Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D. Ethel Zuck, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

Fig. 14. Old age. A, Ngui Harry Mbaiyo, about 74. B, Allen Akaba, about 74. C, Ilmenkidi, age 84. D, Ngui Mary Wanangwine, age 88. Both Ilmenkidi and Ngui Mary are now deceased. Allen is a chieftain, and official adviser to the youthful head chief.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14d Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putsavy, Lina Mitiowa, Minnie Chink (last two photographs).

4: Smithsonian E-5 (1951-1968) 1989 NT14 Photocopy Permanent NT14
Newsprint

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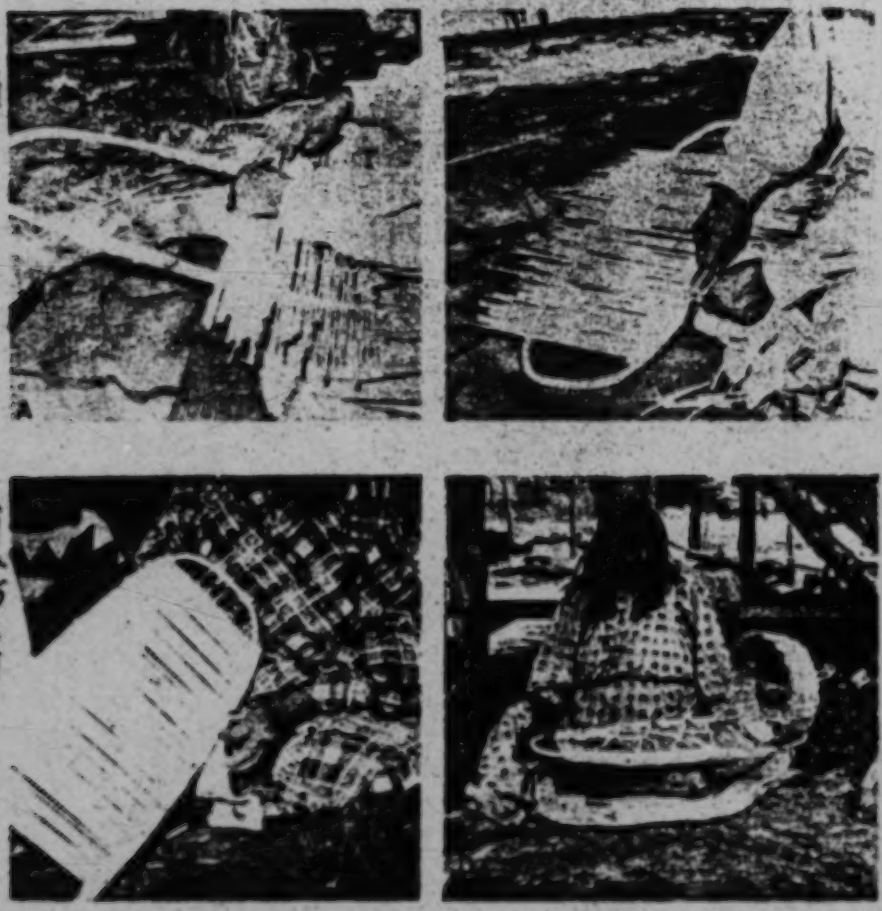

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Fig. 12. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A. Binding willow slats to oval frame. B. Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C. Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D. Line lithtowel displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

4: Smithson. Z-S (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Pimoan Tumuno NT14
Hawaiian

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Fig. 23. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Pelawy prepares green corn for Johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chink grinds dried and parched corn.

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Minnie Chickapooga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the lush reward for much tender care.

133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of these magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 (412) (177) (655) (463) (762)

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 (101)

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

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Reed Watchemoigin was once the only Indian postmaster in the United States. His gentle smile is typical of most of the Havasupais.

[P.41B]

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

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Havasupai ('bluegreen waterpeople'). A small [illegible]d tribe of the Yuman stock

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(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in n.

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w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. i, 82, 1856) was informed in 1856 that the "Cosninas" seamed from the

[P.537 B]
[P.537 A not processed]

[P.538A]

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131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on
[172] the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed
361 early occupancy by them. Their present
342 village, composed of temporary cabins or
131 shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s.
142 of the Grand cañon. The Havasupai are well formed, though of medium
105 stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datils and mescal; in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the Nation of the Willows.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-pai men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are

[P.545 A]

small, though admirably formed, with noticeably large knee-joints, which, being more developed inside than out, almost touch in walking. The feet are small and well-shaped, but are very large-jointed in the old. Hair is permitted to grow, as with white people, about the chest and armpits, and sometimes a slight mustache is cultivated by the young, while a considerable tendency to beard is frequent with old men. The eyebrows are not marked; but the hair of the head is long, soft, abundant, and a beautiful glossy raven or brown-black. With boys it is kept closely cut, with the exception of a very small tuft at the crown, five to seven inches in length, looking not unlike the plume of the California quail, which I believe it imitates. Their features correspond so nearly to those of the Pueblo Indians, especially the Zuñi, as to make the resemblance in some cases personal, the greatest variety of expression being seen. The heads are short and round, or brachycephalic; foreheads very low and sloping, the supraorbital arch being notably prominent; faces broad at cheek-bones, which, though really quite flat, appear prominent. A rather constant type of face among them is, in common with the Amazonian, decidedly Mongolian. Their noses are straight or slightly aquiline, rather broad, with somewhat heavy nostrils; their eyes small, bright when good, and very prominent in the sockets. They are not, however, generally as good as those of the plains Indians, cases of partial and total blindness being common, due, probably, to the glaring rock-walls and whitish sandy bottom of their cañon. The ears are well shaped and small; the mouths are large, with only moderately thin lips, the upper generally slightly overhanging the lower. The chin recedes slightly, and the face is well marked with deep wrinkles, especially between the eyebrows and around the eyes; deep lines extend from the nostrils to the corners of the

12: Cushing F-5 (1881) 1882
MT14 Plateau Tumana MT14
Ha-va-su-pai

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and
181 somewhat vivacious, most affectionate
609 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a
181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control
152 themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

[P 546 A]

/98 cont./

101 water; vasó, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kokínina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence 771 came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only. 174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa- 144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

● [142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. §43 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [849]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1938, 377, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. §43 §25 [955] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. §45 [824]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 166.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Stuart.[6]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 191; 1897, 162; 1903, 320; 1905, I, 190; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 2020). If too the mothers are presumably old women, as in that case, the figure is too high. In order to correct to observe the younger children of such women would more frequently appear among the older women than the older. (The longer the roster of the children's list the greater the chance of their to other [illegible, ed., 1].
[4] A peculiar configuration of the wheels of the ear is common.
[5] Cases, 241; Cushing, 840; Stuart, 418.
[6] See also Spier [illegible].

/98 cont./

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841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

● 145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassement both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ǎhu k'íga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 338). Blood was recorded as ǎhuǎ'i and red as ǎhuǎ'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
862 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1933, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food.

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a mass of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so.

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth.

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms.

All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people. 622 156

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him. 526 [142] [177]

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature. 147 526

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated 291 281

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again.

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still.

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground.

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively.

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes.

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly.

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River.

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Tor,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pinon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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A knotted cord or quipu (*ñtkwaxk'ipá*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 20, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

805 211 648

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

211

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

823

north	*mtáv'gá*
west	*xyatáqwet* (sun's setting place)
south	*kaw'vigá*
east	*xyáčja'tkwé* (sun's rising place)
zenith	*amáv'gá* or *tuiatáv'gá* (*middle of the sky*)
nadir	*matváčá* or *ámtáv'gá* (*middle of the ground*)

The place where the speaker is (*ámtáta"walyt'g*, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

822 151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágá or *hyáčj*	black
hyaw'gá	brown
ákwó'tgá	red
gwakaw'gá	pink
ágwáčg	yellow
nyámá'vá	white
vaaáwá	blue-green
vahaačgá (?)	blue
vahaatčáv'gá	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Stephen, 94, 208); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Voth, [a], 53). That of the Pima is apparently a temporal one is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, [1], 72). The San Carlos Apache recites in this the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, [2], 7.)

[1911]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

822 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course
151 recognize and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (s,ɛdɛ̨d) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the
171 Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains,
805 and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North
✗ American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

Some suggested identities among the constellations recognized by
171 tribes in this area follow[4].
821

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand + to some)
		Begins year November or September				Begins year November
		Buzzard (in third month)				
		January or November				
		Cliff (in fourth month)				Coyote (in second (month)
		December?				December
						Cold star (Perseus?)
						February

[1] Cope, map 5.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 88.
[3] Curtemier, 226; Spier, (c), 247. Cope shows the Yavapai year (called Tonto), marked by seed-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but seed-gathering coincides with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño seem in element with the solstitial type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns short.
[4] Du Bois, (c), 166, 244; Waterman, footnote 96; Spier, (c), 219, 247; Tripod, 276; Curtemier, 226.

Their perceptive faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
●151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usual-
[522] ly obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
090 the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

12: Cushing I-5 (1882) 1892
MT14 Flatears Tumans MT14
Havasupai

The
18| women excel the men in such dexterity,
469 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[324 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a verandah; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [871]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

their love of excitement undoubtedly would prompt them to find some other way to keep the village astir and themselves interested.

Long after the dispute was settled, Billy's wife's reiteration, "I too mad," stayed with me. It helped me to appreciate the basic honesty of these children of nature: no soft words covered angry thoughts; no smile hid a broken heart. They expressed their emotions, with zest and energy and, if the occasion required, with violence, as did the Bear, the Coyote and the Deer who, from the Days of Old, had taught the Havasupai the wisdom they themselves had gleaned from the wilderness when time was young.

727 It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were
162 grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

648 Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

712 We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

713 High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the
823 Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

3:James T-S (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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541
525 is not so much difference after all in human nature, when one penetrates below the surface. The reserved Englishman, the excitable Italian, the vivacious Frenchman, and the so-called stupid and stolid native aboriginal American exhibit exactly the same traits of character under the excitement of a horserace. But in Havasu Canyon the conditions are quite different from Ascot, Doncaster, or Newmarket. Here are bucks dressed in the breech-clout and excitement, and women [291] gesticulating and waving their si-dram'-as (our large flaming red or other "loud" colored bandannas, fastened over the shoulders and across the breast). [152] Some suppress their excitement, others jabber like monkeys, and as the horses come to the starting-point there is just as much talking and din as after the start is made. One distinct feature is that many horses are raced without riders. They seem to understand, and when the signal to "let go" is given they dart off at full speed, just as if riders were on their backs urging them forward. Compared with our finely bred, beautifully chiselled horses, such as one sees, or used to see, in Lucky Baldwin's or the late Senator Stanford's stables, what ragged, scrawny, wretched creatures these are; and yet when they run how they surprise you, how those ugly limbs seem to limber up, and those sleepy eyes gain fire!

Gambling at these races is carried to an extraordinary extent. Men, women, and children alike gamble all they possess, or even hope to possess. This gambling spirit has grown wonderfully in the past few years, for, during the Kohot Navaho's lifetime he constantly used his powerful influence to discourage it.

Gambling, unfortunately, is not confined merely to

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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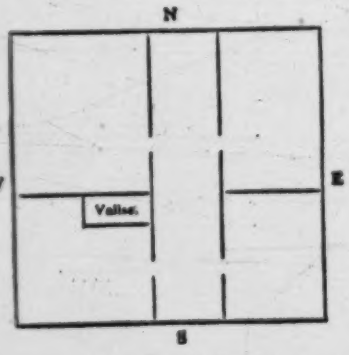
wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal dread of the camera.

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
194 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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796 123 After a formal introduction to all the chiefs and their approval given to my being accepted as Hotouta's brother and a fellow chief with him in the tribe of the Havasupais, the dance began. This is how it was conducted.

796 The "evangelist" sang over a strain of a new song. A dozen or so of the leaders took it up, and as soon as they were fairly familiar with it, the others joined in. Then the women took a hand, literally as well as figuratively, for they came in and separated the men, interlocking the fingers, midway between the first and second knuckle joints, standing shoulder to shoulder, and enlarging the group until a complete circle was formed. Then, with a side shuffling motion, moving one foot to 796 the left and following it rapidly but rhythmically with ● 152 the other, the while lustily and seriously singing the song they had just learned, the dance continued,—a dull, monotonous, sleep-producing ceremony, until the onlooker was awakened by manifestations he little expected to see at an Indian thanksgiving dance. Very often it occurs that women of the tribe are affected with a somewhat similar excitement to that which seizes the negro when he has "the power." With a shriek, the woman hysterically leaps within the circle made by the dancers, and howls and shouts and dances and jumps, and then, perhaps, throws herself in a heavy stupor upon the ground. Some will run to the centre post, and, hanging on with one or both hands, will swing rapidly around until they fall exhausted to the ground. When the male members tire of seeing these excitable females upon the ground, they unostentatiously step up to the prostrate figures, seize their long thick hair, swing it over the shoulder, and thus proceed to

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to."

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future.

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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the East, is deemed the only appropriate gear in which to meet the dread summons to Shi-pa-pu. When life is extinct the dressed-up body is wrapped in the best blanket the hawa affords, and is then ready for the period of wailing and mourning. Relatives and friends of the deceased come and sit in the hawa, and as the spirit moves them they raise their voices in lamentation, or, singing the bravery, the daring, the good deeds of the deceased, ask for him a safe journey to the dread secret places of the underworld. Nothing can be more doleful than to hear these sad lamentations in the dead of the night. All is still, except the never-silent stream which steadily keeps up its murmur as it flows over the stones. Otherwise the very Angel of Silence seems to be brooding over the scene, for the babble of the creek merely accentuates the nearly perfect stillness. Suddenly a loud, long, minor wail rises from the hawa in the midst of the willows, and one feels that he can see the sound ascend to the heights of these enclosing walls, striking here and there, and then rebounding to opposing walls, until the canyon is full of voices, wailing one against the other and making a spirit chorus of infinite sadness and distress. The imagination unconsciously suggests that these echoing wails are the sympathizing spirit voices of men and women — former inhabitants of this canyon of the willows — who have come to weep with those who weep for their dead loved ones.

There is no fixed period for this wailing, but as soon as it is satisfactorily concluded the body is tenderly thrown across the best horse owned by the deceased, if a man, — or ridden by her, if a woman, — and, accompanied by other animals conveying some of his or her most desirable treasures, is taken to the burial or burn-

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

421 562 [221]

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with
[481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather
[515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

● 152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and
181 somewhat vivacious, most affectionate
609 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children,
[578] if they are themselves approached. They are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with
181 their tongues, and then only to resent a
152 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

They never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Throughout his life he had been well regarded, and during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision. [203]

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
●152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 535 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The 765 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the ●152 boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

765 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*wwsédga*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess, to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kdpdd'dtdtópiga*, "It is hard to say." [201]

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tásmdáji̇ga*, *gwétásmd'dji̇ga*, cf. *smága*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 314, footnote.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
191 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
●153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

889 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neigh-
736 boring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just de-
[145] scribed, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair,
[481] and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate
[153] and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they
[562] do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Their perceptive faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-paí, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usual-
[522] ly obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
080 the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

[CR 547 A]

Shiff Y-5 (ca. 1991) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter [512] were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

his mind was fumbling for words. "One day Jesus come. Stand by bed. All white. Dress, everything all white. Shine like sun. He say pretty quick get well. He go 'way. I get well quick."

That was all. Vesnor had no more to tell. Perhaps he saw the astonishment in my face, for his thoughts recoiled and tucked themselves away in a secret place back of his inscrutable eyes. My imagination conjured up the scene: a sick Indian lying on his blanket on the dirt floor of his home, by his side a Shining Presence. Vesnor, an untutored Indian, had experienced the miracle of healing much as John G. Whittier had so beautifully written of it:

> The healing of His seamless dress
> Is by our beds of pain:
> We touch Him in life's throng and press,
> And we are whole again.

This was Vesnor in a new version. His story left me awed and puzzled. Where did he get his concept of Jesus, the Healer? No missionary had ever worked among these people. The school employees held a Sunday service for the children, and the adults had received some instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith. But, it was arresting to learn that Vesnor, his mind ruled by spirits and strange gods and filled with the medicine man's lore, had had that priceless revelation.

The Indians respected and obeyed Vesnor. His background and experience made him a valuable policeman. Lanoman, however, gently sidestepped any errand that might involve ruffled feelings or bring unpleasant repercussions. If word must be sent to the men of the village that we had a load of freight at Hilltop, and would pay cash to the packers who brought it down, Lanoman was the man to send. He could escort tourists or forest rangers to any part of the canyon, and win their hearts while doing it. Everyone liked gentlemanly Lanoman. It was hard to believe that he had no white blood, or had never been taught the white man's social customs. Yet under that suave exterior was a mind steeped in the

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*skwigwaulg*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] [554] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 557 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 ●156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

867 562 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 [573] Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 18 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [8%] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 578 156 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 843
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 862
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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872 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [616] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [342] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

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its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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595 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own,
157 for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the
684 Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is
156 Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

• 157 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he 181 has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will [55 tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by 57] the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article.

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Hue-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track

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157 181 541 571 499

just the same as the white men did, and, when it was completed, train their horses to run on it until they were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais came, they would be able to take all the advantages this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

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The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

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was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). [586] When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 603

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" [578] An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. [157] Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time.

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787 159 Sometimes I dream that someone dies and they are taking his body away. The dream tells me right, because after a little someone does die in this way; that is why I dream of it. Sometimes, however, it is all right; it does not turn out that way.

Sometimes I dream of seeing another tribe. I am quite certain of it. Other times I dream of hunting and killing deer. Then I hunt and get two or three in the same manner. At other times I dream, but I fail to get any. I dream of working in the fields, hoeing weeds, or planting; then when I am working there, I do just as I dreamed. Sometimes I dream the corn will grow tall, and at other times, will not grow at all: it eventuates that way. I have dreamed that I was hunting and got some deer, but when I tried next morning I failed. I dreamed falsely: one does not have to dream the truth.

The night before last I dreamed about cattle and horses. I saw that I had many cattle. They were walking about at a little distance. One big bull, with long horns, came close to me and stopped. I went to him and stood by his side, rubbing my hand along his back. The bull stood with his head aslant, hooking with his horns. I was afraid of being hurt. While I was looking, I turned. I saw I had many horses just a little beyond the cattle. I saw that all were sorrel horses. They were quite small ponies. My horses, those I really have, are about that size.

I dreamed last night that I was baking in a Dutch oven. Although it had not been cooking long enough to bake properly when I looked in, it was all burnt.

I dreamed about a hunting charm [shaped like a marble.] I took it from my pocket and scraped the top a little with my knife. I continued scraping until finally it broke in two. I tried to tie it around to hold it together, but it kept bulging between the bands, so that it was impossible.

Sometimes, at long intervals, I dream that a ghost comes into my house and lays his hands on me. He scares me and I say, "Something bad, you must not touch me. I do not want you to touch me; take your hands off." But the ghost keeps his hands on me and holds me tight and wants to do something to me, so I yell hoping that someone will hear and the ghost will leave. So I groan. Everybody dreams this way.

Sometimes I dream that I see and talk to my dead parents. I dream that I am living at their house. I also dream of the good horses I had long ago and which are now dead. I dream that I ride them again. I dream that I see the old men who used to be my good friends here; I dream that we are working together again. When I wake at dawn, I find I am not dead, I am still alive, and I want to sleep again, but peacefully. I say to the dead, "I am not dead: I only saw you dead people. I am still alive. I want to sleep well so I can get up in the morning refreshed. It is bad to dream of the dead; I do not want to dream of them; so go away." And then I blow into my hands and brush them down my face and body. So I brush the dream away into the night.

158 Cases of somnambulism are known. Such individuals are deemed crazy (*adpodmdig*, also inebriated). Some men talk in their sleep, occasionally in English.

158 787 159 Crook often talks in his sleep, shouting, and carrying things about. He was camping with his father. A coyote was barking in the woods. Crook got up in his sleep, ran out a little way, and cried, "What is that calling out there?" Once Crook and I [Jess] were at Rowe's Well, when he dreamed that he was fighting someone. I heard him get up, punch the tent, and scatter his bedding, repeating, "I am going to

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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

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Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

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The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breecheloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

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Havasupai

I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up. 000

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face. 252

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes. 285 159

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story. 159 158 [601]

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted. [775]

[1] i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

2:11ff Y-5 (ea. 1991) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Her fear became an obsession. She could not sleep, for she was haunted by visions of her husband returning in the darkness to be at her side. She would cry out to him, not in her native tongue, but in the English he had taught her, calling him by his English name, "Why you come, Tom, why you come?" She would point him out to others in the lodge and ask pitifully, "You no see? He there. Why you no see him?" Their inability to see him only increased her confusion. The hallucination tortured her night after weary night. And her repeated question as she stared and pointed crazily at the apparition no one else could see caused the Indians to give her the new name, "You No See," which soon was shortened to Yunosi. For this affliction Bob had asked me to prescribe medicine, but since cough sirup, castor oil or quinine offered no hope, I sent him away empty-handed.

When I saw how real her suffering was, I longed to help her find peace. As tactfully as I could I explained my belief about death, but she sat like a carved image, with terror in her eyes. Watching her weave her intricate design, I took comfort in the thought that in this tribe of too few women, Yunosi would be wooed again and in establishing a new home, the hallucinations would surely be forgotten.

Yet as I walked back along the trail, I could not shake the memory of Yunosi's terror. Childish feuds over trampled corn and stolen blankets were one thing, but this first encounter with a fear so deeply grounded in myth and superstition made me realize how much a part of their living culture it was; and it would become the heritage of our school children, unless counteracted by education.

But the sun's rays were creeping down the white cliffs. Before long Vesnor would be herding the children into the schoolhouse. I would need a more substantial breakfast than a few sunflower seed to fortify me against the further problems of a day in that crowded classroom.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were prankaters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115]

Panamida's father, Wasákwívámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwívámá big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwívámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwívámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Teyadjáva (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwóá canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Súdjă, súdjă,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwívámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For *su'ldjlgă*, a man's older brother's son.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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159 624 same time. Wasakwivámă lived for a long time after this. I was a lad at the time [about 1860–65].

Captain Navajo took quite a few men with him to Oraibi. The night they got there, while they slept in a Hopi house, some Navajo raided and took away all their horses. The other Havasupai stayed in the Hopi house, but Captain Navajo and a Hopi friend, who gave him a horse to ride, followed the horse tracks. They went on toward the east until when it was nearly sunset they reached the top of a high mesa. They looked down into the bottom land, where they saw a lot of Navaho houses, with a great many horses nearby. They waited on top of the hill until it was a little dark; then they descended the trail toward the houses. The Hopi man said, "The Navaho do not turn their horses loose. They keep them close to the houses at all times. They keep their saddle horses tied to the house and continually ride out to watch the herd. I think that they will see us, and perhaps they will kill us. I think I am afraid to go down there with you. I will stay here, while you go alone and try to cut some out of the herd. I will wait here." So Captain Navajo went down alone. He went near, tied the horse he was riding, and walked close to the houses to look at the horses. He walked among the houses, where a few horses were tied to each one, until he came to a house where the greatest number was. A few were hobbled; he took the hobbles off, and walked away, driving the herd slowly before him. He got back to where he had tied his horse, and then drove them fast up the trail. Just as he got to the top of the mesa, he heard the Navaho shouting below. Then he whipped his horse and came back as fast as he could. The Hopi man had already gone. "Perhaps he was afraid," Captain Navajo said. When Captain Navajo was halfway back two colts began to nicker: they kept this up, so he shot both with his arrows. He brought the horses into Oraibi just as the sun was rising. The Hopi said they were glad. The other Havasupai had all gone home while he was away; some walked, others bought horses to ride. The Hopi said, "Hurry and eat, and then go right along." While he was eating, they prepared provisions for him to carry. The Hopi said, "Maybe the Navaho are following you and are nearly here. You had better hurry." One of the Hopi men helped him drive the horses. They drove them fast down from Oraibi mesa and on along the road. After they had gone only a little way from Oraibi, the Navaho came into the pueblo. The Hopi said to them, "He brought the horses in before dawn; he ate a little and then left before it was daylight. He has been gone a pretty long time. We think he is now on the other side of the Little Colorado River." The Navaho said they wanted to follow at once. But the Hopi said, "When he went over and took your horses, the other Havasupai who were here had half their herd left and they went back. Perhaps if you follow him you will run into them and they will kill you." Thus they lied to the Navaho. The Hopi wanted to hold the Navaho at Oraibi. So the Navaho turned back. The two men drove the horses along as fast as they could. When the horses they were riding began to slow up, they changed to other horses; they did this all the way. They followed the tracks of the other Havasupai who had gone before. They crossed the Little Colorado just above the present bridge and when they were a little way beyond on this side, at Hámy átovok,óvá (black water precipice), they caught up with the others. Everyone felt glad. Captain Navajo did this by himself; he went alone to the Navaho camps and stole horses, so the Havasupai called him a big chief. All the other tribes around heard about him and when they saw him, called him big chief too. He was a big chief all his life long and died [about 1900] when he was an old man.

648 159 624

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The Walapai knew Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Cave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivámá's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Navajo, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognize him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the oldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hléga'mí'I. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hléga'mí'I. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[Text continues on p. 243]

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787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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He has occasionally dreamed of spotted fawns coming close by him, whistling. He saw the fresh tracks and followed them. He has been hunting after such a dream, but failed to see either tracks or fawns. He dreamed of seeing the heads of antelope showing above a barrier at a distance. Some were lying down and others standing about in the plain. He wondered how he could get close enough to kill them since there was no brush for cover. 159 787

I dreamed last night about lots of venison. I dreamed that my father shot many deer. He was living by himself in a cliff-dwelling on the northern side of the Buckskin Mountains; I know the place. I dreamed that he took Mr. B's boat, which he left tied in the Colorado River, and went across. A well-marked fresh trail led up the cliff to the cave. I saw that he had much meat and deer hides, the latter spread on the ground. The meat was piled in two or three places, a great quantity. We were both there when I heard someone coming. I looked up the trail which led down to the cave, and said, "Someone, a white man, is coming." He came down to see the deer meat. He said, "I will not say anything about that; if you have plenty of meat, it is all right. I know all you Havasupai; I will not say anything to the forest-ranger."[1] I know that man, Tom M. He said his wife would like to have some meat. So I gave it to him and he went home. (Tom's wife has left him. I asked him why and he said he did not know. What happened? I do not know. She always said she wanted to leave; she was always angry. She went to P —— to get a divorce. She left their son with Tom, who is a cattleman.)

Sinyella gave the following account of his dreams:—

When I was a young man, I dreamed I had plenty of horses, cattle, and sheep. I dreamed that repeatedly for a long time. Then I thought, "Maybe I am going to have those animals some time." Now that I am old, I have them; many horses, cattle, and I had some sheep too. I butchered the sheep as fast as I got them. That is what I dream for; sometimes the dream tells us right.

Once I dreamed that I went to Oraibi and wanted to buy blankets. As I dreamed I was positive that I was in Oraibi, but when I woke I was right here in my own house. Sometimes I dream that I am in the Walapai country trading, but when I wake I am still at home.

I dreamed last night about women. We have no women in my camp.[2] I dreamed that a woman came right to me, and I asked, "Do you like me?" She said, "Yes, I like you." Then I drew her by the arm into my bed and she let me have my will of her. I felt positive I was doing this and when I woke I felt pretty bad. I have also dreamed of nearly having my will of a nice girl, but I woke. When I tried to resume the dream, I failed.

I used to dream that I was mounted and chasing a deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. Sometimes a short time after my dream I actually chased and killed them. Then I knew that is why I had dreamed.

Long ago when there were wars I dreamed that I heard the enemy coming, shouting, and patting their mouths.

[1] Hunting is forbidden.
[2] This was a recurring theme of his conversation.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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787 Sometimes I dream that someone dies and they are taking his body away. The
dream tells me right, because after a little someone does die in this way; that is why
159 I dream of it. Sometimes, however, it is all right; it does not turn out that way.

Sometimes I dream of seeing another tribe. I am quite certain of it. Other times I dream of hunting and killing deer. Then I hunt and get two or three in the same manner. At other times I dream, but I fail to get any. I dream of working in the fields, hoeing weeds, or planting; then when I am working there, I do just as I dreamed. Sometimes I dream the corn will grow tall, and at other times, will not grow at all: it eventuates that way. I have dreamed that I was hunting and got some deer, but when I tried next morning I failed. I dreamed falsely: one does not have to dream the truth.

The night before last I dreamed about cattle and horses. I saw that I had many cattle. They were walking about at a little distance. One big bull, with long horns, came close to me and stopped. I went to him and stood by his side, rubbing my hand along his back. The bull stood with his head aslant, hooking with his horns. I was afraid of being hurt. While I was looking, I turned. I saw I had many horses just a little beyond the cattle. I saw that all were sorrel horses. They were quite small ponies. My horses, those I really have, are about that size.

I dreamed last night that I was baking in a Dutch oven. Although it had not been cooking long enough to bake properly when I looked in, it was all burnt.

I dreamed about a hunting charm [shaped like a marble.] I took it from my pocket and scraped the top a little with my knife. I continued scraping until finally it broke in two. I tried to tie it around to hold it together, but it kept bulging between the hands, so that it was impossible.

Sometimes, at long intervals, I dream that a ghost comes into my house and lays his hands on me. He scares me and I say, "Something bad, you must not touch me. I do not want you to touch me; take your hands off." But the ghost keeps his hands on me and holds me tight and wants to do something to me, so I yell hoping that someone will hear and the ghost will leave. So I groan. Everybody dreams this way.

Sometimes I dream that I see and talk to my dead parents. I dream that I am living at their house. I also dream of the good horses I had long ago and which are now dead. I dream that I ride them again. I dream that I see the old men who used to be my good friends here; I dream that we are working together again. When I wake at dawn, I find I am not dead, I am still alive, and I want to sleep again, but peacefully. I say to the dead, "I am not dead; I only saw you dead people. I am still alive. I want to sleep well so I can get up in the morning refreshed. It is bad to dream of the dead; I do not want to dream of them; so go away." And then I blow into my hands and brush them down my face and body. So I brush the dream away into the night.

Cases of somnambulism are known. Such individuals are deemed
158 crazy (*alpdeimdg*, also inebriated). Some men talk in their sleep, occasionally in English.

Crook often talks in his sleep, shouting, and carrying things about. He was
158 camping with his father. A coyote was barking in the woods. Crook got up in his
787 sleep, ran out a little way, and cried, "What is that calling out there?" Once Crook
159 and I [Jess] were at Rowe's Well, when he dreamed that he was fighting someone. I heard him get up, punch the tent, and scatter his bedding, repeating, "I am going to

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

"I Too Mad"

Lanoman, the son of Sinyella, was the younger of the reservation's two policemen. According to his father's estimate of his age, he was in his early thirties. Taller than many of the men, and stockily built, his regular features and light complexion gave him a handsome appearance, which somewhat justified his vanity. He had mastered enough English to meet his needs but his courtly manners were his greatest asset. "Lanoman, the gentleman," he was dubbed by a visiting tourist, for all who met him were impressed by his graciousness. [625] 159

No one seemed to know Vesnor's age. Counted in years, it might have been forty or fifty, but the dark wisdom in his gloomy eyes made one feel that he had witnessed savage cruelty and lived with danger until he no longer knew the meaning of fear. He was thin and wiry, his muscles taut springs, his skin dark and wrinkled, but there was a sureness and swiftness about him that inspired confidence. Whenever I was in my office, Vesnor was there, ready to jump astride his pony to bring in a bad Indian at a moment's notice. Occasionally, when not too pressed for time, I laid aside my work and we talked, sometimes quite frankly. Vesnor's questions sprang from whatever thought was uppermost in his mind, and he probed into my personal affairs with native simplicity—as if he were with one of his tribesmen. He wanted the straight truth, even though the Havasupai themselves delighted in making false statements to an inquisitive white person. One afternoon when

Gilliff Y-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [512] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

2:Illff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

his mind was fumbling for words. "One day Jesus come. Stand by bed. All white. Dress, everything all white. Shine like sun. He say pretty quick get well. He go 'way. I get well quick." 159 154

That was all. Vesnor had no more to tell. Perhaps he saw the astonishment in my face, for his thoughts recoiled and tucked themselves away in a secret place back of his inscrutable eyes. My imagination conjured up the scene: a sick Indian lying on his blanket on the dirt floor of his home, by his side a Shining Presence. Vesnor, an untutored Indian, had experienced the miracle of healing much as John G. Whittier had so beautifully written of it:

> The healing of His seamless dress
> Is by our beds of pain:
> We touch Him in life's throng and press,
> And we are whole again.

This was Vesnor in a new version. His story left me awed and puzzled. Where did he get his concept of Jesus, the Healer? No missionary had ever worked among these people. The school employees held a Sunday service for the children, and the adults had received some instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith. But, it was arresting to learn that Vesnor, his mind ruled by spirits and strange gods and filled with the medicine man's lore, had had that priceless revelation.

The Indians respected and obeyed Vesnor. His background and experience made him a valuable policeman. Lanoman, however, gently sidestepped any errand that might involve ruffled feelings or bring unpleasant repercussions. If word must be sent to the men of the village that we had a load of freight at Hilltop, and would pay cash to the packers who brought it down, Lanoman was the man to send. He could escort tourists or forest rangers to any part of the canyon, and win their hearts while doing it. Everyone liked gentlemanly Lanoman. It was hard to believe that he had no white blood, or had never been taught the white man's social customs. Yet under that suave exterior was a mind steeped in the 159 625

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14.
Havasupai

159 traditions and superstitions of his people. He had been healed,
625 dramatically, by the medicine man. Leslie Spier, in his "Havasupai Ethnography," relates the story as told to him by Sinyella, Lanoman's father.

159 "Once about 1883, when Lanoman, my oldest son, was about
755 seventeen years old, he was pretty sick." He then explained that he had appealed to a Walapai shaman who decided that the illness was too difficult for him to heal. Sinyella continued:

> Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there, too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman," and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy: "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars," and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights and said that the boy would not get well.

Next, Sinyella appealed to a shaman of his own tribe. His verdict was: "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness." The shaman proved his point by declaring that Sinyella's grandfather, now deceased, who had been a shaman, had sent his spirit to take Lanoman to the spirit world. However, he recommended his younger brother A'mal, also a shaman, for whom Sinyella sent a messenger. Sinyella related what followed:

> The night he arrived, he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed them to us in his hand. . . . He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf, he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it loked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs. He did this two nights. Then the boy

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly.

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task.

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lano-man, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

Spilliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up. 000

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face. 252

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes. 285 159

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story. 159 158 [601]

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted. [775]

[1] i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

159 158 775 Her fear became an obsession. She could not sleep, for she was haunted by visions of her husband returning in the darkness to be at her side. She would cry out to him, not in her native tongue, but in the English he had taught her, calling him by his English name, "Why you come, Tom, why you come?" She would point him out to others in the lodge and ask pitifully, "You no see? He there. Why you no see him?" Their inability to see him only increased her confusion. The hallucination tortured her night after weary night. And her repeated question as she stared and pointed crazily at the apparition no one else could see caused the Indians to give her the new name, "You No See," which soon was shortened to Yunosi. For this affliction Bob had asked me to prescribe medicine, but since cough sirup, castor oil or quinine offered no hope, I sent him away empty-handed.

When I saw how real her suffering was, I longed to help her find peace. As tactfully as I could I explained my belief about death, but she sat like a carved image, with terror in her eyes. Watching her weave her intricate design, I took comfort in the thought that in this tribe of too few women, Yunosi would be wooed again and in establishing a new home, the hallucinations would surely be forgotten.

Yet as I walked back along the trail, I could not shake the memory of Yunosi's terror. Childish feuds over trampled corn and stolen blankets were one thing, but this first encounter with a fear so deeply grounded in myth and superstition made me realize how much a part of their living culture it was; and it would become the heritage of our school children, unless counteracted by education.

000 But the sun's rays were creeping down the white cliffs. Before long Vesnor would be herding the children into the schoolhouse. I would need a more substantial breakfast than a few sunflower seed to fortify me against the further problems of a day in that crowded classroom.

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *hasastuwalpa*[a], blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ká'nina*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[1] They call the Walapai *ðulgámpayá* or *guchegatá;* the Yavapai, *tícdhuá* (enemy) or *nyúvdpa*[b]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé;* the Navaho, *hua'dmá'u;* the Hopi, *móká;* the Zuñi, *ad'u'á;* the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamókara;* the Paiute, *paiutia;* and, by my recollection, the Ute, *gúta* and the Pima, *palnyá*.[2]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[3] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[4] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[5]; in 1869 there were 300[6]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[7], and Coues, 214[8];

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[a] Ten Kate, (a), 288, gives Kwhaihwe or Kwéaiuahwe (yellow-eat people ?) as the Zuñi name.
[b] This might be etymologized as dpá, man, and lapápá, black, or lapá, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black men.
[1] See p. 259 for the composition of population.
[2] Coues, 243.
[3] Ibid., 288.
[4] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 228.
[5] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884, XVIII.
[6] Coues, 243.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 101; 1902, 163; 1903, 306; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 209). When the mothers are principally old women, as in the case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their survival.
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 340; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 58) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Hava[illegible] who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona.

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred.

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees.

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color.

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people).

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman.

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians.

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties.

For several years following the establishment of the reservation

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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the Havasupai, and that sex, rank, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would seem to be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group conscious use of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, there were of a common named Siyuldja, founded three distinct families, the Siyuldja family, the Wasegaava family, and the Wayahamidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a sublineage lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[627] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

[P. 538 B]

106 primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organisation seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground 657 of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set 161 aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 223 in 1902, 174 in 1906. (H. W. H.)

101 Agua Supais.—Hodge, Arizona, 168, 1877. Ah-
113 Supai.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 50, 1884. Ah'-ha-sĕ'-pai.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1879 (Walapai form). Ahsaw-pai.—Gatschet in Zeschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 127, 1883. Ava-Supies.—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 547, 1889. Avikdpai.—Gatschet, op. cit., 126. Cautaus.—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1868, 91, 1870. Cautaus.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Mar. 27, 1868. Ca-y-u-ai-ais.—Powell in Scribner's Mag., 212, Dec. 1876. Cochimanas.—Emory, Recon., 96, 1848 (trans. 'dirty fellows'). Cochimichaus.—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., II, 179, 1854. Coconinos.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882. Cohonines.—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 50, 1884. Cohonino.—Stagg-reaves, Expedition, 15, 1858 (name by which a Havasupai called himself). Cojaninos.—Scott in Donaldson, Moqui Pueblo Inds., 52, 1893. Cumtaus.—Vargas (1682), cited by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 370, 1869. Cumtaus.—Browne, Apache Country, 220, 1869 (mentioned as a branch of Gila Apache). Cumtaus.—Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, leg. 26, 1766. Cumtaus.—Pumpelly, Across America and Asia, map, 1870. Cumtaus.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 472, 1900. Cumtaus.—Whipple, Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 92, 1856. Cumtaus.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 445, 1900 (erroneously said to be Mariopa name for Mohave). Cumtaus.—Orozco y Berra, Geografía, 32, 1864 (misquoting Garcés). Cutaunas.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900. Cutaunas.—Ibid., 472 (erroneously said to be applied to Mohave). Cutaunas.—Ibid. (erroneously said to be applied to the Mohave). Hahasupia.—Gibbs, MS. map of Colorado tribes, B. A. E., No. 202. Ha-ha-vasu-pai.—James, Inds. Painted Desert, 196, 198, 1903 ('people of the blue water'). Hawasupi.—Thomas, MS., no. 602, B. A. E., 1885. 'Havasu Pai.—Ewing in Great Divide, 288, Dec. 1892. Ha-va-su-pai.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., I, 274, Sept. 1882. Have-su-pay.—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 346, 1890. Havsuw-pai.—Ewing, op. cit. 'Havisuw Pai.—Ibid. Jabasúa.—Garcés (1776), Diary, 346, 1900. Java Supais.—Baxter in Harper's Mag., June 1882. Jovenes.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés). Kaedaenbwe.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 388, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pilson nut people'?). Kaedaenbwe.—Ibid., 259. Ka'-hal'-sa.—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1879 (Hopi name). Kibenkwa.—Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, 19, 1905 (Hopi name). Kidaenbwe.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XVIII, 97, 1886. Kidaw.—Ibid., XV, 126, 1883 (Hopi name). Kig-nina'kwa.—ten Kate, Synonymie, 7, 1884 (Zuñi name, borrowed from the Hopi). Kiqnimaana.—Ibid. (Hopi name). Kishaikwa.—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 390, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Pilson nut people'?). Kohaninwa.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., I, 262, Sept. 1882 (Zuñi name; *kwa*='people'). Ku'k-sis.—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés, 1776). Kûqal-kwa.—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 124, 1883 (Zuñi name). Nation of the Willows.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., I, 262, 541, 1882. Nâvâsú-pai.—Gatschet, op. cit., XV, 127, 1883 (a Walapai form). People of the Willows.—Powell in 2d Rep. B. A. E., xix, 1884. Supais.—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882 (after "Arizona Miner"). Supias.—Hinton, Handbook to Arizona, 303, 1878. Supis.—Orozco y Berra, Geografía, 50, 304, 1864 (erroneously given as part of Faraon Apache). Suppai.—Ind. Aff. Rep.,

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY
R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist. 114

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochuichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai. [16] [131] [175] [101] 114 [173] 175

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish 114

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohfunína, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence 771 came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only. 174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa- 144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave. [142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(I), 39–41]. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	38	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	3	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	...	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 345).
[2] Kroeber, (1), 129–134.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet, in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [187] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

Sellliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumamo NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [512] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlička, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age 55 among all Indian tribes.) 162

Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age 10, the group total was 55 males and 28 females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of 10 and 50, a nearly balanced sex ratio exists in all age brackets. [163] [165]

Spier (1928, 209) found that above and below the ages of 20 and 45 the sexes were nearly equal in numbers in 1918, and equality in these groups has continued to the present. (The individuals whose ages were below 20 in 1918 would have been 28 to 48 in 1950, and those over 45 would have been over 73 in 1950).

Among possible causes of excess in males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out, because the inequality did not appear above or below the age group in which the excess appeared in the 1918 population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century. Thus, it would have no bearing on the 20 to 45 age bracket of 1918. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is a measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905--if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, we have no record of individual deaths for that time. [165]

Above the age of 50, the longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of 20 to 45, and which, in 1918, had a male-female ratio of two to one. Thus, the present imbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets, and is not a recent development, except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of 20 the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last 30 year period and that, in the group now between 20 and 50, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis, since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of
● 162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

000 Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postpone-
582 ment of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 223). Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that
582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former
127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households apd some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary
591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess
● [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar-
[582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg-
428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un-
858 til after puberty, although, on the death
171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary.
643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis-
564 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is
565 taken, it is brought to the village, and
[727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is
[624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin-
793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 104; 1902, 163; 1903, 500; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 209). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their survival.)
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 546; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwdpídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'tgl0datádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkal'ó'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Exiney, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 170. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lewis, (1), 295).

[3] Hrdlička, (f), 65 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age 10, the group total was 55 males and 28 females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of 10 and 50, a nearly balanced sex ratio exists in all age brackets. [163] [165]

Spier (1928, 209) found that above and below the ages of 20 and 45 the sexes were nearly equal in numbers in 1918, and equality in these groups has continued to the present. (The individuals whose ages were below 20 in 1918 would have been 28 to 48 in 1950, and those over 45 would have been over 73 in 1950).

Among possible causes of excess in males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out, because the inequality did not appear above or below the age group in which the excess appeared in the 1918 population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century. Thus, it would have no bearing on the 20 to 45 age bracket of 1918. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is a measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905--if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, we have no record of individual deaths for that time. [165]

Above the age of 50, the longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of 20 to 45, and which, in 1918, had a male-female ratio of two to one. Thus, the present imbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets, and is not a recent development, except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of 20 the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last 30 year period and that, in the group now between 20 and 50, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis, since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1909 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (mark), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [648]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang then four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not work. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who *has consumption, consulted* Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jim does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lansman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given tsequoko as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (c), 582.
[3] All these have aggravated cases of trachoma. [644]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars." 756

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness. [755]

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless 164 755 754 755

James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Tumsm NT14
Havasupai

754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
●164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no longer need expect any help from the medicine-man,
751 whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

142 small, though admirably formed, with noticeably large knee-joints, which, being more developed inside than out, almost touch in walking. The feet are small and well-shaped, but are very large-jointed in the old. Hair is permitted to grow, as with white people, 142 about the chest and armpits, and some- 302 times a slight mustache is cultivated by the young, while a considerable tendency to beard is frequent with old men. The eyebrows are not marked; but the hair of the head is long, soft, abundant, and a beautiful glossy raven or brown-black. With boys it is kept closely cut, with the exception of a very small tuft at the crown, five to seven inches in length, looking not unlike the plume of the California quail, which I believe it 142 imitates. Their features correspond so nearly to those of the Pueblo Indians, especially the Zuñi, as to make the resemblance in some cases personal, the greatest variety of expression being seen. The heads are short and round, or brachycephalic; foreheads very low and sloping, the supraorbital arch being notably prominent; faces broad at cheek-bones, which, though really quite flat, appear prominent. A rather constant type of face among them is, in common with the Amazonian, decidedly Mongolian. Their noses are straight or slightly aquiline, rather broad, with somewhat heavy nostrils; their eyes small, bright when good, and very prominent in the sockets. They are not, however, generally as good as those of the plains Indians, cases of partial and total blindness being common, due, probably, to the glaring rock-walls and whitish sandy bottom of their cañon. The ears are well shaped and small; the mouths are large, with only moderately thin lips, the upper generally slightly overhanging the lower. The chin recedes slightly, and the face is well marked with deep wrinkles, especially between the eyebrows and around the eyes; deep lines extend from the nostrils to the corners of the

● [164]

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure. 753 756 [164]

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it [826] across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlička, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age 55 among all Indian tribes.) 162

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586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. [595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. [165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, [586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, [177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764
● [165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.
465

In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
231 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
511 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their
434 cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
464 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
166 relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe
[574] remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

773 539 there, and plant the ear of corn they had, and it would be a means of life. So they did as she told them, and the Apache Mojaves lived above them, where the cañon was narrower. For a long time all was well, until a young Ha-va-su-pai man stole an Apache Mojave girl, which caused strife, and wars ensued, so that the Apache Mojaves were driven away. For this reason we live alone in the cañon.

"But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique: hence, only during summer do we live in the home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.

[221 166]

"Do you Americans," said the old

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig
592 holes. Garcés says:—

> I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted
243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hudlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539] mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[114] [1] Coues, 343. A later statement (438), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.
[2] Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.
[171] [3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 175–179).

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252 [251] Ears of green corn in their green husks are laid to roast on a small bed of coals, or buried in hot ashes, until the outer husks are thoroughly charred. The husks are stripped back, the ends of the cob trimmed clean, and the ears are tied in pairs by their husks to be hung up until some casual visitor comes by. Green corn is less commonly roasted in underground pits. The characteristic mode of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. When the hand is full, these are poured off the side of the hand into the mouth.

Bread is made of green corn cut from the cob and ground. This pulp is moulded into cylindrical masses, wrapped in green cornhusks and baked in the ashes. When husks are removed the solid cakes may be eaten as bread.

For dumplings, cornmeal (*teyādjāldva*, corn, ground?) is kneaded into a stiff paste with hot salted water. The dough is rolled between the palms into cylinders, bits pinched off, and rolled into balls, 3 cm. in diameter. These are dropped into hot water and occasionally stirred while they boil a few minutes.

[171] Wafer bread (*bigā*, from Hopi *piki*) of cornmeal is baked in the characteristic Pueblo fashion on a flat slab (*tčevahaiyddid*), a meter long and half as wide, supported over a fire. It is made either of white or blue corn, but never by mixing varieties.

Beans (*mādigā*) are parched before they are ground. Bean flour mush (*mādigādva*, beans, ground) is made by slowly stirring the flour, into water that has been brought nearly to the boiling point. When the mush boils, it is removed from the fire.

Sunflower seeds are parched and ground, when they may be eaten with the sweet mescal drink or a decoction of dried peaches. Sometimes they are parched, mixed with parched corn, and ground fine; then it is eaten dry by the pinch.

Squash is boiled. The dried strips (*hamtčtčgā*) are broken into bits and boiled until soft (*hamtčtčdā*); this is sweet. The rind is sometimes hacked off fresh squash, and the fruit cut into small pieces, discarding the seeds, before it is boiled; this is not sweet.

Squash, melons, peaches, figs, and even corn are eaten as soon as they show the first signs of ripeness, so glad are the natives at the appearance of an edible green. Unripe fruits cut off before they reach maturity, as by a flood, are not discarded, but furnish at least something succulent to chew on.

[251] Meat is sliced and cured by drying. It is usually necessary to pound it between two stones before it is cooked, and then it is commonly

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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten. 252 262

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned. [226]

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal. [252] 264

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail. 171 241

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.

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In northern Mexico cultivation has been recorded among several modern tribes: Huichol, Cora, Tepehuane, Tarahumare, Tepecano, and Opata.[1] There are records of the Jumanos in eastern Chihuahua in 1582, the Guaymas, a southern Piman group near the Seri ("land-tillers on a very low scale"), and the Sobaypuris, Pimans on the Rio San Pedro.[2] Intensive agriculture is characteristic of the Pueblos.[3] It would be interesting to know the extent it was followed in such outlying communities as Taos and Picuris. Pima, Maricopa, Yuma, Cocopa, and two groups near the last, Talliguamayque and Cajuenches, Mohave, and Navaho raised crops in abundance.[4] The Havasupai and Papago are agriculturalists to a lesser extent, both subsisting in some degree on wild seeds. But cultivation is greater among them than among the Jicarilla, and Western Apache, Apache-Yuma, Chemehuevi, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, and Walapai.[5] These tribes mark the limits of agriculture in the west. It is known not to have extended into California, the Basin, or into the southwestern Plains. In fact for certain tribes in the immediate vicinity of those practising the art we have specific information that it is lacking; to wit, Mimbreños and Tonto Apache, Moapa Paiute, Akwa'ala and Halyikwama of Baja California, and the Seri.[6]

Perhaps irrigation was in all these cases part of the agricultural technique, but it is not recorded. It is the practice of all the Pueblos, the Navaho, Havasupai, Shivwits, Kaibab (?), Pima, Maricopa, and Cora. The Mohave utilization of the overflow of the Colorado corresponds to the planting of other tribes in dry washes or creek bottoms.

The planting sticks and hoes offer some comparative points. Planting sticks are of two types; one a straight stick having a wedge-shaped point, the other similar but provided with a projecting footrest near the lower end. The first type is that of the Havasupai, Hopi, Pima, and probably Shivwits. The Zuñi use the form with the footrest, while the Navaho use both. The Havasupai hoe is one form of a general type: a flat stick with its blade and handle in one plane, approximating a weaving sword in shape, although there is considerable variation. This type is also used by the Pima, Mohave, Hopi, Navaho, and Zuñi. The last two also use a hoe like our own, a wooden blade or elk scapula set

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[1] Lumholtz, (a), 4; Bandelier, (a), 69, 82, 93; Bartlett, I, 444; Mason, J. A., (d), 126.
Bandelier, (a), 68, 78, 101.
Castañeda, (a); Hough, (a), 224, 226, Pl. 19.
Bartlett, II, 172, 180, 214, 222, 262; Pattie, 121, 131-2, 144; Russell, (d), 80-82; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 886; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 120; Kroeber, (a), 279; Leatherman, 226; Pumpelly Pathway, 204; Lange, 32; Stephen, 104; Bandelier, (a), 104, 176.
Castañeda, (a); Bandelier, Archaeological Institute, I, 406; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 120; Cushing, 226; Lowie, (b), 240; Boyle, 67, 68, 74, 76; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 88, report agriculture as the main pursuit of the Chemehuevi, but this does not seem likely.
Bartlett, I, 427; Whipple, Eubank and Turner, 14; Kroeber, (b), 479; McGee, 180.

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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1] 171 [412]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Picuris and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2] 171 x 248

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Mojave, Cahuilla, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5] 171 249

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *ûsa*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *op* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *o"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pinkur*, and possibly Pima *stopal stafâ*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*). 192 171

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai, 171 222 252 [412]

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. [II, 204]; Russell, (d), 96, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 283 d. Makers specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
[2] Spier, (f), 88.
[3] Goodwin: Curtis (XII, 39) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Cushing, 328; Russell, (d) 119; Spier, (e), 346; Beaglehole, (a), 48; Lumholtz, (c), 353.
[4] Lowie (h), 216; Kroeber, (a), 388.
[5] Goddard, (a), 37.
[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Dorsey Lowie, 1926.
[7] Goddard, (a), 142-143; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 617; Cushing, 327; Russell, (d), 70; Parsons, Lumholtz, (a), 13.

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White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

[1] Powell, 1366; Coville, 353; Lowie, (b), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (c), 440; Dixon, (a), 180; (c), 313; Barrett, (a), 337; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 107; Mason, J. A., (c), 138, 143; Bourke, (d), 121; Curtemier, 326.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 40, 41; Spier, 199; Dixon, (a), 192; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 176; (d), 382, 386; (g), 638.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 139; Bolton.

[4] Hrdlička, 257; Franciscan Fathers, 474; Matthews, (d), 330; Curtemier, 329; Dixon, (c), 195; Chamberlin, (b), 355.

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Yavapai, Luiseño, Salinan, Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi,[1] Kombo (Yana or Yahi), Paviotso, Wind River and Bemhi Shoshoni, Chopunish (a group at the eastern edge of the Nez Percé reservation), and Crow.[2] There are doubtless others.

Communal rabbit drives are probably very common in the Southeast and the Basin, but records of the fact elude a search. They are recorded as the practice of the Navaho, Acoma, Zuñi Hopi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Shivwits, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern and Southern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi, and probably Walapai, Mohave, Uintah, and Salinan.[3] There is some variation in the procedure: the Paviotso, Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hopi hunters form in a line and drive in a straight course; the Shivwits, Navaho, Pima, and again the Hopi form a circle. The Washo, Paviotso, and Shivwits have a special director of the hunt; the Havasupai do not.

The rabbits are frequently driven into nets: Walapai, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Salinan, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi. This distribution omits the Southwestern tribes, except for those on its western fringe.

The characteristic curved rabbit club was not in universal use. It is the weapon of the Hopi, Zuñi, Navaho, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. The Zuñi, at least, also use straight billets of wood. Several others are known to use clubs of some sort (Yavapai, Pima, Western (?) Apache, Achomawi, and Atsugewi) but the Shivwits and Havasupai use none at all.[4]

Many tribes in this area use a stick provided with a crook to draw rabbits and other rodents from their hiding places. But it is recorded only for the Yavapai, Tonto Apache, and Shivwits Paiute. I have also a recollection of seeing this tool among the Navaho, but a Havasupai informant referred to the use of a straight stick provided with little barbs like their own. The same straight stick is used by the Zuñi and probably as a second type by the Shivwits.[5]

The Navaho use a trap identical with that of the Havasupai, and this is true of the Hopi, if I correctly interpret the description given by Mason based on information from Hough.[6]

[1] Cresson, 30; Franciscan Fathers, 275; Matthews, (d), 217; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 13th, 141; Hough, (c), 264; Curtin-Hyde, 259; Sparkman, 207; Mason, J. A., (a), 124; Dixon, (a), 232, 213; Spencer, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 186; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 90; Lowie, (c), 290; Powers, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 186; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 90; Lowie, (c), 290.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 204, 476; Hodgkiss, ch. 11; Bourke, (a), 343; Hough, (a), 171; Cresson, 30; Russell, (d), 80; Spier, (d), 227; Sparkman, 196; Lowie, (c), 196-199; Powell, 127; Chamberlain, (b), 286; Barrett, (b), 11-12; Dixon, (a), 195; Page, 30; Dixon, (c), 213; Whipple, 115; Mason, J. A., (a), 149; Mason, O. T., (c), 399.
[3] Hough, (a), 266, 267; Modoc specimen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Bourke, 30; Bourke, (b), 66.
[4] Curtin-Hyde, 259; Barrett, 416; Powell, 128; Cushing, (d), 491; Lowie, (c), 196.
[5] Franciscan Fathers, 503; Mason, O. T., (i), 472.

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The grinding slab or metate of the Pueblos is also found in Southern California and the Basin. Among the non-Pueblo peoples it is used to some extent by the Pima, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave,

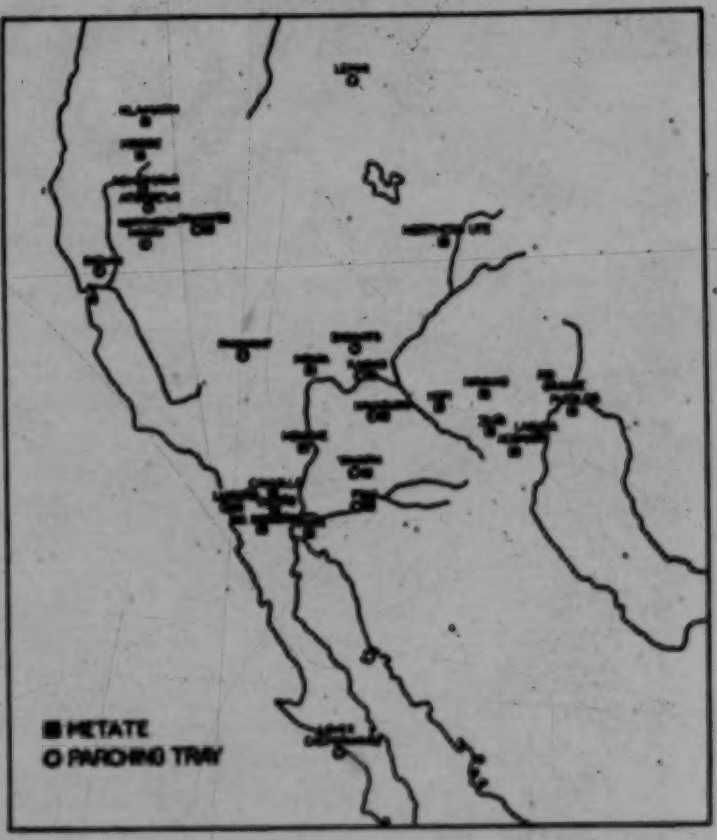

Fig. 5. Distribution of the Metate and Parching Tray.

Kaibab, Moapa, Northern Ute, Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, Yuma, and undoubtedly by others in their vicinity.[1] Most of these people, if not all, use stone or wooden

[1] Russell, (4), 99, 100; Stephens, (4), 44; Powers, Pathers, 65, 319; Curtis, 220; Handbook of American Indians, I, 921; Powell, 119; Lewis, 51, 204; Steiner (a), 240; Kroeber, (2), 68, 84, 86; Spier, (a), 332; Teggart, 274.

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mortars as well. Mortars are the characteristic utensil of the central Californian tribes and those of the northern Basin.[1] As might have been anticipated from their geographic position some of the western groups apparently favor the use of mortars rather than metates: Pima, Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. (Fig. 5.)

Parching seeds by tumbling them about with live coals in a shallow basket is a method widely used among Californian, Basin, and the western ranchería peoples of the Southwest. It is recorded for the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Lemhi Shoshoni, Lower Californians, Luiseño, Patwin, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. (Fig. 5.) The Pima also cook in this fashion using a shallow pottery vessel. The Lower Californians sometimes substituted a turtle shell. Doubtless many others shared the practice: the Salinan, at least, did not.[2]

Wafer bread is a familiar Pueblo product, probably in use in all the towns, but certainly among the Hopi, Zuñi, and Acoma. It is also prepared by the Havasupai and Navaho but is not known to the Pima.[3]

Fish is not an article of diet of many of the Southwestern ranchería people. This is not altogether a matter of the absence of fish, for they must be at least as abundant as in the Basin where they are eaten. There is a definite taboo ranging from the horror of the Navaho to the mild sentiment of the Havasupai. These tribes include all the Athapascans, (except the Lipan), the Caddoan Tonkawa, the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Zuñi. Outside of this restricted area fish are eaten: Cochiti, Lipan, Hasinai, Pima, Cora, Tepecano, Seri, Southern Diegueño, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Washo, and all the Basin Shoshoneans.[4]

With regard to other tabooed animals little can be said because of the fragmentary nature of our information. Lizards are not eaten by the Havasupai, Mohave, Pima, Salinans of San Miguel, the Shoshoneans of Kern River, and the southern Yokuts. But the neighboring Yavapai, Walapai, and Paiute did not despise them, while in California, the southern Yokuts and the Miwok eat most reptiles.[5]

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[1] Cuming (Chittenden, 1905); Mohave (Whipple, 1216); Salinan and Yokuts (Mason, J. A., 145, 147-150); Washoan Shoshoni and Fort Hall Bannock (Lowie, 145, 174).

[2] Carbonell, 220; Powell, 1206; Lowie, 61, 224; 63, 136; Curtis, 208; Lowie, 145, 217; Mason, J. A., 147, 149; Sapir, 205; Farabee, 183; Powers, 230; Dixon, 145, 146, 147, 212; Kroeber, 194; Russell 140, 66; Mason, J. A., 147, 150.

[3] Stevenson, M. C., 6th, 361; Curtis, 149, 208; Hodge(4), Ch. 12; Franciscan Fathers, 205, 207; Russell, 140, 66.

[4] Goddard, 147, 1st ed., 150; Matthews, 145, 186, 187, 189; Kroeber, 145, 228, 277; Stevenson, 148; Carbonell, 220; Russell, 145, 66; Hodge(4), 145, 63; Whipple(3), 20; Handbook of American Indians, I, 549; Mason, J. A., 145, 149; Kroeber, 195; Sapir, 145, 224; Trippel, 271; Chittenden, 242; Lowie, 145, 205; Mooney, 145, 1065, 1082; Lippe, 62; Simpson, 229; Franciscan Fathers, 214, 207; Matthews 145, 206; Hodge.

[5] Kroeber, 145, 277; Russell, 145, 66; Mason, J. A., 145, 152; Carbonell, 220.

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285 415 Water bottles are biconic with gentle reversed curves giving a nipple effect to the pointed base and narrow mouth (Fig. 10). These are about 35 cm. in diameter and 25 cm. in height. Two thongs are inserted just above the maximum diameter to take the burden band. Bottles (*sdwagalaqólled*) are also made without the lower cone, that is, with a flat or rounded base.[1] Occasionally this flat base is pushed inward. A third type was used when traveling afoot. It has an hourglass shape, with a flat bottom, and the upper part brought to a narrow mouth. This was

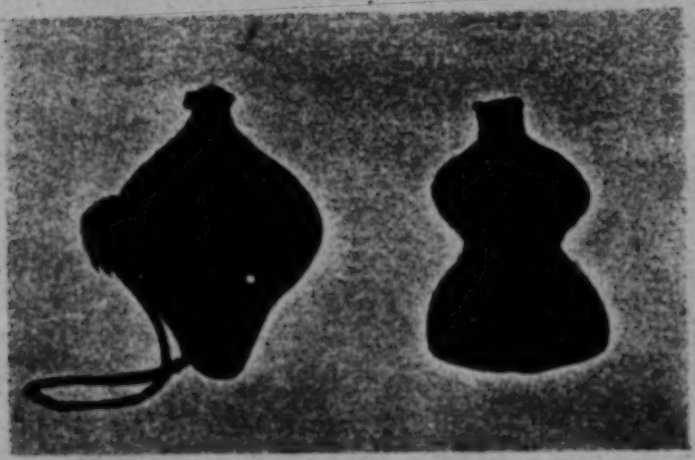

Fig. 10 (30.2-1237, 1645). Two Types of Basketry Water Bottle.

carried at the small of the back by a thong encircling both the wearer's waist and the constricted part of the bottle.[2] A bottle is stoppered with leaves or a corncob.

285 The best material for twined baskets is acacia twigs (*ha'djd'at*, *Acacia greggii* Gray) which are gathered when green. If picked dry, or if dried in storage, they are soaked two or three nights before using. Cottonwood and willow twigs are inferior. These, too, are gathered green. They may be used for either warp or weft, or in combination with acacia. Mesquite is never used.

[1] Two figured by Mason, O. T., as Havasupai have the coil technique and shape of neck of Hualpai specimens, [Q], Plate 32, Figs. 4 and 5, see p. 268.]

[2] Similar bottles occur among San Carlos Apaches (50-4780) and Pimas (Peabody Museum, Salem). The Hopi are also accustomed to carry small objects on the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist. The Hualpai have a similar double water gourd [Lumholtz, Vol. II, 1902].

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Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*ðaaiá*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2–1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gotáiᵘ'a* (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pima.[4] When desired for use they are soaked in water. All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[5] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*djímia*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285 [171]

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (p), 330. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake is natural since the ball of several times which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai ware, has been widely quoted. (b), 604–605. [184]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Kidwell, Fig. 18.

[5] Bundle, simple, or two-rod foundations are never used.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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are ripe in October. It is not necessary to pick them before the first frost.[1] Unlike the Pima and Papago only the hook-like appendages of the pod are used: these are broken off before the black fiber is split from them. When dry they may be soaked in hot water. Two strips of the black coat are split off with the teeth, beginning at the tip; the remaining interior third is discarded. To reduce the strips to a uniform width, they are held between teeth and hand while a knife is scraped along their edges. 285

In decorating twined baskets the black strip is substituted for one or both white wefts, the latter being cut off short. One end of the black

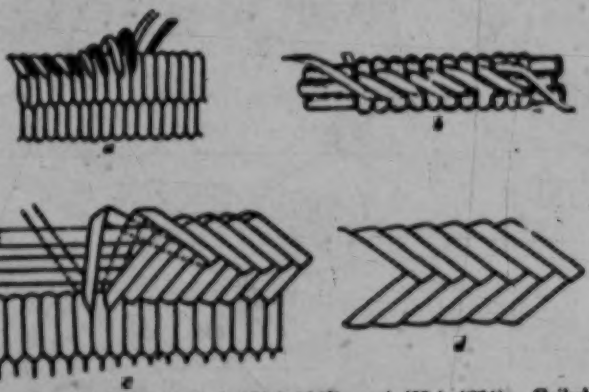

Fig. 15 *a* (50.1-4231, *b* (50.2-1242), *c-d* (50.1-4224). Coiled Basketry Edges. *a*, Two-strand edge of coiled basket; *b*, Three-strand edge of coiled basket; *c-d*, Edge of a coiled basket having the appearance of braiding (*c*, side view; *d*, view of the rim from above).

strand is caught between the two lower foundation rods of the coiled basket, sewing then proceeding as with the white strand. The ends of the introduced strands protrude somewhat on the unfinished face in both types of basket.

The rim of the coiled basket is finished by cutting off the three rods successively so that the coil will taper to an end. The rim is usually left without any further finish, but in a few specimens borders in other styles are added. The simplest consists of a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands (Fig. 15*a*). Apparently the binding is from left to right, working from the outside of the basket; that is, contrary to the

[1] Pima and Papago pick the pods before the frost turns them gray (Kissell, 282).

[171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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285 531 direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c–d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

285 While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direction of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes. [191] [114] These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

285 531 The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[171]

[1] This stitch is used as a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one for on the Apache rain and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, O. T., (b), 276, Fig. 67. Compare Matthews, (b), 256.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Culin, (a), 604–661; Kroeber, (g), 49–51.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 415 [177] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdi*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*pa'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See G. T. Moser's diagrams, (1), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel somewhat of the Laguna south of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539] Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name) he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado),

ya'i'vu'i'wîda'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,[1] presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171]

[1] The Havasupai bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 1910).

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Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*mukud-ni*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*mukuc'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

Fig. 20 *a* (80.2-1288), *b* (80.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*a'ndle*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, (a), 836.
Such ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (a), 276); Paiute examples in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (b), 269).
[2] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimens in Museum of Anthropology, University of California). [171]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife—which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamdlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaûipd*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a cornoob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdcd'ai'pa*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vitat'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows; those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the notch of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

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several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers. 411

The best quiver (*n,épûsd*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hides of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 26. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the 281 411 [556]

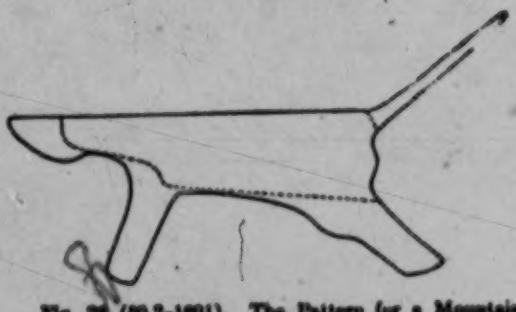

Fig. 26 (50.2-1601). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 23.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle. 171 285

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is in demand for quivers [Bourke, (6), 438.]

[2] An identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, (4) T. (1), Pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal. [171]

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among the Klamath, Modoc, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Maidu, Pomo, Lassik, and Chemehuevi.[1] Kroeber states that the Yumans of the lower Colorado do not make basketry and his paper on Mission basket decoration does not figure conical carrying baskets.[2] Furthermore, we know

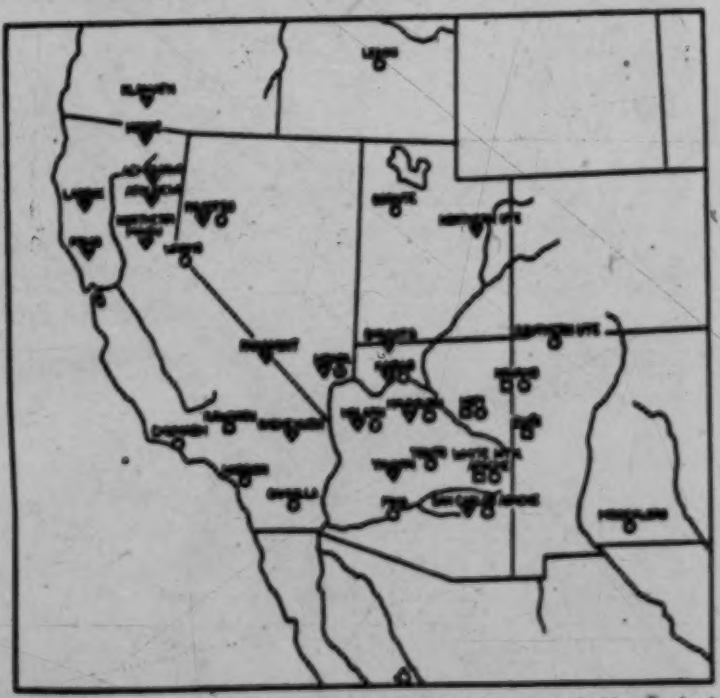

Fig. 27. Distribution of Basket Types. Triangle, denotes conical burden basket; square, rectangular burden basket; circle, biconcave water bottle.

that the carrying net is used in southern California,[3] hence, we should presumably exclude all groups south of the Chemehuevi. Eastward this type is in use among the Paviotso, Ute, Kaibab, Shivwits, Moapa, and Panamint, and in Arizona among the Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, and San Carlos Apache.[4] East of this the carrying basket is different.

[1] Powers, (a), 260; Dixon, (a), 214; (a), 180; Mason, O. T., (a), 437-438; Kroeber, (a), 48.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 54; (a).
[3] Spier, (a), 318.
[4] Lewis, (a), 232-237; Powell, 126; Dutchess, 878; Curtis, II, 99; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 196; Curtis, 206; Hodge, (a), 624-626.

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The Hopi, Zuñi, and Navaho are credited with a type that is square, flat-bottomed, and built up on a framework of two bent sticks. The Western Apache have an analogous form, but without the sticks. The Pima and Papago have an unusual carrying device of netting on a frame.[1] Its conical form suggests the conical basket under consideration; its general structure the carrying net of southern California. North of California the burden baskets are not conical, I believe. The data cited above suggest a continuous area of distribution of this type. There are obvious local differences, however. For example, open twined weaving is not used in this connection in Arizona though it occurs in the Great Basin and perhaps in California.

The water jug is commonly biconate and with a small mouth like that of the Havasupai. It is in all cases, except the Washo, coated with pitch and provided with two loops of hair on the sides to take the carrying band. This type of basket is in use among the Northern Shoshoni, Gosiute, Southern Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Kaibab, Kawaiisu, Chumash, Mission, Cahuilla, Walapai, Havasupai, Tonto, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Mescalero, Pima, Hopi, and Navaho.[2] It does not occur on the lower Colorado River, among the Salinan,[3] nor, I think, elsewhere in southern California. Hough reports that the Hopi obtain these baskets from the Apache, Ute, and Havasupai; Hrdlička that the Navaho get theirs from the Ute. There is some question whether the Cahuilla make such baskets. For the Gosiute and Washo these are seed baskets.

There are local differences in the technique and the shape of the neck and base. Southern Ute, Navaho (?), Hopi, and some Moapa specimens are in coil technique; Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Cahuilla, Walapai (?), and Havasupai are in twine. The twined vessels have conical bases, as a rule, even with the reverse curve which produces a nipple-shaped point, so that this feature seems really to be a function of manufacture by twining. Some vessels have funnel-shaped necks with wider mouths (Northern Shoshoni, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache). The Ute and Navaho examples are coiled, which is also the case with the Moapa pieces of this shape.

The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite re-

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 482-483; Pinart-Loew Pattern, 205; Russell, 259.
[2] Lowie, (a), 179; Chamberlain, (b), 241, 245, 276; Lowie, (b), 237, 241; Wyman, Kawaiisu, Chumash, Kroeber, (g), 68; and Museum specimens in Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Mason, Report, 419; Curtis, I, 91; Hodge, 1907; Henry, (1, A., (b), 51, 1906; Hough, (a), 203, 206; Mason O. T., (a), 482, (b), 114; Hrdlička, (a), 642; Stanley and Woodin, 52.
[3] Mason, J. A., (a), 146.

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171 285 semblances to those of the Havasupai. Martynia as a decorative material is used by the Pima, Papago, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yuma Apache,[1] Yavapai, Havasupai, and Shivwits.

171 323 Pottery has an extensive distribution among the historic peoples of the Southwest. It extends throughout southern California and through the center of the Great Basin as far as the Salmon River in Idaho. In addition to the Pueblos, it has been found among the Northern Shoshoni, Uintah and Southern Ute, Navaho, Jicarilla, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Pima, Maricopa, Kwohatk, Papago, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chemeheuvi,[2] Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, and the southern Sierra Yokuts and Mono.[3] Whether it was manufactured by the Serrano and Salinan is doubtful. There is positive evidence that within this area it was not made by the Wind River Shoshoni on the one hand and the Paviotso on the west, nor by the Tonto Apache, Gabrielino, and Chumash.[4]

The pottery of this whole group is scanty and crude in comparison to that of the Pueblos. It is generally a rough brown unslipped ware, commonly undecorated. The Mohave and Pima form an exception, for they have the ware not only in quantity, but with considerable finish.[5] In general the pottery of the lower Colorado tribes and those adjacent on the Gila and in southern California is a somewhat specialised product. The body color is reddish, decorated with darker red, black, or yellow lines. Pima and Maricopa ware is cream colored, but in general of the same sort. Ornamentation is by angular figures, parallel lines, triangles, etc., always in the same general style. This is common to the Mohave, Cahuilla, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Papago, and probably some of their neighbors. Pima decoration is sometimes more involved, being in part in imitation of the prehistoric wares of the Gila Valley. But the character of line at least is quite like that of their western neighbors. Navaho pottery is decorated by incising and painting; the style is unknown to me.

The shape of the larger vessels is much the same among all the rancheria groups; globular ollas with either slightly restricted mouths or with wide necks tapering directly up from the greatest diameter of the

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[1] Bourke, (a), 143.

[2] Kroeber, (a), 342. Yet in another place it is implied that the Chemehuevi did not make pottery [Kroeber, (i), 243].

[3] Lowie, (a), 177; (b), 288 f; Stephen, 289; Frenchman Father, 316, 326, 328; Curtis, I, 20, 84, 89; Hodge, (a), 467; Corbusier, 264; Hodge, (a), 42–44; Russell, (a), 130–131; Chalfant, 204; Hodge, (a), 467; Corbusier, 264; Hodge, (a), 42–44; Russell, (a), 130–131; Chalfant, 204; Power, (J. A., (2), 199; Henshaw, (a), 298, 342, 357; Mollhausen, 132; Hayes, (a), 223; Pattie, 166; Schoolcraft, 66; Trippel, 275–277; Kroeber, (a), 277; Hoffer, (a), 342; Sparkman, 202.

[4] Kroeber, (a), 46, 54; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Henry, 419.

[5] Their pottery may be slipped like that of the Pueblos, but I can find no reference to this in the literature and doubt it.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom. 171 323

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking cornmeal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*. [252]

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4] 171 276

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Mompa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains. 171 281

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes. 171 281 462

[1] Field notes of R. H. Lowie.
[2] Spier, (a), 344; Hoyo, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 26.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 287, 293; Matthews, (f), 314; Whipple, Rolfsen, and Turner, 47; Russell, (a), 287; Sparkman, 232, 240; Washo data from Dorter R. H. Lowie, 1926; Dixon, (c) 214; J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yaudanchi used rawhide, not clay or stone, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipe" [(a), 142, 183].
[4] Grinnell, (b), I, 288.
[5] Schoolcraft, (b); Lowie, (l), 220ff; Mason, O. T., (c), 573.
[6] Curtis, 233; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 271; Dunn, 146; Hough, (d), 70, 72.

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171 372 Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their New Fire ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2-1224) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

285 171 Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

171 411 237 As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

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[1] Hough, (r), 865; Fewkes, (d), pl. 2; Lewis, (l), 222; (s), 189; (b), 214; Hough, (s), 326-343; Barrett, (a), 287; Hasselin und Günther, 15. Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1920.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 65.

[3] Hough, (s), Pl. 26; Lewis, (l), 222; (s), 189; Chamberlin, (s), 35; Barrett, (a), 287; Tolt, (s), 287; Hasselin und Günther, 14.

[4] Franciscan Fathers, 467.

[5] Russell, (d), 134; Spierman, 210; Dixon, (s), 142; Lewis, (s), 184.

[6] Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (s), 189.

[7] Pattie, 164; Goddard, (b), 261; Hough, (s), 287; Letherman, 282; Mason, O. T., (f), 840, 858, Pl. 79, Fig. 2; Dorsey, G. A., (k), 198; Bourke, (b), 87.

[Text continues on p. 160]

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Fig. 28. Distribution of the Sinew-Backed Bow in North America (omitting Eskimo types).

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of Anthropology, University of California (2–3342). The Tonto have a bow "strengthened at points by a wrapping of sinew," and that of the Yuma is also wrapped with sinew.[1] In California and the adjacent part of the Basin the sinew-backed bow is used by the Chemehuevi, Panamint, Kitanemuk (Tejon), Salinan, Yokuts, Wükchumni, Washo, Pavioteo, Northern Maidu, Yana (?), Northern Wintun, Eastern Pomo, Ateugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Rogue River peoples, Modoc and Klamath.[2] According to Kroeber this occurs generally in California south to the Tehachapi Range, including the Panamint and Yokuts and a single specimen attributed to the Chumash. The Cahuilla, the Northern and Southern Diegueño did not have the sinew-backed bow, nor did the Hopi, and perhaps Shivwits and Uintah.[3]

To the north and east this form is recorded for the Northern Ute, Lemhi, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Cheyenne, the Sioux of Montana, Hidatsa, Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, the natives of Port Discovery on Puget Sound, Middle Columbia Salish, Shuswap (?), Chilcotin, Carrier, Sekansi, Ts'ets'aut, Kenai, and the Tinneh of the lower Yukon River.[4] Mackenzie observed the bow in what is probably Bella Coola territory.[5] Another type, consisting of joined pieces of horn and backed with sinew is known from the Kaibab, Wind River[6] and Lemhi Shoshoni, Cheyenne, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Nez Percé. Some of those referred to above may be of horn rather than of wood. The data used here are not sufficient to distinguish between the wide bows of the Pacific slope and the slender variety of the Basin and Plains, as O. T. Mason does.

The Eskimo have still another form of the sinew-backed bow, which commonly has a cable of sinews extending along the back. This is known from Baffin Land to East Cape, Siberia. The trussed bow is also credited to the Navaho by the Havasupai. Compound bows are widely distributed in Siberia and other parts of the Old World.

There is some suggestion that the length of self bows increases in the direction of Baja California. The relevant data (chiefly approxima-

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[1]Stuart, 418; Trippel, 576.

[2]Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 32; credited to the Chemehuevi by the Southern Diegueño [Spier, (g), 336]; Carrillo, 269; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 63, Figs. 2, 3, 4; Pl. 92; 675; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; (d), 1305; Carrillo, 269; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 63, Figs. 2, 3, 4; Pl. 92; 675; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Powers, 373; Barrett, (b), 19; Lowie, (i), 245; Snyder, 327; Dixon, (a), 302; Pope, 230, 241, Pl. 53, Fig. 2; Pl. 68, Fig. 14; 237, Pl. 47, Fig. 8. Pomo data from Dr. Edwin Loeb; Wükchumni from Miss Ann Guyton. Dixon, (a), 313; Barrett, (a), 346; Quarterly Oregon Historical Society, 7, 1906, 178.

[3]Kroeber, (g), 33; Spier, (e), 330; Lowie, (i), 245.

[4]Collin, (a), 98; Lowie, (a), 175, 191; Thwaites, III, 19-20; Lowie, (g), 230; Winsor, (a), 155, 180; Kroeber, (b), 180; Skinner, 82; Grinnell, (b), I, 174. Pope, Pl. 48, Fig. 14, 240; Sapir, (a), 272; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 62, Figs. 2, 3; 676, 677; Teit, (g), 318, 782; ms. on Middle Columbia Salish; Morice, (b), 28, 50; Dean, (b), 868; Wasco specimen, Field Museum no. 60491.

[5]Mackenzie, II, 311.

[6]Powell, 126; Lowie, (i), 246.

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tions) at hand are: Maidu, 1 m., Salinan, 91 cm., Havasupai, 91 to 112, Western Apache, 162, Yavapai, 137, Mohave, 122 to 182, Pima, 135, Cahuilla, 122 to 137, Luiseño, 152, Southern Diegueño, 100 to 120, Cocopa, 182 to 243, Pipi[1] and Lower California Indians, 182, and Periucs, "long."[2] The exception here is the Southern Diegueño. 411 171

Mohave, Navaho, and Southern Diegueño bows at least are cut from the wood in the same way as the Havasupai. That is, the rounded back of the bow is the exterior of the tree limb, the interior is cut flat giving a trapezoidal cross-section. This may not be general.[3] [322]

The Navaho use the same bowstring hitches as the Havasupai and also attach a length of buckskin to the string. The bowguard or wrist protector is widely used. In this area it is recorded for the Yavapai, Tonto, Havasupai, Navaho, Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Payiotso, and Northern Shoshoni.[4]

The arrow wrench may be quite widely used. O. T. Mason ascribes it to the Plains Indians, the West Coast tribes, and the Eskimo. I have found it recorded among the Navaho, Ute, and Cheyenne,[5] as well as the Havasupai. This is a mountain sheep horn. The Hopi use antelope or goat horn[6]; the Cheyenne bone also. 171 412 321

Reed arrows are apparently restricted in the Southwest and California to the tribes in the direction of the lower Colorado River. The Yavapai, Tonto, Pima, Cocopa, Pipi, Seri, and the Indians of Baja California seem to use only reed arrows[7]; wooden ones are also used by the Navaho, Havasupai, Western and Mescalero Apache, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Panamint, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, and Maidu.[8] All other tribes mentioned in the second paragraph below apparently have wooden arrows only. The Havasupai and Luiseño favor the reed, the Cahuilla the wooden arrow. It is interesting that the Payiotso make a wooden arrow with a separate foreshaft in the manner of a reed arrow.[9] 411 171

There is also a suggestion that arrows from the lower Colorado and Baja California are longer than elsewhere. This might be expected from

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[1] A group one hundred miles below the mouth of the Gila and below the Cocopa (Pattie, 201).

[2] Dixon, (a), 202; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Bourke, (b), 57; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 30; Russell, (d), 96; Kroeber, (g), 86; Sparkman, 205; Spier, (c), 330; Chittenden, 304; Bancroft, 488; North, 228.

[3] Pope, 205, Pl. 66, Fig. 2; 207, Pl. 67, Fig. 7; Spier, (c), 330.

[4] Corbusier, 283; Bancroft, 418; Stockbridge, (a), 784; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (a), 240, 298; Whipple, 114; Russell, (d), 102; Spier, (d), 358; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 192.

[5] Franciscan Fathers, 319; Mason, O. T., (f), 609; Grinnell, (b), I, 179.

[6] Hough, (a), 270.

[7] Whipple, 98; Bancroft, 418; Russell, (d), 96; Heintzelman, 43; Pattie, 201; McClee, 197, Bancroft, 502; North, 228.

[8] Franciscan Fathers, 182, 319; Mason, O. T., (f), 608, 601; Pattie, 164; Trippel, 370; Kroeber, (c), 86; Corbin, 282; Sparkman, 205, 208; Spier, (c), 324; Dixon, (a), 203.

[9] Lowie, (i), 246.

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the fact that their bows are longer, but the correlation is not close. Approximate lengths follow—:

	Wood	*Reed*
Maidu	82–87 cm.	
Havasupai	70–73	75 cm.
Western Apache		60
Mohave		very long
Pima		78–85
Luiseño		90
Southern Diegueño	60	74–80
Seri		65
Baja California		95–120
Pericues		90+

Wooden arrows sometimes have shallow longitudinal grooves running along the shaft; these are usually wavy or zigzag. O. T. Mason states that "the Eskimo do not make them, neither do the Northwest Coast Indians. Athapascan, Shoshonean, Siouan, Kiowan tribes are especially given to this practice."[1] The distribution of this feature is wide, but more restricted to a definite area than Mason's generalization would imply. Such grooves are generally used in the Southwest, in the Basin and northern California, and throughout the Plains, but I have found them nowhere else with the exception of the Western Déné. In addition to the literature, I have examined the collections in the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, with some care, and somewhat more casually those in the Field Museum, United States National Museum, Museum of the American Indian, Washington State Museum, and the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B. C. It occurs among the following tribes: Yuma, Mohave, Havasupai, Hopi,[2] Zuñi, Western Apache,[3] Navaho,[4] San Ildefonso, Taos, Pieuris, Mescalero, Southern Ute and those of Utah, Wind River (?) Shoshoni, Snake of Idaho, Maidu,[5] Wintun, Achomawi, McCloud River, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Klamath,[6] Wasco,[7] Rock Creek Sahaptins,[8] Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Western Déné,[9] Crow,[10] Cheyenne

[1] Mason, O. T., (f), 688.
[2] Hough, (e), 209.
[3] Mason, O. T., (f), 684.
[4] Franciscan Fathers, 312.
[5] Dixon, (a), 235.
[6] Merriam, (f), 670.
[7] Field Museum, no. 69491.
[8] Washington State Museum specimens 3793 and 3795.
[9] Morice, (b), 54.
[10] Lowie, (b), 230.

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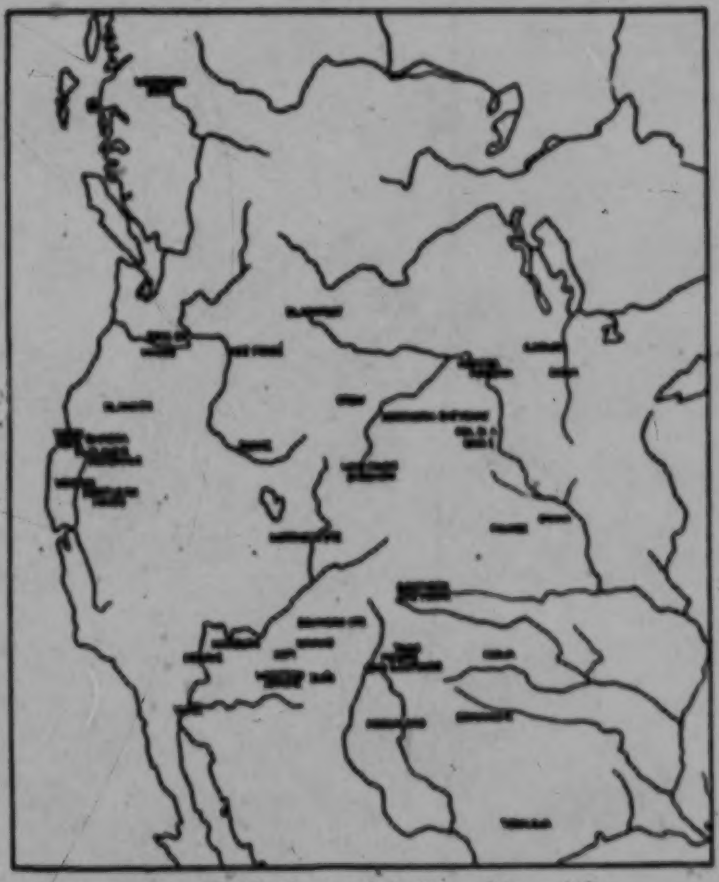

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Fig. 28. The Distribution of the Cocopai Arrowshaft.

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(both northern and southern groups),[1] Hidatsa, Mandan,[2] Oglala, Brûlé, and other western Sioux, the Sioux of Devil's Lake (Minnesota?), Ojibway of Dakota, Omaha,[3] Pawnee,[4] Kiowa, Comanche, and Tonkawa[5] (Fig. 29).

Three grooves range from zigzag to straight lines. While my notes are not sufficiently complete for certainty, there is a suggestion of regional specialization of this feature. That is, Tonkawa, Comanche, and Kiowa examples are straight or nearly so; the others, where we have information, are wavy (Nez Percé, Wasco, Snake, Maidu, Ute, Havasupai, Navaho, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Ojibway). Cheyenne arrows have a straight groove on one side, a zigzag on the other. That from the Sioux of Devil's Lake is straight, but others from the Sioux figured by Mason are wavy or zigzag.

Several explanations are offered: they represent lightning to the Navaho, Havasupai, and Mandan;[6] blood channels to the Western Apache and Pawnee. The last also say that the grooves cause the arrow to adhere to the wound. Those of the Western Déné and Klamath are also styled blood gutters, but I am not sure that the Indians call them that. The Omaha explain them as a device to prevent the arrow from returning to its natural bent, an explanation accepted by Grinnell in connection with the Cheyenne, but the grooves are so shallow, the merest traces, that it is difficult to see how they could function, if a longitudinal groove would serve at all. This seems nothing but a rationalization, not different from the blood-channel explanation.

[1] Grinnell, (2), I, 199.
[2] Matthews, (1), pp. 62d.
[3] Dorsey and La Flesche, 491.
[4] Mason, O. T., (2), 274.
[5] Mason, O. T., (2), figs. 212-3, 215-8, 221-3, XLII, 1-3, XLIII, 1-3, 5, XLIV, 4; XLV, 2, 4, 5; XLVI, 2, 4; XLVII, 2, 4; LXXII, 3; Hough, (1), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (2), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (3), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (4), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (5), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (6), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (7), pp. 1, 2; Hough, (8), pp. 1, 2; Hough,

MEASUREMENTS, TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND COLORS

A number of measurements are in use. These have no names. The finger span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, and the hand length, from the tip of the middle finger along the palm to the wrist, are used in measuring arrow foreshafts, for example. Finger width, that is of the first two fingers, gives the width of a bow. The arm length, from the tip of the middle finger along the inside of the arm to the shoulder joint, gives that of the arrowshaft. The span of the arms, i.e., between the outstretched hands, is used to measure buckskins, the rawhide being measured in finger spans. The half arm span, from the sternum to the finger tips, is half the length of a bow. Steps are used in measuring houses, etc. Formerly the foot length was not in use. The Hopi use the forearm to measure the length of ears of corn when trading, but the Havasupai make no use of this measurement. 804 [171]

By way of a device for laying out lines, for example, in making a woman's dress, the bow is used: the bark furnishes curved lines, the string straight ones. [194]

I have not observed that the fingers or other objects are used in counting. Of course counters are used in certain games, but not because they cannot reckon without them. Beside the numerals given below,[1] fractions (at least a half) are named. 802

1 hi'là
2 xuwàgà
3 hàmdgà
4 hop'à
5 mi'kpà
6 taqp'
7 xuwagnep'k
8 humugnep'k
9 hal'mdla
10 viwa"avà
20 wavàhulgà or xulgàxuwàgà

[1] See also Harrington, (a), 324.

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The list is apparently incomplete and garbled, yet I have attempted to give the approximately corresponding months in our calendar on the basis of the dating of the constellations and the descriptions of the seasons.

It is obvious that twelve names cannot do duty for not quite thirteen lunations and it is manifest that the Havasupai do not attempt the impossible. I was told that these are not intended to coincide with the lunar months and that the days are not counted. It seems that what I found true of the Southern Diegueño applies here: that these Indians are interested only in designating a series of periods without attempting to fix their limits, and these periods are roughly the lunations, the names of which are variable and frequently in doubt. The only certain months are those fixed by the appearance of the several star clusters, and these all occur at the beginning of the Havasupai year. There can be no question here of interealation of the thirteenth lunation in a twelve name series.

There is some suggestion that the months begin with the full moon.

Month	*Began*	*Full Moon*
1st–1917	Middle of November	Nov. 28, 1917
1st–1919	Nov. 4, 1919	Nov. 7, 1919
3rd (or 2nd)– 1919	Dec. 12 or 13, 1919	Dec. 7, 1919
4th–1920	Feb. 6, 1920	Feb. 4, 1920

The solstices are recognised. Sinyella has a definite place where he stands to observe both solstices at sunrise. Presumably the other fixed points are pinnacles, etc., on the canyon walls. (Normally the canyon is deserted in mid-winter.) The winter solstice (*n„ɔ́ŋkig*, coming back) occurs when the moon is half full. Sinyella fixed this as December 30, 1919. The summer solstice is *tnyáhin„an„ɔ́wuha*, the sun is home. I did not learn of any rituals connected with those dates.

Time is indicated chiefly by the position of the sun.

n„hmíñ'vumá	day time
tnya"djí'ihgigá	sun barely risen
tnyá'tapé'vigigá	sun risen half way
tnyá'vñuwívigá	noon (sun in the middle[1])
tnyáhepé'vigá	sun halfway down
tnyáhi'pmigá	sun fallen out of sight
natáh'épigá	night
natáh'épvñuwívigá	midnight
dju'vn„mñaván kpañin	before the dawn
halává'pigigá	dawn.

The moon (*Aalá*) is a man or a man's head. A myth also describes it as a disk chipped out of ice.

[1]Or the sun making no progress: compare *e'hevñuwívigá*, horses racing nose to nose.

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Havasupai

A knotted cord or quipu (*dătsuddĭgă*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 20, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

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These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

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Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

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north	mätdvĭgă
west	xyatĕqwĭ (sun's setting place)
south	kăwĭvĭgă
east	xyădjă'dăvĕ (sun's rising place)
zenith	amădvĭgă or tsuiădvĭgă (middle of the sky)
nadir	matvĭdlă or ămătădvĭgă (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ămătătu"waiyĕ'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

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Color terms are as follows:—

tuyăgă or tuyădj	black
tuyuwĭgă	brown
ăhwŏ'tĭgă	red
gwalaxĭgă	pink
ăgwădĭg	yellow
nyhuxt'vă	white
vaxtwă	blue-green
vahaxtgă (?)	blue
vahaxdlădvĭgă	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Stephen, 94, 899); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Fewkes, (a), 33). That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache ritual is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 7.)

[171]

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822 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course
151 recognise and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (*n,ddlpd*) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the
171 Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains,
805 and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North
x American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

Some suggested identities among the constellations recognised by
171 tribes in this area follow[4].
821

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand + to come)
		Begins year				Begins year
		November or September				November
		Buzzard (in third month)				
		January or November				
		Ctlák (in fourth month)				Coyote (in second (month)
		December?				December
						Cold star (Perseus?)
						February

[1] Cope, map 5.
[2] Matthews, Navaho, 35.
[3] Curtiss, 220; Spier, (c), 247. Cope shows the Yavapai year (called Tonto), marked by seed-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but seed-gathering belongs with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño year is shown with the autumnal type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] Du Bois, (a), 166, 244; Waterman, footnote 90; Spier, (c), 210, 247; Trippel, 378; Curtiss, 222.

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Hulsish or hsin'-shum (3 stars) (Orion)	Ma or mma, mountain sheep (Orion)	Amo, mountain sheep (3 stars)	A-moo (3 stars) (Great Bear)	Amo, mountain sheep (3 stars) (Orion)	Mo-'o, mountain sheep (Orion's belt)

171 ●
821

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand + to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest [805]

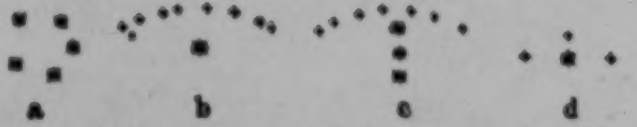

Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cl̃úk (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I [114] think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-mu, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavich buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cl̃úk* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure [805]

[1] *Handbook*, 686.

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only in the early months of both calendars is presumptive evidence of historic connection.

There are some data on the identity of another group in this region. The Havasupai may know the cluster, but I did not record it. This appears to be the three stars of Orion's Belt, called *Mountain Sheep* by Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and *Hulaiah* or *Hule'ehum* by Luiseño. I think Trippel is mistaken in identifying *A-mau* (presumably mountain sheep) with the Great Bear; there is no obvious triad in that constellation. Waterman doubtfully questions the identification of the Northern Diegueño group with Orion. Southern Diegueño *Mountain Sheep* is probably the same group, which makes it impossible for *Cliâk* to be the Belt.

In our area the quipu or knotted string record is a formal accompaniment of an invitation to a gathering; one knot is cut off or untied for each day that elapses until the event. Beside the Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho, this must have been in general use among the Pueblos for it figured in the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.[1] There is also a mythical reference to the device among the Zuñi.[2] The Miwok and the Northern and Southern Maidu have invitation strings identical with these.[3] The Huichol knot strings to keep count of days, untying a knot for each day elapsed. They also enumerate lovers by knotting cords.[4] As a mnemonic device the knotted string is also known to some Mission Indians, the Palonies (a subdivision of the Chemehuevi), the Klallam, Yakima, the Interior Salish of Nicola Valley, B.C., the Zuñi[5], and in a variety of forms in Peru. It is conceivable that this has a continuous distribution from Peru to Canada.

[illegible], 24, 18; Hodge, 1910.
[illegible], 16, 17.
[illegible], 24, 208, 371; Fewkes, 44; Parsons, 1918.
[illegible], 27, 17, 119-120.
[illegible], in litt., 24. Kroeber information from Ross Gardner, Lewiston and Harrington.

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms: some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*opd"d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[313] [291]

Fig. 98. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointesa[2], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 99). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as breastworks by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

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Ute, and it was found by Stansbury west of Great Salt Lake.[1] The Yuma use it for their summer residence. The Navaho hogan is the same structure, perhaps a little more substantially built, but bark roofed like the Southern Ute house and dirt covered like the Havasupai. This brush lodge is used by the Mescalero and Jicarilla, but both groups prefer the tipi. The Lipan do not build this form at all. The San Carlos Apache house is hemispherical, but the poles are arched rather than looked together. To the south the Seri construct a rough elongated hemisphere of a series of arches, brush covered. This is a tiny affair more like the Havasupai sweatlodge than the dwelling, but inasmuch as it is dome-shaped and the other tribes of northern Mexico make use of rectangular structures of another sort, it may questionably be included with our group above. The Luiseño house, conical and brush covered, should probably be included as well, but Sparkman's description leaves room for doubt. The Pima and Maricopa have a composite type: a thatched and dirt covered hemisphere of arched poles is raised over a rectangular foundation.[2]

The covered entrance-way of the Havasupai is also found in the Navaho hogan.

This form of lodge is typical then of an area principally west of the Pueblos and in the Basin. It has marked analogies in the north in the mat-covered, hemispherical lodges sometimes used by the Wishram, Wasco, Nez Percé, Klamath, and some of the interior Salish, and in the Plains tipi to the east. Some of the eastern Basin peoples, in fact (Northern and Wind River Shoshoni, and Ouray Ute) build tipis which are covered with brush or grass in place of skins.[3] It has been conjectured that the tipi of the Plains and the wickiup to the west in the Basin are related forms. But it is not clear whether these Shoshonean structures are to be regarded as adaptations of the Plains tipi or whether the latter is a specialized form of an earlier type represented by these and the bark covered tipi of Canada. The relations with Californian types are not clear.[4]

One further comparative point should be observed here. The Havasupai erect the lodge on a four-pole foundation. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and it is true of the tipis of the same people and

[1] Dunn, (b), 198, 199, 200; Culbertson, 252; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 144; Gatschet, 288; Bartlett, I, 362; Powell, Fig. 43; Dodge-Hough, 1777; Lowie, (i), 216-220; Barrett, (b), 10; Mooney, (b), 1896, I, 262

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171 342 the Wind River. Lowie has pointed out their resemblance in this regard to the Blackfoot and Crow, and, to complete the list from Wissler's notes, the Sarsi, Hidatsa, Salteaux, Comanche, and possibly the Kiowa Apache.[1] It is important to know the foundation pattern for the other tribes of this area. For if they all use four poles then Lowie's suggestion might be reversed; the four-pole tipi of the Blackfoot, Crow, and others being derived from the Basin peoples. The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analogous to the usual Plains tipi. We should know what the Jicarilla and Mescalero use to solve this puzzle.

The gable house is typical of the Mohave, but is used by the Havasupai and White Mountain Apache. It is characteristic of this form that the walls closing the gable ends slant as well as the sides and that the corners are rounded. The Southern Diegueño house is presumably a related type, although it lacks these features. We should probably look to other southern and central Californian tribes for similar forms.[2]

The Navaho log cabin of polygonal groundplan is copied by the Havasupai. It has been suggested that this structure is related to the log roofing of some prehistoric subterranean kivas.

171 343 The flat-roofed, rectangular shade is very widely used but it is not usually walled in. When three or four sides are closed it forms a definite type of house, which furthermore seems to have only a local distribution. This includes the Havasupai, Moapa and Tointesa[a] Paiute, and Mohave. These Paiute houses are said to have sloping roofs, but I take this to be only a minor difference. The rectangular, gable-roofed house of the Cahuilla and of the modern Southern Diegueño may belong to the same type. The walled-in shade seems to be related to a type of structure used to the south by the Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and Yuma; that is, a similar rectangular house of which the walls are vertical poles wattled with brush and mud. This in turn bears resemblance to the houses of the Opata and Jumanos in northern Mexico.[3]

The matter of house types is further complicated by the reports of communal dwellings in southern California. We know little about these.

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[1] Wissler, (a), 110.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 877. Goddard, (a), 2nd ed., 144. The Moapa house referred to by Lowie [(b), 218, Fig. 7a] as of Mohave type is not characteristic of that tribe, although it is used by them (see *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921).
[3] Bandelier, (a), 86, 90.

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281 this warp at intervals of 5 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; speci-
286 mens measuring 75 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls, [291] at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as [171] at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes 291 wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women, 294 with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin

a b

Fig. 42 a (80.2-1276a), b (80.2-1277a). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*mahányâ*°, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho [439] silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of four handsome serapé together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An underskirt is universally worn.
[2] Neither one-piece moccasins, sandals, nor basketry shoes are made.
[3] This is the type shown by Winsor, (a), Fig. 97, for the Zuñi.

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302 rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with
[515] yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds
[829] cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not
301 [439] made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to
[751] prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in
[171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such
[439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a
304 relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and with-
[751] out esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants
301 are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads
[439] hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons
[304] are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings[1] are made of the flat
301 spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and fore-
306 finger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*ăllăv-lăkă*[6]; *ăll*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭt*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidĭdjĕd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all
302 ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] Not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 266).
[2] Cushing, (a), 346.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *k*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a 316 mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a 317 small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*mattapáddji*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 316 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black [302] paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matthá'a*

[171]

[1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their heads black in this manner instead of red.

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177 by the Pueblo and Navaho, suggest a fascinating problem which ought
291 to be open to analysis, but will not be attempted here.

We are dealing here with an area in which two styles of clothing
● 171 prevail. For men, these are either sandals, kilt or apron, and cloth
291 poncho, or else moccasins, leggings, breechclout, and the Plains shirt, which is essentially a skin poncho. For women, the types that correspond are sandals with either aprons or the dress of the Pueblo women, an uncut square of cloth, or again moccasins and the Plains woman's dress.

The characteristic Californian man's garment is the apron of fiber or skin. For example, on the borders of our area the Aehomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño men wear a single apron in front and never affect the breechcloth. The Mohave use either breechclout or apron. The apron is presumably related to the traditional garment of the Pueblo, a woven kilt, persisting today only in ceremonial dress. The Navaho make use of a broad fringed belt which to the Franciscan Fathers suggests a kilt.[1]

All the other Southwestern tribes and their neighbors wear breechclouts. This is recorded for the Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Pima, Navaho, and the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. It is implied in the Plains dress of the Northern Shoshoni and Jicarilla, and undoubtedly was used by Mescalero and Western Apache and by the Paiute.[2] Even
[177] where trousers of Spanish or later patterns have displaced the Pueblo kilt, the breechclout is worn, as at Zuñi, beneath the trousers.

The breechclout is then characteristic of the whole area westward to the Californian border, excepting only the Pueblo of the prehistoric period. There is some variation even in this simple garment. The typical Plains form having long flaps pendent front and back is that of the northern Pueblos, Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. Other Pueblos and the Havasupai, Maricopa, and Cocopa wear it with short flaps. On the other hand that of the Mohave is long again, while that of the adjacent Yavapai has a long flap in the rear.

The Pueblo trousers are ultimately derived from Spanish sources;
171 short-waisted, knee length, and open at the knee. The Havasupai form
177 with the outer seams open at intervals is identical with the Navaho,
291 from which it is probably derived. Kaibab Paiute are also shown in one

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[1] Dixon, (a), 209-210; Spier, (a), 249; Whipple, 114; Franciscan Fathers, 439; Lowie, (i), 216; Wissler, Erdmann, and Turner, 35; Curtis, 251-252; Simms, 419; Tribal, 322; Hollenbeck, 48; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 210-220; Bartlett, II, 180, 226; Russell, 48, 147; Letherman, 249; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 66, 184; Lowie, (a), 180-181.

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of Powell's illustrations wearing trousers, or perhaps only long fringed leggings. One curious feature about the Havasupai and Zuñi garments is that they are made from two straight pieces which fail to meet at the belt in front, leaving a space to be covered by the breechclout. This suggests an origin of the pattern in two long leggings attached to the belt, but the case is inconclusive.[1]

The Plains man's shirt is found throughout this area, though it is probably not so commonly worn as on the Plains. It is essentially a poncho of skin, as Wissler has demonstrated, yet always with a well-defined pattern. It is precisely the Plains form which we encounter everywhere. It is recorded for the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Western Apache, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, other Rio Grande Pueblos, Zuñi, Hopi,[2] Pima, Mohave,[3] Yavapai,[4] Havasupai, Paiute,[5] Uintah Ute, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Klamath.

Wissler has made a case for the origin of the Plains shirt pattern in the cloth poncho.[6] The older Havasupai type and that of the Yavapai lend corroboration; both are folded skins slit to pass over the head. The woven poncho is at least characteristic of the Pueblos in our area, as well as in use throughout Mexico and the cordilleran region to the south. The Navaho also have the typical form; a blanket so woven that a slit remains in the fabric. The Southern Diegueño prepare a rabbitskin blanket similarly. Yet, both the Hopi and Navaho[7] make a cloth poncho which, by the addition of short lengths of cloth to cover the arms, approximates the Plains type of shirt. It is more likely that this is in imitation of the Plains garment, which was patterned on the original simple cloth poncho, than the reverse.

The triangular flaps attached front and back to the Plains shirt at the neck hole have been tentatively explained by Wissler as possibly originating in a knife sheath hung in front of the throat.[8] It is difficult to account for two appendages in this manner. I think rather we have here confirmation of his general theory, for the Mexican ponchos in the collection of the American Museum are decorated with large lozenges woven at their centers, so arranged that when the cloth is folded, a triangular area extends downward from the neck hole in front and in back.

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 440; Powell, Fig. 45; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 309.
[2] Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 31; Hough, (a), 242-245.
[3] "A kind of tunic made of a buckskin fringe hanging over the shoulders" (Whipple, 114).
[4] A deerskin folded crosswise, slit for the head, and tied at the sides (Curtemier, 1862).
[5] Handbook of *American Indians*, II, 166, ill.
[6] Wissler, (d).
[7] Matthews, (d), Fig. 149; Franciscan Fathers, 247, 437, 438.
[8] Wissler, (e), 268.

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Women's dresses present an even more interesting case of merging of patterns. East of our area the Plains women's dress is a long garment reaching to the shins, comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part turned down to form decorative flaps over the chest and shoulder blades. To the west women wear a short apron or skirt of cords, etc., pendent from the belt or made of skins. Among the Havasupai, Yavapai, Navaho, and possibly the Kaibab, these patterns coalesce but in different ways.

The Plains dress is used within this area by the Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Paviotso, Jicarilla[1] and probably Mimbreños[2] Apache, Navaho at times, Kaibab Paiute and possibly others near them, although Paiute women had scanty attire as a rule.[3]

On the other hand the Achomawi and Atsugewi, like typical Californians, wear a fringe or apron of deerskin or a deerskin skirt, the Southern Diegueño two aprons of pendent twigs, the Pericues a skirt or long girdle of fiber or deerskins, and other Lower Californians two aprons, usually of reeds strung together,[4] the Chemehuevi a bark petticoat, the Cocopa an apron of cords, the Yuma two aprons of willow (that in front reaching to the knee and the other made like a bustle and extending to the bottom of the calf), the Mohave a fore skirt of cords and a back skirt of strips of the inner bark of the cottonwood, the Apache-Yuma sometimes a kilt of strips of bark hung over the belt,[5] the Maricopa and Pima skirts of cotton cloth, buckskin, or willow bark.[6] The Mescalero and Western Apache garment, a skirt from waist to knees and "generously provided with fringes of buckskin," is presumably the same as these.[7]

The Havasupai woman's dress is clearly a modification of the two-apron type in the direction of the Plains dress. The front apron has been lengthened to hang from breast to shins and the upper part turned back to form a flap in the manner of the Plains yoke. There is a distinction however in that the neck part of the skin is at the top, not at the bottom as in the Plains dress. That it is hung by a band around the neck is unessential, for unless there is a corresponding back part to which it might be sewed it must be hung in some such fashion. No such change has occurred in the back apron; I do not fathom the reason for the horn-shaped additions. One curious feature is that an abbreviated

[1] Lowie, (i), 217; (a), 1806; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 181.
[2] Jackets or tunics of deerskin (Bartlett, II, 239).
[3] Pattie, 166; Powell, 116, Fig. 44; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 127, ill.
[4] North, 238; Bancroft, 261.
[5] Bourke, Corbusier, and Turner, 33, 61; Corbusier, 262.
[6] Russell, (a), 119.
[7] Goddard, (c).

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apron is always worn under the long garment. It seems probable that this is the original form of front apron perpetuated by the strong force of habit after the longer form was evolved. And it may be that the long garment was only infrequently worn, perhaps only in cold weather. An ornamental fringe worn in front as a belt looks like a further repetition of the apron idea.

Yavapai dress is identical. Two aprons are worn; a buckskin hung in front of the belt and another behind, and in winter

> a third one suspended from the neck by strings, and bound at the waist by a belt to protect the chest.

Even the decorations are alike; in both jinglers are put on the fringes, including bone tubes on the tabs of the neck straps.[1]

Powell illustrates a Kaibab woman's dress which is of the Plains variety, a long skin affair with a fringed yoke. Yet there appears to be a short fringed apron over this.[2]

The older Navaho dress is a more direct imitation of Plains costume in cloth. Two blankets, which hang well below the knees, are sewed together over the shoulders, sewn from the bottom to the waist, and belted with a woven girdle.[3] This may be taken to be an adaptation of the Pueblo woman's cloth dress to the Plains pattern.

The Mescalero and Western Apache women are credited with an upper garment which may be an approximation to the Plains dress or perhaps to the man's shirt. It "had an opening for the head and two large square portions which fell in front and behind to the hips." This may also be true of the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño, who wear a poncho garment like that of the men; the first two a skin slit for the head and sewn under the arms, the last a rabbitskin blanket.[4] The Klamath have both the long dress and the skirt of bark strings.

In addition to these two general types, there is the dress of the Pueblo women. This is a garment formed of a square of cloth folded lengthwise and sewed into a tube. This hangs under the left arm with two corners fastened over the right shoulder.[5]

A woven belt similar to that worn by Pueblo women is used by the Havasupai (who derive them from the Hopi) and by the Navaho, Pima, and Mohave.

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[1] Curtis, 282.
[2] Powell, Fig. 44.
[3] Stephen, (b), 288; Letherman, 809; illustrated by Matthews, (a), Pl 34 and 36; Lippe, facing p. 48; James, (d), Fig. 139.
[4] Heizelnut, (c), 2nd ed., 181; Dixon, (c), 209-210; Spier, (c), 340.
[5] Hough, (c), 847.

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171 291 301 Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apache and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

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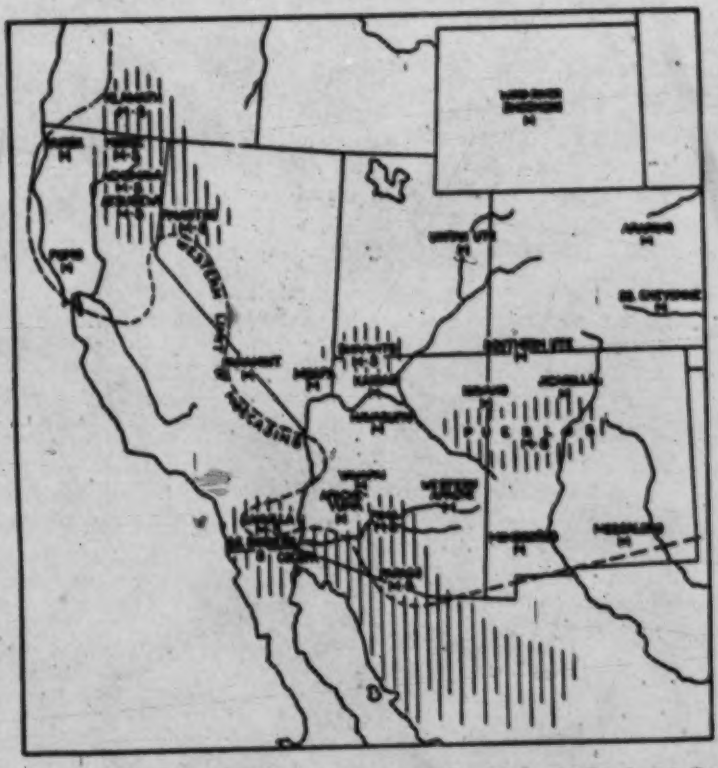

Fig. 49. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and Californian Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

171 291 D75 The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, (5), 140; St. Clair and Lowie, 279.

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(said to have formerly had the one-piece type, the hard-soled affair being introduced from the Arapaho), Uintah and Southern Ute, the Jicarilla (by implication), Mescalero, Mimbreños, the Pueblos, Navaho, Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai, Apache-Yuma, Pima, Papago, Cahuilla, Kaibab, Shivwits, and Moapa Paiute (used by the rich among the last), Panamint, Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi,[1] Yurok, and Modoc. Yurok, Klamath, and Pomo have a one-piece moccasin, with a seam up the toe, which has a considerable distribution in California. It is not clear that moccasins are usually men's footgear alone. On the contrary, the implication is frequently that they were used by both sexes. But there is usually some difference in pattern. Pueblo women customarily go barefoot, in which the Havasupai women resemble them. Moccasins are for them articles of gala dress or for journeys.[2] This is also true of the usual Papago and Pima usage, and indeed may be general in the Basin. [292]

It is difficult to make comparisons with neither specimens nor specific descriptions at hand. Yet there seem to be two prevailing general types; low moccasins covering the ankles and high forms in which the upper is wrapped around the calf. The latter is generally confined to women. The low types are used by Havasupai, Zuñi, Hopi, Cochiti, Navaho, Apache-Yuma, and Cahuilla, and usually by men. Boot-like affairs are also ascribed to the Tonto (men), Mimbreños (men), and Pueblos. The wrapped-around type is used by Yavapai of both sexes and by women among Havasupai, Navaho, and the Pueblos.

Wissler's pattern Number[3]	*Havasupai*	*Navaho*	*Hopi*	*Zuñi*	*Cochiti*
17—First Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women		?	×	
——Second Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women				
14—(but with short upper)	Men	Men	×		×
14—Third Havasupai type	Women	Women			
15			×		
18			×		

[1] Lewis, (i), 218; Pettis, 161; Bartlett, I, 327–328; Hough, (r), 251; Dumarest, 146; Beart, 419; Carbonier, 262; Whipple, 98; Goddard, (a), 2nd ed., 127; Kroeber, (g), 61; Dutcher, 378; Barrett, (a), 255.

[2] Hopi women wear the wrapped moccasin only at marriage ceremonies (Hough, (d), 72).

[3] Wissler, (a), 148–151. See also especially Stephen, (a), 131, 133; Mason, O. T., (g), 302; Dumarest, Fig. 19.

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171 291 These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently [531] colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south[1] through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[2]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Pecos, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the putter-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[3]

171 281 286 291 Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus, and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[4]

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[1] E. g., Hutchel (Lamberts, (a), Pl. I, II.)
Wyler, (e), 344 f; Kroeber, (l), 61; Mason, O. T., (g), 302; Trippel, 555; Barrett, (a), 255; Chittenden, 304.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 47, 238; Stephen, (p); 133; Mason, (l. T., (g), 409.

[3] The weaving of a rabbitskin blanket is illustrated by James, (d), Fig. 3, but according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Paiute and Walapai, (k), 277.

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 379; Hough, (d), 262; Franciscan Fathers, 141; Curtis, II, 93; Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (e), 340; Sparkman, 230; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127; Powers, 438, 551; Fayo, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (j), 196, 216, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 330; Lowie, (a), 178.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo basket weaving, formerly a man's art or with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai. [462]

[3] Stephen, 355; Franciscan Fathers, 464; Hough, (e), 245; Hubbard, et Zwicel, &c.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Curtemer, 270); Bourke, (d), 414.

[5] Gathered "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33).

[6] Spier, (e), 340.

[7] Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 505; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Bandelier, (a), 253; Bartlett, I, 432, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33. The Umeras, a tribe found in 1540 at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Bandelier, (a), 111). Mohave, 547, see also Lumholtz, (a), 9; Curtis, II, 93.

[8] Stuart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 480.

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Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in those pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Achomawi and Atsugewi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Pattie, 164; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 94; Lewis, (l), 216, 217; (a), 182; Franciscan Fathers, 80. For a western group see Dixon, (c), 210.
[2] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 806; Bartlett, II, 238.
[3] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 220, 260; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371.
[4] Corbusier, 260.
[5] Russell, (d), 116; Kissell, 143; Lumholtz, (c), II, 223.
[6] Corbusier, 260, 282.

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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1] 171 302

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 361) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1800 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Moapa state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Similarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7] 171 304

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[1] Corbusier, 281.

[2] Lowie, (i), 207. But all the Maricopa painted red in token of amity, according to Patte (132).

[3] Powers, 42, 381, 397. Powers assumes a war-like implication for red paint, but Wm. Clayton tells me that this was an error of the local whites, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (i), 311; Kroeber, (g), 62; Russell, (d), 161; Spier, (e), 341; Mason, J. A., (a), 129.

[4] Kroeber, (a), 254; Whipple, 114; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Stratton, 74; Trippel, 383 f; Heintzelman, 48; Spier, (e), 342; Bartlett, II, 229; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Russell, (d), 162; Corbusier, 280 f.

[5] Dorsey, G. A., (b), 185.

[6] Lewis, (a), 182. For Zuñi see Sinclair, 388; Franciscan Fathers, 74, 508.

[7] According to Hrdlička [(d), 490] the older San Carlos are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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Tattooing also occurs elsewhere in California. I do not know how closely this resembles the style of the lower Colorado tribes. But the Maidu women, who alone as a rule bear the decoration, have three to seven vertical lines on the chin. There are regional differences among these people. Among Achomawi and Atsugewi, who tattoo but little, the women also have three lines on chin or cheek, the men a line of dots on the temple. This is somewhat like the Klamath custom. Yokuts and Costanoan also tattooed.[1]

[1] Chamberlain, 01, 197; 04, 210; Merriam, J. A., 04, 139.

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. 624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gamálwa* or *kahd't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdwa*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *málovagidjigdtá*. Jess differentiated between them by *mâledk'adja* and *pagamâlwakâwatêha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahatc* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwaAdzi*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from H. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is Aca-ak-lual (Trippel, 508).

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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about
648 fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai
●171 in 1776.

623 On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*amθiŋ*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 325–326. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, that is, in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 553.

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sūwikóvd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

726 In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gdgōgd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*gdwawid'g*, scalp; *gdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettie, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwidágwit [Winkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátaiá [Colorado River] a little below Huiltovók'ôvá [pine precipice, Mâho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 483.

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Coeopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 176; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lippe, 48; Curtis, I, 125–127; Mooney, (e), 253.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 32, 66; Gifford, (a), 173, 180; Reid, 11.

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [6M] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1]Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 153; Lowie, (h), 275-278; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 339-341; (c), 217; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2]Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 239; Bolton.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Densmore, 1068; Russell, (d), 196.

[4]Parsons, (c), 260-262; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 58; Franciscan Fathers, 427.

[5]Bolton.

[6]Kroeber, (c), 778; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Hoijer, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan 'chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 346, 352, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 43; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 282-285; Dixon, (c), 215; (d), 301.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointesa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointesa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[8] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[9] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 168, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (c), 339; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (o), 785.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 66; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (c), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (o), 289.
[6] Lowie, (i), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 309.

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story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

> divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialization was general in this area.

At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribution. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

[1] Powell, 118, 128.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 236, 318.
[3] Powers 331; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly California tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (d), 193, 202.
[7] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 80; Barrows, 80; Huffman, in Reid, 29; Trippel, 577; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 96; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 331.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 398.
[9] Bourke, (b), 89; Lowie, (i), 240.
Pfeiler, (e), 354.
[10] Meano; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 602.

[Text continues on p 258]

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Fig. 51. Distribution of Tunic, Rod, and Slat Armor in North America.

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171 411 Pima, Luiseño, Clear Lake Pomo, Trinity Wintun, Puget Sound Salish, and on southwestern Vancouver Island.[1]

171 713 It is well known that armor is used in a wide area of western North America from Bering Straits into the southern continent. The only variety we are concerned with here is a tunic formed of several thicknesses of heavy skin, commonly joined and stiffened by layers of glue and sand. Something of the sort is in use among Havasupai, Navaho, Western (?) Apache, Zuñi, Opata, Aztec, Comanche, Pawnee, Paviotso, Maidu, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Wailaki, Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, Takelma, Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Chinook, Quinault, Twana, Chimakum, Klallam, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Nootka, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, Loucheux, Hare, Nass, Taku, Chilcat and other Tlingit, and undoubtedly others.[2] The Blackfoot have a tradition of its use. The Pima evidently do not use armor.[3] To the south quilted cotton armor was used by Mexicans, Toltecs, Mayas, Isthmians, and Peruvians, according to Hough. Slat and rod armor reach no farther south than the Maidu: north from this point these types are used by Achomawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Klamath, Hupa, Takelma, Chinook, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, and Tlingit.[4]

171 411 So far as the information goes the curtain shield is used in the Southwest by the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai only. The Thompson use a large piece of stiff elkhide and the Lillooet roll marmot skins thickly around the left arm. The circular shield used in the Plains and Mexico extends into the Southwest among Comanche, Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Western Apache, and Pima. Kroeber adds Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño to this list.[5] In the Basin-Plateau it is known to the Ute, Wind River and Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Shuswap, and Thompson.[6]

171 278 411 The poisoning of arrows may have been more common than the collected data indicate; at any rate it is a widespread custom. One poison of a curious sort suggests that some ones at least are historically connected. This is made of a liver which a rattlesnake has been made to

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 75, 325; Pattie, 130; Bourke, (b), 83; Sparkman, 223; Powers, 215, 241; Eells, 632; Munro, 178.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 448; Hough, (b), 626, 631, 642, 643, 646, Pl. 16, 17; Russell, (a), 78; Winship, 848; Bandelier, (a), 70; Lewis, (i), 245; Dixon, (a), 203; (c), 213; Mason, O. T., (a), 230; Kroeber, (a), 289; Catechet, (b), 66; Lewis, (a), 102; Lewis and Clark, III, 21; Franchère, 253; Quinault information from Mr. Ronald L. Olson; Gibbs, 192; Spinden, 237; Eells, 633; Tait, (r), 338, 783; (b), 234, (a), xxii; Mooney, 264; Morice, (a), 217; (b), 140, 149; Krause, 209; Boyd, (a), 273; (b), 152, 255.

[3] Winslow, (a), 162; Russell, (d), 26.

[4] Hough, (b), 631, 646, Pl. 14; Farrand, (a), 647; Boyle, (a), 272.

[5] Kroeber, (a), 288.

[6] Lewis, (i), 242; Lewis and Clark, III, 19. I have not attempted to complete its distribution to the northward.

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strike (White Mountain Apache, Seri, Northern Maidu[1]), or part of a deer struck by a snake (Shoshoni and Bannock), or a mixture of liver and venom (Paviotso, Teton), liver and the juice of the wild parsnip (Achomawi), the spleen of an animal and pulverized ants (Northern Shoshoni[2]). In several of these cases this is allowed to putrefy: the Yuma also used putrid flesh. Others prepare compounds of poisonous insects and plants (Havasupai, Yavapai,[3] and Wishram[4]). Rattlesnake venom is used by the Southern Diegueño, Blackfoot, Lillooet, and Thompson; rattlesnake blood by the Takelma.[5] In addition to these the Jovas, Opata (and the tribes of Sonora generally), Lipan, Navaho, Cahuilla, the Indians of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Cosiute,[6] and Snohomish are known to have used poisons.

Scalp taking is general in the Southwest, although it seems everywhere a matter of little concern. It is specifically attributed to Havasupai, Yavapai,[7] Tonto and Pinal Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Papago, and Opata.[8] In the Basin we may add the Paiute, Uintah (?) Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, and possibly Paviotso.[9] Kroeber states that scalps were taken in the greater part of California, possibly excepting the Yokuts, Valley Maidu, and Pomo, and surely excepting the tribes of the northwestern area. Powers also excepts the Trinity Wintun although ascribing the practice to other Wintun. I have found records for one of the Mission groups, Salinan, and the Maidu of the mountains.[10]

Removing the entire scalp in the Havasupai manner, not a small patch, is attributed to the Yavapai. This, according to Kroeber, is the general Californian practice, and, by my own information, that of the Klamath and Wishram further north.

The Havasupai do not take the whole head although it might have been expected. This is common in California (specifically Salinan and Patwin), in the Northwest area, and in Mexico it is noted for the Tepehuane.[11] Friederici believes that scalping is a substitute for head taking stimulated by the whites.[12]

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[1]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 186; Bourke, (b), 86; Bartlett, I, 465; McGee, 256-258; Bandelier, (a), 7[illegible] 227; Dixon, (a), 208, 232.
[2]Hoffman, 67-71; Lewis, (i), 245; (a), 185, 192.
[3]Trippel, 378; Corbusier, 232.
[4]Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.
[5]Spier, (a), 333; Teit, (b), 235; (a), 363; Sapir, (a), 273.
[6]Bandelier, (a), 70; Franciscan Fathers, 186; Hooper, 355; Yates, 374; Chamberlin, 308, 384.
[7]According to the Havasupai, although Corbusier (231) denies this.
[8]Smart, 419; Bourke, (d), 26; Franciscan Fathers, 295, 438; Pattie, 127, 130, 165, 199; Parsons, (f), 12; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bartlett, II, 291; Gaillard, 305; Bandelier, (a), 135, 242.
[9]Lewis, (f), 820, 833; (a), 193; (b), 242, 245; Powers, 330.
[10]Kroeber, (c), 207; Powers, 236, 241, 321; Harmon, in Robinson, 338; Mason, J. A., (a), 199; Dixon, (a), 208.
[11]Powers, 231; Bandelier, (a), 94.
[12]Friederici.

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A scalp dance is also common in this area. Details are lacking, but we can note the distribution of at least one feature. Kroeber observes that in California (e.g., Maidu, Wintun, and a Mission group), it is usual to hang the scalp on a pole about which the dancers move. This is also the case in the Southwest (Havasupai, Navaho,[1] Zuñi, Papago, Opata), in the Basin (Paiute, according to the Havasupai; Uintah, and Lemhi Shoshoni), and in the Plains at least among Pawnee and Omaha.[2] On the other hand, in the northern Plains the scalp is hung from a stick in the hands of the dancers (Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Cheyenne,[3] and to the northwest the Klamath and Wishram), which appears in the Southwest only as one of the Navaho practices. Both usages have a wide distribution.

[1] Guernsey, 206; Fattie, 155.
[2] Fattie, 44; Fletcher and La Flesche, 432.
[3] Wissler, (b), 488; Lowie, (c), 250; Grinnell, (a), 203–210.

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527 The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men
535 who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun
[439] by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*guesĺĺ̨ómíd*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section
534 of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*guesĺĺ̨ómídt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella
537 prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

782 Inyámátvĺ — má'évâhag'Tĺ — dúyĺlniyúdjĺk
539 my ground — ground, hear me — let us always live

áhánlgwayóhag'Tĺ — ma'évâhag'Tĺ
I want always to live well — ground, hear me.

624 The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs:
527 it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In
535 fact, the term *kahá't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kahota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency
[171] for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader,
533 Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:—[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátá'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 196 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Gosiute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (*c*); Powers, 45, 324, 327 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 306.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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171 535 Uintah Ute, to the Wind River,[1] Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni,[2] Crow,[3] and probably the Yakima, but not the Wishram. The Crow Owl dance differs in that the performers have their arms about each others' waists; the Uintah Squaw dance in that men and women are not interspersed and the step is different. The Pima also have a dance which may be related.[4] In this the dancers stand in a circle with arms across their neighbors' shoulders, stamping their feet and bending their bodies.

Several of the details have parallels among other tribes. The central pole is recorded from the Kaibab, in the Wind River *Naroya* dance, and in the Ghost dances[5] among the Karok, Klamath, and the Plains tribes. Its use in the Ghost dance when men climbed to the feathers tied at the top suggests the *Notish* mourning ceremony of the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, where rivalry is shown in climbing a painted pole to which crow feathers and baskets are attached.[6] But there is a more suggestive relation in the tale of the Gabrielino which describes a visit to the land of the dead by a man who in a test is made to climb a tall pole to bring down a feather tied to the top.[7] At Taos clowns climb a pole for food, but I do not know that there is here any association with the dead.[8] The very characteristic way in which the dancers stand singing softly, then circle about to stand again, between songs, has been noted for the Gosiute by Reagan, the Kaibab, the Walapai, and in the Ghost dance by Mooney.[9] Lowie has also observed the curious reluctance of the Lemhi dancers to begin, and the whipping of Crow Owl dancers and those of the Moapa and Southern Ute who are slow to join the Bear dance.[10] The dropping out of women partners from the circle between dances is the custom in the Lemhi *Nuakin* and the Gosiute round dance. They are paid by the men and sometimes reciprocate in the Cree dance of the Lemhi and presumably the Fort Hall Shoshoni, in the Wind River Women's dance,[11] and in the Navaho war dance.[12] The foxskin worn [301] pendent from the back of the shaman's belt in the 1918 dance has its analog in the costume of the masked dancers among the Pueblos, as at Zuñi, and among the Navaho.[13] It is not clear how frequently other

[1] Lowie, (f), 832, 817, 830.
[2] Lowie, (a), 217–223.
[3] Lowie, (d), 308.
[4] Russell, (d), 170, 260.
[5] Mooney, (b), 809, 971; Powers, 42
[6] Du Bois, (e), 103, 148.
[7] Reid, 24. (Reid's account, published in 1855, is earlier than the period at which the ghost dance reached the Havasupai).
[8] Goddard, (e), 2nd ed., 105.
[9] Mooney, (b), 930; Dellenbaugh, 178; *Ghost Dance in Arizona*, 68.
[10] Lowie, (i), 301; (f), 823.
[11] Lowie, (f), 823.
[12] Parsons, (b), 467; Franciscan Fathers, 370.
[13] Tozzer, (a), 160; Franciscan Fathers, 377.

[Text continues on p. 272]

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171●
535

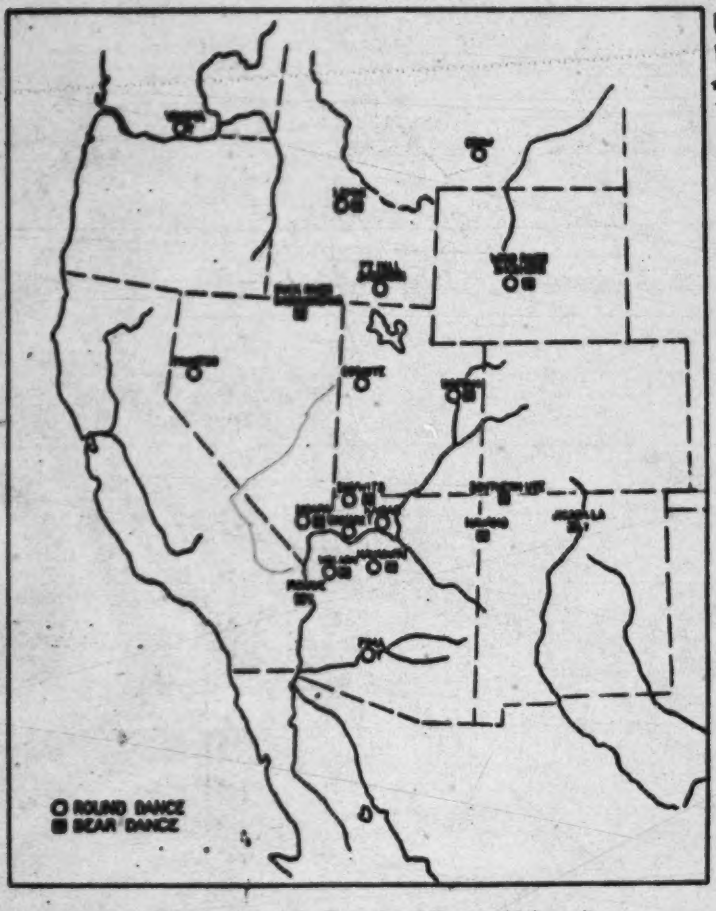

Fig. 53. Distribution of the Round and Bear or Mohave Dances.

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It is not clear how frequently other
171 tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is
535 specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it
[534] used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the *Naroya*, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho
171 ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the
535 south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons
532 with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is
171 known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2]
535 Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *narupinaru*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is
171 in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp.
533 In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

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[1] Franciscan Fathers, 382, 388; the Mohave have no masks [Kroeber, (a), 822]. The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones [Russell, (d); 107]; *Ghost dance in Arizona*, 67.
[2] Lowie, (i), 299–301.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (a), 319.
[5] " . . . Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . . fixed upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . " (Trippel, 8).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] Du Bois notes a similar expression closing a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish rites (b), 137.

[2] Lowie, (i), 270. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 353, 388.

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171 535 cerned they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly 171 suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinan, Kawaiisu, 276 Luiseño, Diegueño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai 171 has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, 534 Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 8, note 17; (g), 65; (o), 314; Mason, J. A., (a), 169; Sparkman, 221; Spier, (e), 316–321; Romero, in Robinson; Clifford, (a), 198; Hooper, 345.
Stevenson, M. C., (b), 385–7.

[2] Parsons, (a).

[3] Bourke, (d), 165; (e), 455; Safford, 550, 552.

[4] Hrdlička, (f), 25; Palmer, 650; Mason, J. A., (d), 142.

[5] Hough, (e), 278, 294; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 108; Brown; Russell, (d), 167, states that only an inverted basket is used; Lumholtz, (b), 318; Lowie, (a), 309; Franciscan Fathers, 299; Guernsey, 295; Matthews, (b); Spier, (e), 349.

[6] Franciscan Fathers, 299; Bourke, (e), 462; Stevenson, J., Fig. 551. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 8, Plate 9.

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:— 756 [539]

sakáhútaŋa ánâ
eagle eagle
ŋyáhátčŋe ŋyanyáhátâ
my domestic animal my dog
ŋyáwaičŋe yuwaŋá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwi'nčŋa hu
head head

Descumalaun's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavâ, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tâ, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwihaláŋ'dáŋ'dâ, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3] 752 755

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die. 755

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties. [439] 756 534 [428]

[1] The Mariopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave information, Bourke (a), 173).
[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.
[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyalâti*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), *hanyapáta*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatámáti*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus ochrorhynchus*). [171]

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ignited wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 32–33.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans think it causes rabies [Bourke, (f), 136]. This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*agwôlka* and *teikâydld*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*hatdgotlâ isdma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhoea.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.

[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).

[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.

[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

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ĭnyáĭn,ĭkádjădj	máhánĭg	mĭdjálĭgĭg	gwipagávà'ámàwĭwŭg	
sun my relative	be good	coming out	do something good for us	
pámatáhatàhódŏg		gwégavà'awĭ'k		
make me work		so I can do anything I wish in the		
matŏnyúvĭg	ĭ'ĭ'nyúg	teyădjàhwálĭg	ha'askă'ĭlgà.	
garden	I hoe	I plant corn	I irrigate.	
ĭnyán,ĭdj	má'aháníg	miyámĭg	ŏŏmádópmĭg	
you, sun	be good	going down at sunset		
iyágĭgàsmávĭdj		tŭyà	áhánàhag'ĭg'ĭ	
we lay down to sleep.		I want	to feel good	
àsmámĭdjàálĭgĭg.			vamà'ámàmiyúdjà	
while I sleep you come up.			go on your course many times	
àhánàpa	màwĭwug.			
make good	things for us men.			
tuĭ'nyàvávà'áyúg			ĭn,údjĭgwa'yóhag'ĭ'ĭ.	
make me always the			same as I am now.	

171 778 782

Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style. Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

778 Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*sdsdedse*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-
539 meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—
778
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àhapŏ'k	ĭnyahávà	matŏ'kmidjálĭgà	atiyéhag
spring	I drink	plenty more come	I feel glad
àŏtha.			
I use it to drink.			

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (n), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 330; Powers, 354, 380; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 460; Lowie, (i), 293, 294.
[3] Tozzer, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 168; Carlsmith, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (e), 349.

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 180; Haeberlin und Günther, 23.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (c), 502; (a), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 82, 108 ("... rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").
[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 124, 197, 303–309; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 340; (d), 131.
[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 90672). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.
[5] Corbusier, 238; Dixon, (a), 266.
[6] Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (c), 16.
[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Diegueño use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Mohpa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Diegueño reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 309; Lowie, (i), 237; Kroeber, (h), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (e), 324-326.
[3] Hough, (a), 293; Stevenson, J., Fig. 361.
[4] Russell, (a), 370; Curtis, I, 58; Goddard, (b), 263; (e), 179; Franciscan Fathers, 403; Hrdlička, (e), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 109; Lumholtz, (e), II, 155, 428; Saville, (e); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 209, 302; Reagan, 30; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Sapir, (e), 306; Dorsey, G. A., (e), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 56; Mason, J. A., (a), 158; Kroeber, (o), 377.
[7] Brown, 689; Spier, (e), 349.
[8] Lowie, (a), 322; Dixon, (a), 268.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (o), 186; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 240).

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DEATH CUSTOMS

763 Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however
[171] does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and
Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by
relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day
everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care
for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
[178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Now-
adays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon
level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are
brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are
killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are
pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes
they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes.
There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with
the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
764 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor
178 enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning
was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with
the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
768 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build
179 elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern
frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in
1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920
he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he
was living part of the time in both structures.

Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
768 or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's
[183] fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though,
[128] to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1]Kroeber, (a), 581.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned. 768 428 [763]

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance. 765 [587]

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning. [177]

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house. 769 [76]

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4] 171 764

[1]Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2]Curtis, II, 53, 72, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 282; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99; Sparkman, 220; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3]Kroeber, (c), 295.
[4]Lowie, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippe, 40; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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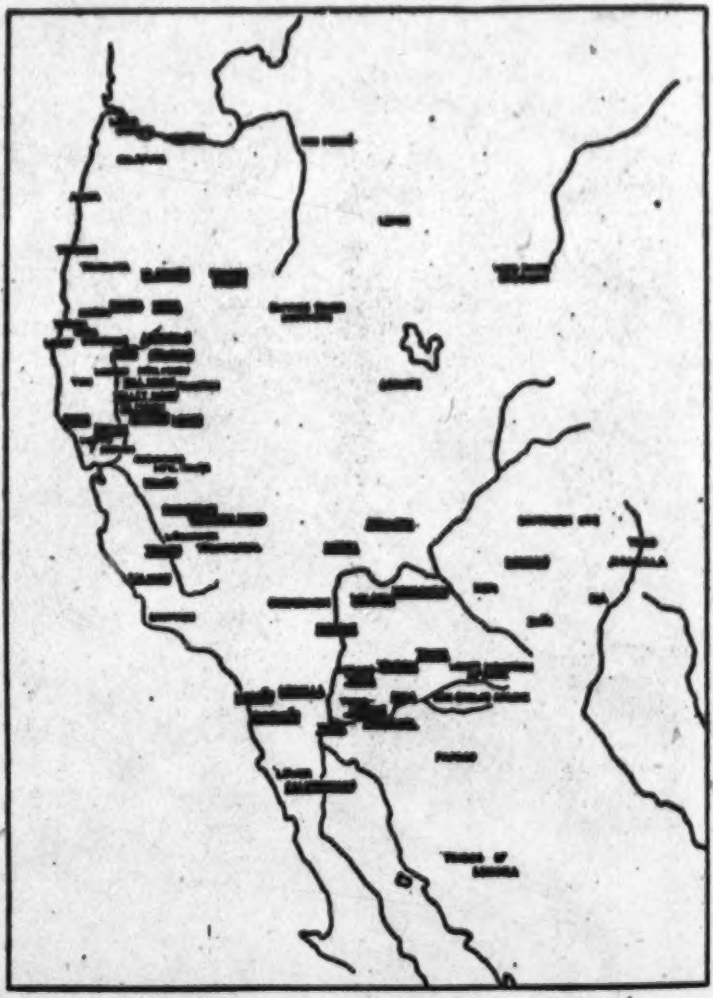

Fig. 84. Distribution of Cremation and Burial. Cremation occurs where names are underscored; areas where both practices occur (or where the evidence conflicts) are lightly underscored.

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Cremation occurs again in central and northeastern California. I find this on record for the Yokuts (but burial for the Wükchumni), Pomo, the Patwin near Clear Lake, Southern Maidu, Nemshoo,[1] Washo, Modoc, and Klamath.[2] Both practices are credited to a number of groups in this region. Cremation is favored by Salinan and Miwok, burial by Chukchansi and the Northern Maidu of the foothills. Two Western Mono groups (Balwisha and Waksachi) buried, but did cremate during at least one epidemic.[3] Burial is the regular form of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, Atsugewi, Achomawi, and Shasta, all of whom cremate those who die away from home. The evidence for the Yana conflicts. Certain Miwok (Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok) are said to bury. Wappo myths refer to cremation.[4] Kroeber, who commands unpublished data and is better able to interpret this material, indicates cremation for the Yahi alone among the Yana, burial for the southern Yokuts, and discards the Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok cases. In addition he notes cremation for the Western Mono, Chumash, Esselen, Costanoan, Coast Miwok, Wappo, and Huchnom. He is in doubt as to the connection of the Modoc with the central area, but I think continuous distribution between the two points is clear.

Burial is the custom in the remaining sections of the Southwest and California, and throughout the Basin. In the Southwest it occurs among the Hopi, Navaho, White Mountain, Coyotero, and San Carlos Apache, Zuñi, Sia, Taos, Jicarilla, and Papago; in Mexico among all the tribes of Sonora and the Huichol.[5] In California it occurs in a well-defined strip of country separating the central and southern areas of cremation. This includes Chumash, Tübatulabal, and Chemehuevi,[6] to whom Kroeber adds Kitanemuk, southern Yokuts, and Eastern Mono. Burial appears again throughout northwestern California: Patwin near the Sacramento, Wintun, Yuki, Wiyot, Hupa, Chimariko, Yurok, and Karok.[7] Kroeber adds Tolowa, Chilula, Wailaki, and Sinkyone. North-

[1] An offshoot of the Pah-Ute stock, living six miles east of Georgetown, Eldorado Co., according to Snyder (p. 238). This is in Southern Maidu territory, but the identification in the *Handbook of American Indians*, (II, p. 73) places them on upper Butte Creek in the Northwestern Maidu area.

[2] Powers, 169, 173, 182, 216, 226, 310, 323, 327, 341, 383; Barrett, (c), 438; Voyr, 37; Hopkins, 64; Barrett, (b), 9; confirmed by R. H. Lowie, 1926; Barrett, (a), 388; Gatschet, (d), 29

[3] Wükchumni and Western Mono data from Miss Ann Clayton. One informant told her that the Waushi (the most westerly Mono) cremated long ago, but he may have been referring to Michahai Yokuts custom.

[4] Mason, J. A., (a), 167; Powers, 279, 349, 353, 356, 383, 437; Dixon, (a), 342-345; (c), 317; Lowie, (i), 281; cf. Yarrow, (a), 61; Dixon, (b), 485; Hoyer, (d), 92, 194, 195; Mowry, (a), 250, (the material in this paper is open to doubt.)

[5] Hough, (d), 130; Curtis, I, 55, 80; II, 34; XII, 30; Yarrow, (b), 101, 111, 114, 123; Dorsey, (b), 166, 187; Rhoderick, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 464; the Navaho buried the enemy (Mexicans) dead (Matthews, 167); Hrdlička, (d), 492; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 144; Gushing, (b), 270; Gaillard, 294; Bandelier, (a), 251; Hrdlička, (b), 60; Mollon, 290; Lumholtz, (c), II, 242.

[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 168; Kroeber, (f), note 13; Heye, (b); Powers, 384; Kroeber, (j), 242.

[7] Powers, 216, 226, 249; Mason, J. A., (a); Dixon, (d), 322.

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ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Gosiute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with these to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1875[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 857; Sapir, (a), 275; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 89; Frachtenberg, 257. A burial in an unnamed tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1825–9 (Anon. *Burial Customs in Oregon.*)

[2] Lewis, (i), 279–282; Yarrow, (b), 127, 134, 181; Reagan, 31; Hopkins, 70; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lewis, (a), 214; Spinden, 233; Chamberlain, (a), 660.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 142, 152.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 13, 27, 62.

[6] Davis, (c), 94.

[7] Allen, 615. I have been told that it was common as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 227.

[9] Powers, 340.

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In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";[4] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[5] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[6] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Mesqa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[7] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[8] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[9] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[4] Nuyo, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 95.
[5] Powers, 339; "A long pole was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[6] For the latter see above, p. 270.
[7] Lowie, (i), 279; Curtis, II, 82, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 381; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 95, 100; Trippel, 8; Hooper, 343; Kroeber, (g), 85; Du Bois, (a), 625 ff.; (c), 103, 103, 148; Sparkman, 226; Mason, J. A., (a), 168; Powers, 104, 321, 329, 353-356, 384 391; Dixon, (a), 245 259; Barrett, (b), 9.
[8] The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (226) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[9] This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta (Dixon, (b), 236), Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account (Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 333; Powers, 164) and to the Southwestern Wintun (Barrett, (c), 436). In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima (Curtis, 226; Russell, (d), 195).

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171 764 765 769 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa, Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 765 769 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1]

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic.

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also.

[1] Davis, (a), 106, 108 ff.

[2] Murray, (b), 738; Hess, (a), 643; Teit, (a), 239, 335; (b), 272; Gibbs (239) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Indians fabricated effigies or carved them.

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853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

854 The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grandmother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark, [439] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the [171] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The [842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with piñon pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Russell, 146).

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FEMALES (Continued)

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Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
90	kokumá or bokumá, to eat piñon nuts.	Usual name.	ko' or bo', piñon tree or nut.
	sudjigafidjà, unripe things floating.		sówà, unripe; djigafidjà, material covering the surface of water.
94	djísá', eagle.		

FOREIGN WOMEN.

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23	Há'dà.	Yavapai name.	
35	sámí'dídjà.	Walapai name.	
40	djad'ínyúmà.	Walapai name.	
	gátínyúdává, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dánydóvá, face paint, tattoo marks.
60	pagídjahúda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djunyafigà, to chew; gahúdà, tough.
	sámyókídjà, to pull with the hand.		sól, hand.
70	oladwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

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The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 319–321; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 237. Field notes on the Klamath, 1925

[Text continues on p. 317]

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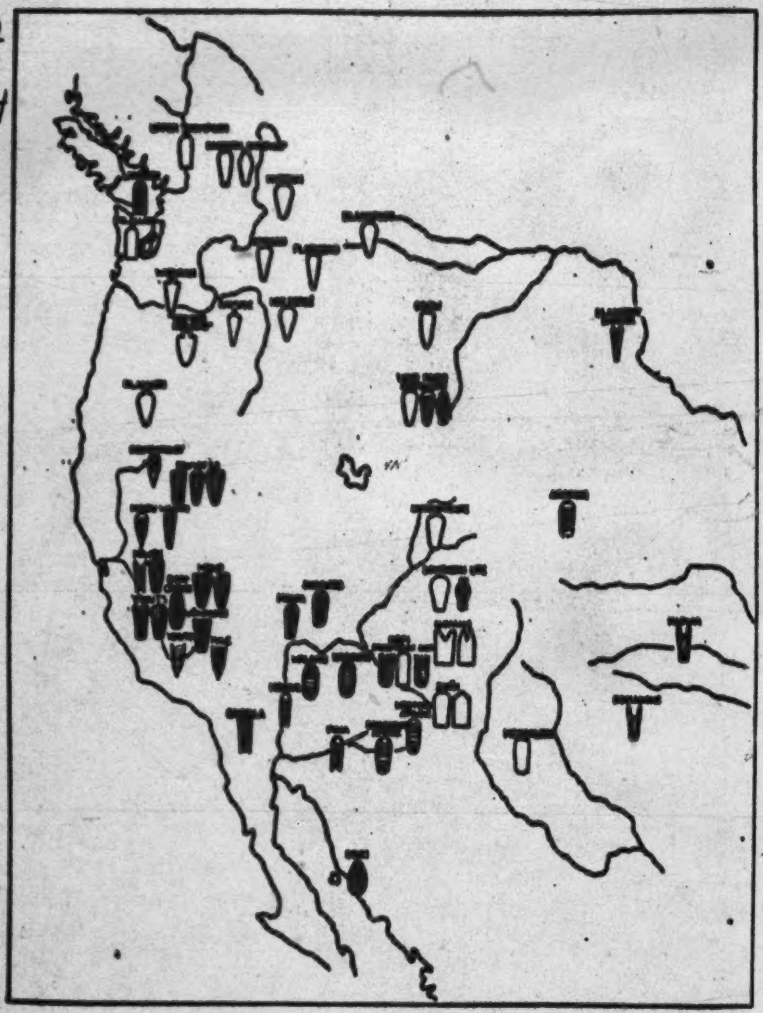

Fig. 88. Distribution of Cradles in the Southwest and Basin-Plateau Areas. Californian sitting cradle and Northwest trough form omitted.

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The Havasupai type is an elliptical hoop with its long sides nearly parallel, crossed by closely spaced transverse bars. This type is also used by Walapai, Western Apache, and presumably the Seri.[1] The Mohave and Pima have a variant, a U-shaped frame which might be construed as the elliptical form with only one bow. The cross-sticks are lashed at wide intervals but still transversely. The sides however taper toward the bottom so that the board approaches an oval outline. A crude Cahuilla specimen with two longitudinal sticks similarly crossed by splints is of this type. One Miwok specimen is essentially the same; the flat splints are set close together and the ends of the side bars rise over the infant's face.[2] One Wind River Shoshoni form is of the Havasupai type, but it has the oval outline which prevails in the northern half of the area.[3] The Arapaho have a cradle of the same shape made of a framework of sticks, but it is not stated in which direction the cross-rods run.[4] Another variant appears in Round Valley, Pit River (northern California), and in one Konkau Maidu specimen. This is a single bow with the ends brought together; in outline oval above and ending in a point below. This is crossed transversely by slats.[5] It is possible that these, especially the Round Valley form, are related to the Pima, Mohave, and Moapa types. The Salinan type is described as two sticks crossed by smaller sticks: this sounds like the Cahuilla specimen. It is clear that this is at least the flat cradle, not the sitting type of northwestern California.[6]

The elliptical type is quite old in this area. Two specimens of Basket Maker age, the earliest culture now recognized in the Southwest, from Grand Gulch (?) and the middle Chinlee Valley, are of this type. The latter is rather oval. Both have longitudinal rods in a medial position in addition to transverse rods. The arrangement of the rods suggests the Mono-Yokuts-Wükchumni specimens.[7]

A peculiar type of Californian flat cradle is a forked stick set with transverse rods. In the Yokuts form tule reeds are placed longitudinally as well (practically a tule mat). O. T. Mason figures a Tule specimen like this with both longitudinal and transverse rods. The Maidu cradle is a forked stick with the arms joined at the top to form a bow. The cross sticks in this are small and set close together. This form approached the

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 330; (b), 103; Hrdlička, (d), 486, Pl. 32; McGee, 227.
[2] Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-11014 and 1-10055.
[3] Mason, O. T., (g), 324-5; Curtis, II, ill. after 77; Russell, (d), 103; Lowie, (a), 190.
[4] Kroeber, (b), 87-8.
[5] Mason, O. T., (b), 189.
[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 131.
[7] Kidder, pl. 38c; Morss, 36, pl. vb.

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Round Valley and Konkau specimens, and suggests that this whole group may be looked on as a variant of the Havasupai type described above.[1]

The Basin form is commonly an oval frame set longitudinally with reeds united by open twining. This is found among the Shivwits, in one Paviotso form, and possibly among the Wind River Shoshoni. Among the Southern Ute and in one specimen of uncertain derivation, but probably Wind River, the reeds extend at each end beyond the frame. The Moapa have this Shivwits type, but like the Mohave and Pima the frame is a U-shaped bow with converging ends. The Paviotso variant has the framing hoop in the form of a quadrilateral tapering to the lower end. Mason figures one extreme form of this in which the lower end is so narrow that the board is quite pointed, resembling the Californian types mentioned above.[2] The same quadrilateral occurs with variations among the Washo, Mono (probably both divisions), Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, and Wükchumni.[3] Transverse rods, small and very closely set on the back, also appear on some of the more southerly specimens: Mono, Yokuts, and Wükchumni. (Similar cross rods are seen on the Maidu examples mentioned above.) These Californian types are practically basketry structures: they have no frame or at most a very light one. The quadrilateral cradle with longitudinal rods is then a local type of the San Joaquin-western Nevada district.

In the northern part of the area the cradle is a single piece of wood, a board, of oval shape. This is the type of the Upper Thompson, Eastern Shuswap, Okanagan, Spokan, Nez Percé, Klamath, Flathead, Kutenai, Crow, Blackfoot, Wind River, Uncompahgre, and Southern Ute.[4] In the first three and the last, the lower end is square, not rounded, and some of the Shuswap specimens are angular rather than oval, but these all seem variations of a single type. So much of a Cayuse specimen as is shown in one of Curtis' illustrations shows it is essentially the same shape, but I do not know whether it has a board or basket foundation. A specimen collected by the Wilkes expedition among the "Oregon Indians" is clearly related to these although the upper part has angular shoulders.[5] The

[1] Dixon, (a), 329. Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10720, 1-10779, and 1-2296; Mason, O. T., (a), 823.

[2] Lowie, (i), 249-257; Mason, O. T., (g), 826, 828.

[3] Barrett, (b), 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 3; Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10944, 1-10916, 1-2327, 1-10957, 1-10919, 1-10916, 1-10926, 1-10924, 1-10409, 1-4003, 1-10780, 1-10917, 1-10930, 1-2000. Wükchumni model in the possession of A. H. Gayton.

[4] Teit, (a), 309; (c), 564-566; Mason, O. T., (g), 816; Spinden, 228; Curtis, VII, 70, 75; Chamberlain, (a), 557; Lowie, (h), 220; Winsor, (a), 82. Winsor suggests that the Blackfoot specimen of lattice type figured by Mason, O. T., (b), 808 is from the Blackfoot Sioux. Lowie, (i), 250; Mason, O. T., (b), 808.

[5] Curtis, VIII, 74; Mason, O. T., (g), 818.

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Wishram cradle is angular, yet seems a related form. The last two and the Klamath, Cayuse, Thompson, and some Eastern Shuswap examples are provided with projecting handles in the middle of the upper end. The Klallam cradle is an interesting modification of the Northwest Coast trough cradle in the direction of these flat board forms. The trough is so slight and so filled with padding, that the child lies on, not in it. Further, the form is that of the Thompson cradle even to the handle[1]. The Cowichan cradle is like this but without the handle[2]. The Lkúfigxn cradle for a young infant is presumably related to these flat board forms, although it is made of bundles of rushes, the outer one of horseshoe shape. The first Quinault cradle is also a very shallow rectangular trough, in place of the later trough form.[3]

The wooden cradle is used in the Southwest by the Zuñi, Navaho, and the Hopi of the middle mesa. One of the Zuñi forms and that of the Hopi are rounded on top, square at the lower end, and with parallel sides. These may also be variants of the oval form. The second Zuñi pattern with a terraced top is only a further variation. The Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa have a cradle of the same shape but formed of a U-shaped bow filled in with longitudinal rods held by transversely placed wickerwork. The rounded end is usually at the bottom of these specimens but sometimes it is at the top. It is, of course, possible that this is related to the Moapa type where the longitudinal rods are laced by open twining. The Kaibab have also a wicker board, but its shape is not given by Powell. The Navaho cradle presents the most interesting variations of the board form, for here the two projecting points above resemble the points of the Plains lattice frame.[4]

This type, so named by O. T. Mason, consists of two broad sticks converging toward the bottom and crossed by two others. In its tapering form it resembles the oval shapes of the Basin-Plateau. This is used by Comanche, Kiowa, Dakota, and perhaps others. The Mescalero cradle at least is not like these, but apparently a solid rectangular or elliptical form.[5]

The Pima usually have a swing of cloth suspended by ropes; so have the Papago, while the Cora use a swinging netted hoop. The Navaho cradle is sometimes placed in a swing.[6]

[1] Gunther, 235.
[2] Field Museum, no. 19020.
[3] Ibid., (a), 572. Quinault information from Ronald Olson.
[4] Hough, (c), 241; Mason, O. T., (g), 531–4; Powell, 127; Franciscan Fathers, 469.
[5] Mason, O. T., (g), 508, 511; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 16; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 141.
[6] Hrdlička, (c), 44; Bartlett, II, 284; Hrdlička, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 472. The Yaqui cradle described by Mason, O. T., (g, 525) is different from any of the foregoing. It consists of parallel rods fastened by dowels in rectangular form.

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Most of the wooden cradleboards of the Basin-Plateau are covered with skin; those of the Southwest are not. This appears among the Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, on the Oregon specimen of Wilkes, Cayuse (?), Nez Percé, Flathead, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Uncompahgre, Southern Ute, and Arapaho. This is further evidence of the relationship of the cradle among these peoples. However, the use of the cover is a separable trait for it has been applied in the adjacent region to the hoop-and-rod types of the Paviotso, Kaibab, and the Colorado Ute. The lattice type of the Plains is provided with a pouch to hold the infant. Some of the Basin-Plateau types (Upper Thompson, the Oregon specimen, Flathead, Blackfoot, Wind River (?), Southern Ute, and Tule) have something of the sort or else the cover itself forms a pouch. Some connection between cover and pouch may be suspected, but this is difficult to work out from illustrations and descriptions alone.

The hood, arch, or awning which protects the face of the child also offers comparative points.[1] First, it is not used among the Plains tribes considered here (Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Dakota, Crow, Blackfoot) nor northwestward among the Flathead, Kutenai (?), Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, and Nez Percé. It is not used in California, among others by the Round Valley group, with the Tule and Yokuts forked stick cradles, nor by the Yaqui in Mexico.

There are three principal forms of the hood. The Upper Thompson, Lillooet,[2] Wishram, Klamath, and Cayuse have a single stick forming an arch secured to the sides of the frame much in the manner of those in the Eastern Woodlands area. In the Basin and California a triangular awning is used: one blunt apex is usually fastened near the top of the cradle, the base rising above the infant's face where it is supported by a transverse arch. Paviotso, Washo, Mono, Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, Wükchumni, Uncompahgre,[3] and probably Wind River Shoshoni and Southern Ute have this awning made in open-twine technique, with the supporting arch usually at an angle to the board; that is, leaning toward the upper end of the board. The Shivwits awning is simple twine; that sometimes used by the Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa is wickerwork. The supporting arch for these two tribes and probably the Colorado Ute is vertical.

The Southwestern tribes use either a broad arch or hoop, the latter only among the western groups. The Navaho arch is formed by four

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[1] Some Californian and Basin hoods are ornamented to show the sex of the infant. One Havasupai hood bore a string of beads arranged in a zigzag and resembling the decoration of a Paviotso hood, but I neglected to enquire if this had any significance.

[2] Teit, (b), 36).

[3] Mason, O. T., (b), 189.

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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart:[1] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Moapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kaibab. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[2]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Moapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Waksachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[3] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[4]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Moapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[5]

[1] Idem, 193.
[2] Kissell, 140.
[3] Lowie, (i), 286-9; Dixon, (a), 230.
[4] Gunther, 234.
[5] Lowie, (i), 270-2; (a), 211; Parsons, (g); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 128-126; Russell, (d), 169; Dixon, (a), 232; Faye, 35.

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Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *sits'* seeds, piñon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 326).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I knew how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, (d), 491.) The Achomawi-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, (e), 210.) Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, (i), 263). [773] [171]

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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [117] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practise.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [869] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[1] The Pima have the same custom (Russell, (4), 146). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 144; Parsons, (7), 91). Smoking is connected with superior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Pueblos of Shumakolik'ia a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the kills to his father, who makes a shoog loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hodge, (6)). A Shumakolik'ia boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Stevenson, (5), 428).

[3] Hodge, (4), 488, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

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881 covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

[973] Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgć*, lit., red) end.

841 A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire 585 body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. 841 The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

825 Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

758 Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

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[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (i), 146–147, (j), 282, and Benedict, 70.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases,
such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus
the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had
adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's
story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expres-
sions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge,
situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, be-
cause, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [871]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek,
somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek.
Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry,
and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreign-
ers. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these
qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their
hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the
best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider
must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best
acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of
his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly,
seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the
smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in dis-
dain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indiffer-
ence of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products
is inferior in this regard.

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahánd*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, (1), 283.) [171]

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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dä, dä, dä* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have incorporated a Zuñi greeting here.
[2] Also Yavapai (Corbusier, 338).
[3] Compare the Hidatsa *ia, ia, ia* [Lowie, (c), 234.]
[4] No offerings of tobacco or smoke are made. Tobacco is not chewed

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2]

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamt'dvldja suddlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge.

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where connivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten.

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgd*, race by two; *tanomdgovlgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:—

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140°" (d), 48].

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*gdjd'd*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlička, (e), 46].

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 277; Trippel, 880; Lowie, (l), 207 f; Powers, 380.

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Naskapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

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[1] Kroeber, (g), 64; Du Bois, (g), 185; Mason, J. A., (a), 126; Gatschet, (b), 82; Barrett, (a), 244; Francisan Fathers, 55, 240–2; Matthews, (d), 227; Mindeleff, 499; Stephen, (b), 261; Letherman, 239; Faye, 53; Chamberlain, (a), 367; (b), 184; Bourke, (b), 61.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 48; Lowie, (a), 917; Hasterlik and Günther, 84; Culin, (b), 805.

[3] Culin, (b), 712 f; Lowie, (a), 199; Dorsey, G. A., (a).

[4] Dixon, (c), 215.

[5] Russell, (d), 179. Culin, (b), 300, 306.

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mouth, while tapping it, to make an opponent falter. Northwestern and Southern Maidu shamans similarly hold a special bow to converse with spirits; the Northeastern Maidu use an ordinary bow for amusement only. For amusement, the Eastern Pomo tap a bow provided with two strings and held in the mouth. The San Antonio Salinan and Yokuts also use a special bow with the mouth as a resonance chamber. The usage crops up again among the Maya and again in western central Patagonia; the bow is held in the mouth while the string is tapped. The Topocano place an ordinary bow on a gourd and tap the string as an accompaniment to the recital of prayers.[1] The other type of instrument has several strings, often tuning pegs and a bridge, and is described as a fiddle or guitar. This is on record for the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yokuts, Tule, "Pueblo" of New Mexico, and in South America among Busintana, Araucanians, Patagonians, and tribes on the lower Amazon.[2] Musical bows of undescribed nature are credited to the Tepehuane, Cora, and Huichol of Mexico, and the Lencas of Honduras, the Chané, Choroti, and Mataco of the Gran Chaco. Saville also believes in their possible existence in Central America, Guatemala, and San Salvador.[3] Balfour holds that the musical bow was introduced into the West Indies, South, and North America by negroes.[4] Nordenskiöld favors white or negro sources for the South American examples. This may apply well enough to the multiple stringed affair, but there is no reason why the use of the ordinary bow should be viewed in this way. This is not a specialized instrument; it is not really a musical instrument at all; and the twanging of a bowstring with the mouth as a resonator, which can be appreciated by the player alone, must have repeatedly occurred. Its sporadic distribution as a regular usage bears this out. It seems unlikely that there is any historical connection between the several occurrences of the mouth-bow, with the exception of the Californian-Havasupai cases. It is doubtful that this is derived from the fiddle type.

Shinney is played generally throughout the Southwest. Havasupai and Hopi play it in the spring. Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai, Walapai, and presumably Mohave bury the ball at the center of the field. There is some similarity in the name for the game: Havasupai *ideiwigol*, Walapai

[1] Dixon, (a), 222; Faye, 36; Mason, J. A., (a), 137; Kroeber, (f), 19, note 47; Saville, (a), 272; Ten Kate, 92. According to Dr. Edwin Loeb the Western Pomo do not have it.
[2] Hrdlička, (d), 10, 18; Mason, J. A., (b), 47; Hrdlička, (d), 488; Powers, Fig. 38; Mason, O. T., (b), 209; Nordenskiöld, 166, 183.
[3] *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, 980; Lumholtz, (c), I, 475, II, 135; Mason, O. T., (d), 136; Saville, (b), 205–206.
[4] Balfour, 30–32.

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171 526 *tsa-a-ea*, Yuma *cha-tah-eah*, Navaho *ndaahdilhá'l*, and Hopi *ta-tats'-la-la-wûh* (ball, *ta-tcf*).[1]

The hoop and pole game is recorded in the Southwest for the Yuma, Mohave, Northern and Southern Diegueño, Gabrielino, Havasupai, Paiute, Navaho, Mescalero and Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Laguna, and Isleta. The manner of playing it is almost identical among the Havasupai, Walapai,[2] Mohave, Southern Diegueño, and perhaps Yuma. Southern Diegueño, Mohave, and Havasupai poles have one or two rings encircling the butt; the White Mountain Apache have many, but the ring nearest the butt counts highest. Apparently all these groups use the simple hoop without netting, except the White Mountain Apache, Isleta, and Paiute. It has a central core wrapped with buckskin among Gabrielino, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Wind River Shoshoni, while that of the Hopi is cornhusk. The White Mountain Apache and Southern Diegueño cast the hoop in the same way as the Havasupai. These two have the two poles represent the sexes.[3]

Culin and others give little material on the cup and pin game in the Southwest. Pima, Zuñi, and the Tewa of Hano use a form with one or more rings: Havasupai and Paiute use a rabbit skull.[4] The Moapa reckoning is identical with that of the Havasupai, except for the incisor hole count.[5]

171 524 Basket dice is a widely distributed game, and the Havasupai have no special form of it. It is generally a woman's game in this area, but played by both sexes among Navaho, Zuñi, and Mohave, although the first consider it especially a man's game. The number of dice varies, but not randomly: Havasupai, Maricopa, and Pima, four; Mohave, four but only three are used in play; Zuñi, four or five; Paviotso and Washo, twelve. These are all long wooden or bone dice. White Mountain Apache use thirteen or fourteen small chips; Navaho, thirteen or seven. By way of comparison, the Yokuts (of Fort Tejon and Tule River) use eight nut shells, the Tejon, six. In another form of dice game in this area the Zuñi use small chips, three lozenges and two squares, thrown from a board; the Wind River Shoshoni, three lozenges and three disks, tossed in a basket. The Mohave and Pima games are included here although no basket is used to toss the dice. The absence of the basket

[1] Culin, (b), 694, 695, 646-7; Trippel, 9; Curtis, XII, 49.
[2] The Walapai names for game, hoop, and pole, are the phonetic equivalents of the Havasupai (Culin, (b), 625).
[3] Culin, (b), 649-625; Trippel, 9; Heintzelman, 49; Franciscan Fathers, 483; Lewis, (i), 261; Spier, (c), 353; Reid, 18; Dog Rib, (c), 167.
[4] The only other recorded case of a skull are among Labrador and West Greenland Eskimo (Culin, (b), 646; Parsild, 237).
[5] Culin, (b), 649-650; Lewis, (i), 267.

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seems a local variation, for no basket is mentioned in connection with the Maricopa game. The White Mountain Apache and Wind River Shoshoni strike the basket on the ground. The latter sometimes throw the dice into the basket and the Yokuts always do. These resemblances may not be significant, but the answer lies in what the custom may be in the intervening areas. The scoring is variable, but there are identities. All four faces up count one for Havasupai, Mohave, Maricopa, and Pima. All faces down count one for the first pair, two for the second pair of tribes. Any other throw does not score for any of them. It is clear that they clearly recognize that all of a kind is necessarily the most infrequent throw.[1]

Stick dice is essentially a Southwestern and north Mexican game. Comparative notes are tabulated below. I have assumed that the essentials of this form of the dice game are (1) striking the sticks on something so that they fall on the rebound, and (2) noting the scores on markers arranged in a circle or square. A case is included here if either of these features appear.[2]

In addition to the groups below, Lummis notes its occurrence in the Pueblos of Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and doubtfully, San Juan. He did not see it at Jemez, Pojoaque, or Picuris. It may be played by Yuma and Mohave as a note by Ten Kate suggests. Mooney ascribes it to the Comanche and "Apache of the southern plains." Pawnee and Arapaho dice accompanied by a square of hide, which may have served as a surface on which to bounce them, suggest that this game may have been known to them also. Lumholtz says that it is played by all the tribes who live in or near the sierras of Chihuahua (and by the Mexicans), but is not known south of the State of Durango. The Opata and the Zuaque of Sinaloa may be added. It is unknown to the Cora and Tarasco.[3]

[1] Culin, (a), 91–224; Powers, 378; Lewis, (i), 215, 222.
[2] Culin, (b), 87–221; Espinosa Pathers, 491; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 187; Lewis, (i), 222; (a), 126; Russell, (d), 175; Curtis, XII, 46.
[3] Culin, (b), 81, 99, 127, 146, 181, 184, 192.

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	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score: All back	Score: 1 front	Score: 2 front	Score: 3 front	Score: All front	Circuits per game
Wind River Shoshoni	4	×										
Lemhi	4	×					10		to		5	
Paviotso	6		sticks									semicircle
Paiute	2	ground										
Yokuts	3		?	25		?	15		to		1	
Gabrielino	2	ground										
Northern Diegueño	4		board: square with wings	40 holes								
Pima	4	ground or struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	horse or slave	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	
Papago	4	struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	×	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	1
Walapai	3	×	×	30			10	1	3		5	semicircle
Havasupai	3	×	×	indefinite		×	10	1, 2	3		5	1
Oraibi	3 or 2	floor	inscribed stone with wing	–	animal		2				1	.
Hopi	3	×	×	4×10		×	10	1	3		5	1
Hano	3		×	4×10			10	2	3		5	
White Mountain Apache	3	×	×	4×10		×	10	1, 2	3		5	1 or 3
Zuñi	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3		5	1 or 4
							10	3	3		5	

	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Scores: All back	1 front	2 front	4 front	All front	Circuits per game
Navaho	3	X	Circle or square	4X10			10	2	3		5	
							10	0	0		5	
Acoma	3		X	3X10	X		10	3	2		5	
Laguna	3	X	X	4X10	X	X	10	2	3, 15		5	1 or more
Isleta	3	X	X	4X10	X	X	10	2	3		5	
								2, 10	3, 15		5	
Sia	4		square	4X10			10	3	2	..	6	
Cochiti	3	X	X	40			10	2	2, 15		5	
Santa Clara	4 or 3	X	square	40	X	X	10	3	..		5	1
							10	1	3, 15		5	
Nambé	3	X	X	4X10	X	X	10	1	3, 15		5	1
Taos	3	X	X	16X10	X	X	10	1	1, 15		5	semicircle 100 points
Comanche	12	X	•									
Kiowa	4	X	marked blanket	4 X10		X	10	1	2	3	6	8 or more 87
Caddo	4	board stones										
Tarahumare	4		square with wings	4X10 holes		X			quince			
Tepehuane	4		square with wings	4X10 holes					quince			

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The unity of this game complex is quite obvious. Ordinarily, three dice are used; the cases where there are more are by no means randomly distributed. Four are used by the Northern Diegueño, and all the Piman groups. This occurs again at Sia, Santa Clara, and among Kiowa and Caddo.[1] It is quite likely that all these form one group, since the game is called by its Spanish name (quince, fifteen) both in Mexico and in these Pueblos. We might be more certain of this if we knew the scoring in Mexico. It is, of course, possible that at least this special form was carried by Mexicans from one region to the other. The Wind River use of four dice is not clearly connected with these.

The use of eight dice by Paiute, Gabrielino, and Yokuts is an interesting case of coalescence of two games, for in this region the basket dice usually number eight.

Note also that the Paiute, Gabrielino, the Hopi of Oraibi, and Pima strike the dice on the ground. Pima and Papago share the custom of striking them upward from the hand with a flat stone, rather than the usual one of bouncing them on the stone.

The circle of stones, etc., which serves as a counting board is very general; even the diagram marked on a blanket by the Kiowa is of this pattern. The exceptional form is a square, from corners of which there are sometimes pendent lines or wings of stones from which the markers start. These are two or four in number and curved in shape. This establishes again a definite relationship between Northern Diegueño, Pima, Papago, Tarahumare, and Tepehuane. The inscribed stone used by some Hopi has a wing extending into the figure which also serves as the starting point. The use of the square at Sia and Santa Clara is further evidence of their connection with the Mexican tribes. The square is also used by some Navaho.

The number of points in the circle is quite uniformly forty, divided into quadrants of ten. At Taos the process has been carried one step further, each of these quadrants being again divided in four. The only aberrant cases are the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yokuts, and in the last case it is not certain that we are dealing with the same game.

The markers are commonly called horses. At Zuñi these are little figurines of horses. It is equally common to find that the marker is sent back to the starting point ("killed") if another enters the space it occupies.

The definite identity of the complex is clearly established by the scoring system. Almost universally, a score all of one kind counts ten,

[1] No description of the Caddo game is given, but they have a board used in connection with four dice and eight counters, which suggests an equivalent to the Kiowa game.

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its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks.

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring.

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place.

[1] Culin, (b), 335–362.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 328.
[3] Lowie, (b), 18.
[4] The Nootka and Kwakiutl hiding game in which four men are given four guesses shows how the same pattern has resulted in a different form (Culin, (b), 370).
[5] Kroeber, (h), 276.

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171 524 The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papago both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

171 192 524 It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, (i), 235.
[2] Harrington, (b).

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sĕn-dŏ' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mulaʦ̌ande (old mule)	tiʼiŋ (el hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	speckled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	penopeni	poyopeni	wihiŋeni	keŋeni	
Pima	ma-a-tcovolt		old man	made black	old woman
Papago	mâ-ok ju ool		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorsh		old man	tok-gum-yorsh	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have transposed these names because the names as given in Culin's account (388) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington [(b), 251] has identified with the San Ildefonso analogs.

[2] Harrington, (b), 249-251.

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triangle with the fourth reed beside it, the Hopi in a square or row. (The Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho arrange the sand piles in a row). The latter cases suggest cultural connection, but this need not be true for the Piman and Tewan groups.

The discontinuous distribution of the moccasin game and the hidden ball game seems established despite the Navaho case. I do not find either game recorded for the Arapaho, Kiowa, Wichita, or others in the intervening area. There is, however, some similarity in the scoring. The Ojibwa player loses points unless he finds the object on the third trial, the Winnebago and possibly the Ottawa and Cree on the fourth, and the Santee in the second of three moccasins. On the winning trial the guesser gains points; a feature wholly absent in the Southwest. The value of points lost or gained in the successive trials bears no relation to the chances involved. In the Cheyenne game the guesser loses a point unless he succeeds on the first trial. Among the other tribes for whom we have data—Menomini, Omaha, Seneca, and Wyandot—the notion is rather of winning points by successive guesses. The scoring is quite variable throughout this area, but the principle of avoiding the object on the earlier trials is found only in one compact area, including at least Santee, Ojibwa, and Winnebago.

The question is whether this similarity is due to borrowing or convergence. I think it can be shown that the latter is involved. In making a choice of this kind, the guesser can either wager that he will find the object or that he will not. It does not matter how many trials are permitted, these are the only alternatives and they apply with equal force to each trial. Of these possibilities one must be decided on. Whether to lose points for a failure to find the ball or for finding it, or to win points for the same, or merely to win the right to hide the object, must also be decided, but this is in no way dependent on the decision to find or to avoid.

The Southwestern tribes have in general decided to avoid the object on all save one trial; so have the Ojibwa, Santee, and Winnebago. The Havasupai, Walapai, Cheyenne, and the other eastern groups have chosen the other alternative, to find the object. So much of the similarity is clearly accidental.

If the decision is to avoid the object it must be found on some other than the first trial. There are three possibilities. The Southwestern tribes, east of the Havasupai, have uniformly prescribed the third trial. On the other hand, the Eastern Woodland tribes have variously hit on the second, third, or fourth. The only real similarity then is in the case of the Ojibwa; this then may be set down to accident.

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Furthermore, there is no similarity between the values in the scoring systems of the Southwest and the eastern area. All include arbitrary values not dependent on chance. This is clearly the case in the east, where the Winnebago, for example, have the same number of points (four) lost or won in each trial, although the chances necessarily change. In the Southwest the order of the losses (10, 6, 0, 4) is dependent on chance, but not the actual values. If we consider the position of the guesser, who endeavors to avoid the ball until the third trial, we see he has three chances to one in his favor on the first trial, two to one on the second, an even chance on the third, and certainty of failure on the last. Taking 10 as the highest penalty, this should apply, as it does, on the first trial: the others should be in order, 7.5, 5, and 2.5. There are two arbitrary elements here; the actual values and the choice of the third trial for success rather than the fourth.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XIV

THE HAVASUPAIS AND THEIR LEGENDS

IN almost every case one finds a variety of differing legends related by the Indians of any tribe upon the same subject. As the Wallapais and Havasupais are cousins, one would naturally expect their legends to have some things in common. How much this is so will be seen by a comparison of the following story with that of the Wallapai Origin Legend.

"The two gods of the universe," said O-dig-i-ni-ni'-a, the relator of the mythic lore of the Havasupais, "are Tochopa and Hokomata. Tochopa he heap good. Hokomata heap han-a-to-op'-o-gi — heap bad — all same white man's devil. Him Hokomata make big row with Tochopa, and he say he drown the world.

"Tochopa was full of sadness at the news. He had one daughter whom he devotedly loved, and from her he had hoped would descend the whole human race for whom the world had been made. If Hokomata persisted in his wicked determination she must be saved at all hazard. So, working day and night, he speedily prepared the trunk of a pinion tree by hollowing it out from one end. In this hollow tree he placed food and other necessaries, and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must go into this tree and there be sealed up, he took

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. 101 648 [582]

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. 197

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes. 174

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven. 174 621

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans. 101 114 171

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about 101 114 172a

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [637]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. [764]

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back, Spier (1928, 127) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 523 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 771 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 127

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	Central California	Southern California
Boats	balsa	canoe
Cradle	trapezoidal basketry sex indicated	U-frame *horizontal ribs
Birth Customs	*limited couvade *meat taboo	*limited couvade *meat taboo
Names	meaningful for ancestors	(for relatives?)
Social Organization	*some patrilineal moieties	patrilineal clan ceremonial phratries
Marriage	*polygynous purchase *temporary matrilocal levirate sororate	*polygynous *agreement patrilocal levirate sororate
Kinship System	Omaha type	*Yuman type
Political Organization	rich chiefs *hereditary	*chiefs *hereditary titles for chiefs
	herald	ceremonial leaders
Money	shell money	
Shamanism	*important quest or *dream *some inheritance	*important by birth or *dream
	bear, snake, and rain doctors *disease agent pathogenic	bear, snake, and rain *pathogenic
Religious Concepts	guardian spirits	*- mystic, inward view
Rituals and Dances	Hakan cult spirit impersonation initiation foot drum in winter	Toloache rites myth references initiation ground paintings song cycles

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Southern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	West
canoe *	balsa	some balsas	*
U-frame	*U-frame	*elliptical	*
*horizontal ribs	*horizontal ribs	vertical ribs	*
		for transport	
*limited couvade		*limited couvade	
*meat taboo	*meat taboo	*meat taboo	
		*scratcher	
	reticent	*readily used	*
(for relatives?)	*nicknames	*nicknames and meaningless	
patrilineal sibs	patrilineal inheritance	*sibless	
ceremonial phratries	of group names for women		
*polygamous	*polygamous	*polygamous	*
*agreement	*agreement	bride service	*
patrilocal	patrilocal	*temporary matrilocal	
levirate		levirate	
sororate		sororate	
*Yuman type	*Yuman type	*Yuman and Mackenzie types	
*chiefs	*tribal cohesion	*chiefs; advisory	
*hereditary	generous chiefs	hunt chief	
titles for chiefs	*hereditary		
	war leaders		
ceremonial leaders	dance leaders	*speaker	
*important		*important	
by birth or *dream	*dream	men and women	
		*dream	
	*shaman killed	*shaman killed	
ors bear, snake, and rain			
) *pathogenic	soul loss	*pathogenic	
*-	*-		
mystic, inward view	myth-dreams	(guardian spirits?)	
Tolowaha rites	absent	*scanty	
myth references	song-myth cycles		
initiation	*Mohave dance	*Bear dance	
ground paintings	*circle dance	*circle dance	
song cycles		*reluctance to dance	

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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	Western Mohaveria	Pueblo
	*none	*none
	*elliptical	rectangular?
	*horizontal ribs	wood
	for transport	*for sleeping
	also cloth swing	
	*esoteric	esoteric
		refers to sib
		changed at initiation
	sibs; some patrilineal moieties	matrilineal sibs; some patrilineal moieties
	*polygamous	monogamous
	*agreement	*agreement
	patrilocal, some temporary matrilocal	matrilocal and patrilocal
	some levirate and sororate	*—
	some mother-in-law taboo	*—
	Shoshonean types	Acoma and Crow types
	*chiefs; some hereditary	dual chieftainship
	some councils	priestly councils
	crier	crier
	dance leader	war priest as dance leader
	*important	curing fraternities
	men and women	*vision quest absent
	*inheritance	
	weather shamans	
		*pathogenic
	*—	*—
		*rain
		fertilization
		color and direction symbolism
	moderate	numerous; calendric
	curing dances	ceremonial fraternities
	*harvest dances	initiation
	ground paintings	*masks
	some tablets	tablets

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	Central California	Southern California	Lower Co
Food	wild seeds and small game	wild seeds and small game	*agricult mostly
			*planting
			*side-scr
	fish		fish
		rabbit net	
		curved club	curved c
	*mortar	*mortar	wooden m
		*grinding slab	*grinding
	*seed parching	*seed parching	*seed par
Houses	earth lodge	*gable-roofed or	square;
	*gable or *conical mat covered	*conical	roofed
		*brush and dirt	wood, b
Sweathouse	sweat club-house contains fire	*sweathouse fire	no sweat
Basketry	*mush		scarce
	*twine	little twine	some tw
	*coil	coil	
	some jugs	some jugs	
	*conical burden	*conical	carrying
Weaving		*rabbitskin blankets	string
Pottery		rough, brown steatite pots	unglaz painte
exchanging			
Dress	♂- apron hairnet	♂-apron	♂-apro
	*♀- two aprons	*♀-two aprons	♀-two
		basket hat	
	*rabbitskin robe		*bead je
		fiber sandals	barefoo
	*moccasins		
	*tattooing	*tattooing	*tattooi
War and Weapons	*peaceful	*peaceful	warlike
	*self bow	*self bow	*self bo
	*backed	*reed arrows	*reed ar
			club
	no scalping	*scalping	*scalpin

Table 1. The element

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ifornia	Lower Colorado River	Basin	West
ed	*agriculture mostly women	wild seeds and small game	some irri wild equa
	*planting stick		*plan
	*side-scraper hoe		*side
	fish	fish	*fish
		*rabbit drives	
	curved club	rabbit net	
	wooden mortar	*seed beater	
b	*grinding slab	*grinding slab	*pit
g	*seed parching	*seed parching	*seed
or	square; gambrel-roofed	*conical	*sub- *gab
rt	wood, brush and dirt	*brush and dirt	*bru
	no sweathouse	*sweathouse	*swea
		*stones, steam	*ston
	scarce	*maah	*mes
	some twine	*twine	coil
		*coil	twi
		*jugs pitched	spl
	carrying frame	*conical	
lankets	string bags	*rabbitskin blankets	some loos
			*some
	unslipped painted	(some rough ware?)	*rou
b		smoke tan	*man
	♂-apron or *breecholout	scanty; *breecholout	*♂-b
	♀-two aprons	♀-skin dress? *two aprons basket hat	*♀(s a
	*head jewelry	*rabbitskin robe	*hea
ls	barefoot?	*moccasins and sandals	*moc
	*tattooing		
	warlike	*peaceful	pre
	*self bow	*backed bow	*sel
	*reed and *wood arrows	*wood arrows	*woo
	club		*tun shi
	*scalping	*scalping	*sca

able 1. The elements characterizing the several sub-areas of the Havasupai area.

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	Western Hamaberia	Pueblo
and	some agriculture with irrigation. wild seeds and game of equal importance *planting stick *side-scraper hoe *fish taboo	*main dependence on agriculture *men and women till *irrigation *planting stick *side-scraper hoe fish
ves		*rabbit drives curved club
r		domestic turkey
lab	*pit roasting	*grinding slab
ing	*seed parching	*wafer bread
	*sub-conical or *gable roofed	communal; rectangular
dirt	*brush and dirt	masonry
	*sweathouse	kiva
oom	*stones, steam	fire
	*sash	scanty
	coil	splint
	twine	wicker
ed	splint	coil
blankets	some loom, spindle, belt loom *some cotton grown	sash; men loom, spindle, belt loom cotton grown
h ware?)	*rough, brown	highly developed slipped and painted (men?)
	*men	
breechcloth	*?-breechcloth	*d-poncho
ns? *two aprons	*?(apron or skirt skin dress	kilt ?-square of cloth
robe	*bead jewelry	bead jewelry
and sandals	*moccasins and sandals	*moccasins and sandals *woman barefoot at home
	predatory	*peaceful
	*self bow	*self bow
s	*wood and reed arrows	*wood arrows curved club
	*tunic armor	blade-studded club
	shield	shield
	*scalping	*scalping

of the Havasupai area.

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	Central California	Southern California
Rituals and Dances(cont.)	rattlesnake rite shamanistic displays clown dance house magpie headdress cleft rattle	fire dance stick swallowing circular enclosure turtle and *gourd rattle feather skirt
Puberty Rites	some boys' tolowahe rites *girls' rites scanty *meat taboo *scratcher	boys' tolowahe rites girls' rites dance *beating *meat taboo *scratcher
Death Customs	*cremation some burial some mourning anniversary pitch on widows	*cremation some burial mourning anniversary
Pattern Number	*4,6	various
Folktales	animal tales personifications origins for traits	sky father and earth mother *birth and wandering of men *dying god god of ritual
Games	hand game	hand game
Language	Yokuts Miwok Wintun Maidu etc.	Shoshonean *Yuman Chumash

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hern California	Lower Colorado River	Basin	Wes
dance		*dance directors	
x swallowing		*shamanistic displays	*sm
ular enclosure			*ol
le and *gourd rattle		(circular enclosure?)	*br
her skirt	basket drum	notched rasp	
' tolosche rites	*(drink tolosche)	*scanty girls' rites	gir
s' rites	*scanty girls' rites	seclusion	cer
e			
ing	*heating		
taboo		*meat taboo	
tcher		*scratcher	*sc
			*cr
ation	*cremation	burial	bur
burial	*house burned	some cremation	*ho
ning anniversary	[mourning for notables [structure burned		
pus	*4	5	
er and earth mother	wandering heroes	*animal stories	*cr
wandering of man	transformed		*wa
	*antagonistic heroes		*co
	*dying god		god
itual	*flood		sib
	sky-rattlesnake		*co
	*tribes located		
	war tales		
game	*hoop and pole	hand game	*st
	*hidden ball		*hi
	*cup and pin		*ho
			*sh
hoshean	*Yuman	Shoshonean	Ath
a		Washo	*Yu
ash			Pi

Table 1 (Cont'd)

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basin	Western Mancheria	Pueblo
directors		altars
istic displays	*masks	ground paintings
	*clowns	*prayer offerings
ar enclosure?)	*brush enclosure	fetiches
		images
d rasp		ceremonial chambers
		*clowns
		dance directors
		*gourd rattle
		*drum
girls' rites	girls' adolescence	*(drink tolowche)
ion	ceremony/seclusion	ceremonial washing
abco		
her	*scratcher	
	*cremation	burial
remation	burial	
	*house turned	
		*4, *7
stories	*emergence and deluge	*emergence and deluge
	*water-and sun-conceived heroes	
	*monsters destroyed	
	gods	gods
	sibs located	
	*coyote tales	
me	*stick dice	ritual significance
	*hidden ball	stick racing
	*hoop and pole	*hidden ball
	*shinny	*stick dice
		*hoop and pole
nean	Athapaskan	Tanoan
	*Tuman	Keresan
	Piman	Zuñi
		Shoshonean

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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

BY LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

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sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterizing the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterizations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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ists like the Pueblos and conduct cultivation in the same fashion, more so than the lower Colorado tribes. There is however an alternation with fall-to-spring seed- and root-gathering activities of the Basin type. The house construction of the Basin and Western Rancheria areas is similar, with the Havasupai showing something of lower Colorado and southern California forms as well. Their sweatlodge and its uses are of the type widespread in the western non-Pueblo area, the Basin, the Northwest, and the Plains. Domestic utensils are large numbers of baskets as in the Basin and in twine technique. Seed-beaters, parching trays, narrow-necked jugs, and conical burden baskets have Basin and central Californian affiliations on the whole. Pottery is specifically the Western Rancheria type, which has analogues in the southern Basin. Dress for women is the two-apron affair of California and the Basin in contrast to the Pueblo garment. Men's costumes resemble the Plains, hence may have no claim to antiquity.

Social customs and organization are of the excessively simple Basin type. Every vestige of sibs is lacking; the family is the sole unit, with some further nucleating because of common patrilocal residence, which in turn is based on patrilineal inheritance of land. Marriage is permissibly polygamous (in contrast to strict Pueblo monogamy) and contracted by agreement. Post-nuptial residence is temporarily matrilocal as in the Basin and central California, in contrast on the one side to the matrilocal western Pueblos and on the other to patrilocal southern California. Kinship terminology is characteristically Yuman. In the readiness with which personal names are used they are unlike the generality of Southwestern and Californian peoples. In their meaningless character, or as nicknames, these resemble the Basin. The slight political structure is also of Basin type: chiefs have advisory function alone and at meetings are provided with speakers. There is none of the pluralistic leadership (hunt bosses, etc.) of Basin type, however, and their bias toward hereditary succession aligns them rather with the Californians. Tribal solidarity of the lower Colorado pattern exists, but we must not overlook that the Havasupai form but a single local group in contrast to the large tribal aggregations of that region. On the other hand

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105 171 they have emphatically the peaceful disposition of the Pueblos, the Basin peoples, and California at large.

Crisis ceremonialism is absent. At birth, there is a limited couvade which connects with the Basin especially and California. Cremation aligns them with the tribes to the west rather than the Pueblos, but commemorative rites of the western region are lacking. Of adolescent rites, those for boys are lacking, as in the Basin; girls' rites and in fact menstrual customs at large are of the Californian type and the Basin, except that there is no seclusion, in which they are one with Pueblos and the Plains tribes.

The relative prominence of the shaman and the absence of organized religious rites is again an expression of an outlook basically of Basin type. Specifically, familiar spirits are possessed by shamans alone, whose power is acquired in dreams. Specialization is minimal; weather shamans, e.g., hardly form a separate class. The absence of the vision-quest is Californian, Basin, and Southwestern; the dream source, Basin and Californian. Disease is due to a pathogenic agent, as in all neighboring areas except the lower Colorado. Pueblo religious concepts appear only in some prayer plume planting, rain producing as an indefinite aim of social dancing, and Pueblo ritualism only in some slight masked dancing.

Dances are secular and specifically of Basin type, the round (squaw) dance and the Bear dance. Ritual dances of the Pueblos are as such absent; nor is the absorption of the lower Colorado tribes in ritual without dancing duplicated here. Masks, altars, ground paintings, god impersonation, ritual chambers, organized bodies, a priesthood, are all absent; on the other hand, song cycles are also.

Their mythology is a neat blend of Western Rancheria types, those of the Colorado and southern California, with a large ingredient of Basin tales. The dying god, the emergence and deluge, the wanderings of peoples, sun- and water-conceived heroes in the forms known to Pueblos and southern Californians are compounded. Familiar Coyote tales of the Basin reappear. There is no color-direction symbolism. The pattern number is four and sometimes seven, but it figures in the tales alone. In the Basin

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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable.

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos.

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain.

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors'

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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123–142, 1923.

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The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the [117] Pueblan Indians.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death ●171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 C614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
844 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 Except for differences due to local coloring, the
793 Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

761 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating (Smithson, 1958, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1958, 123). P42 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [071]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 30 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others. 343 .75

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs. 765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [71]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck. 765 535

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal ga?," ("What is the time?"). 765

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ðʔwiʔgaˈhʔ ʃwã (rock split apart) and ðʔihʔgaˈčʔ ʃwăvʔ (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1920 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[313] [291]

Fig. 36. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointens[2], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 99). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as pens for cattle by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle; the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Gifford, (f), 224; Tripod, 371; Russell, (d), 302; Kroeber, (a), 397, (i), 479; Bourke, (a), 171; Hooper, 330; Powers, 254, 260; Dixon, (b), 479.
Bourke, (c), 466; Lowie, (f), 292, 294.
[2] Opler, (b); Hrdlička, (a), 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 108; Curtis, 333; Tripod, 377; Kroeber, (g), 63; Spier, (e), 340.

Reliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

773 539

until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

172 173 361

In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

S:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail *zigzagging* to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 114 172 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 114 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 114 197 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 28) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasú'we, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasú were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1948, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasú'we and in Maricopa xavicú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axá in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and *Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized* contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1955 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1300 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

6:Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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that during Period I the Cohonina were but slightly differentiated from their Cerbat cousins to the west (Fig. 1) (this assuming that the two "tribes" split from the same basic stock). 172

The adaptation to the new conditions was probably achieved by small family groups, the techniques doubtless being the result of a combination of Kayenta methods and old traditional patterns.

The Cohonina of Period I were laying a foundation for a new type of life, one which was to serve its people for many generations to come. These people were leading a frontier existence and were pioneers in the strict sense of the word.

Period II — Growth

By 700 A.D. the Cohonina knew enough about their newly-settled country so that a period of growth could begin. The population tripled by 800 A.D. and doubled again by 900 A.D. (Schwartz 1955b). Settlements now covered most of the Coconino plateau and by this time were even found around the northern part of the San Francisco Peaks to the southeast.

The flood-plain method of farming (Bryan 1929) was probably the most widely practiced technique, for this was a time of excellent growing possibilities because of the relatively high amount of moisture. Farming was also more extensively practiced now because of the greater population, but there is no evidence as yet to suggest a seasonal occupation of the plateau or that there were any non-Cohonina settlements in the area.

Other changes were also taking place in Cohonina culture. Architecture began to take on a more permanent nature, with the development of stone masonry, but perishable structures were still an important dwelling feature. Ceramic influence from the Kayenta country became increasingly significant. Not only were Kayenta pots obtained in trade, but their designs were copied on Cohonina products. As a result of this influence from the northeast, and through internal growth, Cohonina culture was well on the way to achieving its first climax.

Period III — Climax

The next two hundred years of Cohonina development, 900 A.D. to 1100 A.D., were plainly such a climax. The population reached its peak, and the cultural inventory began to ramify through many paths of experimentation. These new attempts are most noticeable in the architecture, where a number of distinct construction styles can be observed: masonry surface granaries, patio houses, rectangular forts, and the old stand-by, the brush dwelling (McGregor 1951).

All the available land on the plateau was now being used, and since the population was probably still growing, new locations were needed in which to farm. It was apparently as a result of this population pressure that the canyons of the great Colorado River system were first used on a permanent basis. The most striking example of this,

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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172 and certainly the most successful of the experiments in this new way of life, was the occupation of Cataract Creek Canyon. Perhaps this canyon had been explored previously, but now its virgin fields were being harnessed to produce food for a growing population. The few bold families who established homes in the canyon at an elevation almost a mile lower than those of their contemporaries were the vanguard of a new era for the Cohonina. They were to provide the necessary adaptations to enable the rest of the tribe to survive in the coming period of natural and artificial desiccation which destroyed much of the life of the northern Southwest (Reed 1944).

The agricultural techniques of this period were enriched by the addition of irrigation, which must have been necessary for life in the canyon. The farmers, attracted to the permanent stream in Cataract Creek Canyon, may have traded with the irrigators of the Verde Valley (Bartlett 1939) and, seeing how efficient this method of cultivation was there, may have applied it to their own area. At this time also there may have been the development of a seasonal economic dichotomy. Those who moved into the canyon to farm undoubtedly found it a wonderful place for summer cultivation. However, it was certainly not suitable for winter living, because of the short winter days, the lack of fuel, the scarcity of wild food, and the high humidity caused by the stream. As a result, it is reasonable to assume that these early canyon farmers went back up to the plateau and joined the rest of the tribe during the winter to hunt and gather. With the events that were to follow in the coming decades, this pattern of seasonal economic change was to grow and become the focus of all Cohonina life.

From the fact that we find no burials, we assume that the dead were disposed of by cremation at this time. This trait probably came into the upland area, with the Cohonina, from the west.

Three main processes were involved in the development from Period II to Period III. These were diffusion, population growth, and the development of new ecological possibilities. The diffusion of new traits, mostly from the Kayenta area, pottery designs, architectural types, economic techniques, and undoubtedly a number of non-material traits, was the initial process which caused the changes differentiating the two periods. The difference in habitation concentration also distinguishes the two periods, the first being one of growth, the second one of climax. The utilization of the canyon, which resulted in an incipient seasonal economic dichotomy, further intensified the differences from the previous period.

Period IV — Defense

Between 1100 and 1300 A.D. non-Cohonina peoples were in Cataract Creek Canyon, living alongside the original canyon inhabitants. It was near the end of Period III that the Cerbat (Fig. 1), the first of these foreign peoples, came to live with the Cohonina. They represented the beginning of a movement into the canyon which lasted over one

6:Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hundred years and which was to swell its population many fold. Beginning at approximately 1100 A.D., the movement into the canyon also brought Prescott groups from the south, Kayenta peoples from the east, and the remainder of the Cohonina, who up to this time had lived more or less permanently on the plateau. These migrations were probably due to the pressure of raiders. The raiders, whoever they were, may have been forced into their way of life because of the decrease in general moisture which characterized this period and possibly caused them to desert their own land. The population of the plateau Cohonina dropped sharply during Period IV, and by 1200 A.D. they had abandoned their upland home entirely.

Only at this time were cliff dwellings occupied, a fact which perhaps reflects the nature of the period. It seems reasonable to assume that protection was the motive behind these population movements, with the canyon providing the logical defense against the intruders.

During the latter part of the period, when there were no more full-time residents on the plateau, the seasonal economic dichotomy, which possibly began earlier, must have been completed. Summer-canyon and winter-plateau life was probably a universal Cohonina trait. Considering the habitation density in the canyon during this period, three times greater than the estimated density in historic times, one is forced to conclude that the canyon's occupants would have used the plateau in the winter to supplement the summer agricultural harvest.

During this time three processes of change were important: diffusion, population pressure, and the necessity for defense. A few ceramic traits are the only items which were definitely diffused to Cohonina culture, but the presence of many foreign groups suggests that other traits were probably also borrowed. Population concentration, which reached an all-time canyon high, certainly affected the dynamics of Cohonina culture, but the necessity for defense was the dominant feature of this period, touching many parts of Cohonina culture and society and possibly changing each.

From the standpoint of rate of culture change, this period might be contrasted with the following one. Change, as well as population density, was extremely high during Period IV, which on this basis might be interpreted as the second climax in Cohonina culture history. Significantly, it followed directly on the heels of the previous climax, and except for the fact that it was in a different location and had a new orientation, it might be considered a phase of the same peak. The Cohonina culture and society of Period IV were certainly distinctive; never before or after was northwestern Arizona to see anything comparable.

Period V — Tranquility

In the latter part of Period IV there was a sharp decrease in raiding, evidenced by the movement of habitation off the cliffs, back to the talus top and probably the valley floor. By 1300 A.D., the beginning

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture.

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776 when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

[P.538A]

109
131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito E. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther E., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on
● [172] the upper Rio Verde, near the N. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present
361 village, composed of temporary cabins or
342 shelters of wattled canes and branches
131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. N. of Prescott and 7 m. S. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai
142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and
105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

The
18| women excel the men in such dexterity,
46| being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[324] hunters, and constantly practice marks-
[411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
● 172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224 the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
pai have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
211 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned toget-
er behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
391 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamanesses sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

*539 that the people were all drowned so it receded. The flicker knew the log was still on the water and followed it around. The log came to rest near Ha?vu-v?gwič, a waterfall on the Little Colorado River [Grand Falls]. The mountains near the falls are barren and there is no timber. This was the first campsite the girl had. The mud was still soft, so she made horses, grinding rocks, pots, and all things she could think of. People say those things are still there. [Informant had not been to the location. Archeological surveys in the area revealed no Havasupai sites.] She got tired of staying in the same place so she started out to find the mountain and spring the two men had told her about. She found a spring dripping from overhanging rocks and used the water to cook with. [See also James (1903, 209ff.).]

● [172]

She had grown up and was lonely, so she decided to make another person. So in the early morning she lay down and spread her legs so the sun's rays hit her vagina. Then she went back to the waterfall and let water drip on her vagina. She became pregnant and had a baby girl. [In one version the girl was impregnated by the flicker.] They lived together until her daughter was grown. Then the mother told her daughter to do as she had done to get a boy. The daughter did so and got a boy. He grew big enough to hunt. He hunted many animals. The boy was the first one to come to Supai. But the rock walls closed together to kill people. Arrowweed grew here. People were always killed. The boy was a fast runner so he jumped in, got some reeds, and ran out fast before the rocks closed together. Then he returned to camp.

He was the one who caught the eagle up high. He took an animal hide and smeared it with blood. The eagle descended and carried him off to its nest. He killed eight big ones in the nest and four little ones; killed them all and took the feathers.

He prayed and blew his breath, and the rock wall turned to sand so he walked down and took the feathers to camp so he could make arrows with feathers to make them go straight.

He lived there for a while with his grandmother and grandfather. One day he met a man. This was the dripping spring which was his father. He had some horses and asked the boy which one he wanted for his own. The boy chose a roan and the man said, "That is my top horse. You break my heart but I have to give you it." He had many saddles and told the boy to choose one. He chose an old worn one. The man said, "You chose mine but I'll have to give it to you."

Then he said, "Son, you must be like me." He lay the boy on the ground and split him open and put lightning inside him. He said, "I am the sun and

[Some material on traditional history will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928

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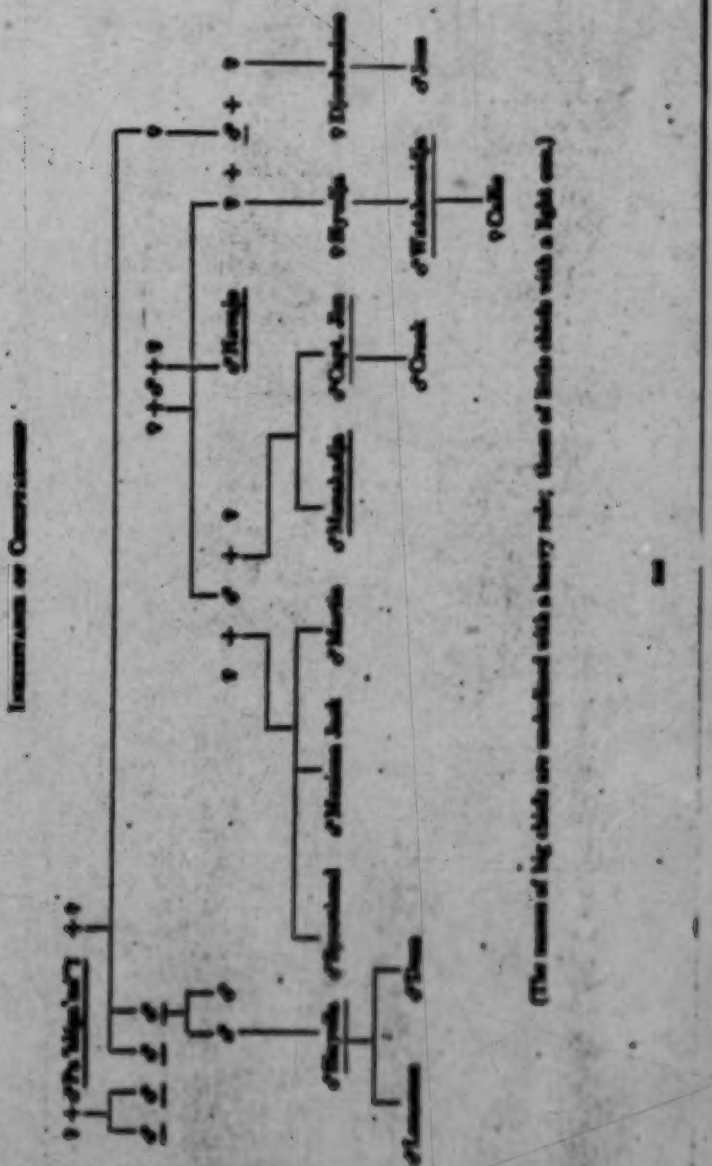

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Talking Stones

An evening with an old storyteller sitting by his outdoor fire, pipe in hand, means a tale worth remembering. In this setting, the old man passed on to the children the legends of the tribe's wanderings. Of course each narrator spiced his tale with a little of himself, his imagination, his whimsy or his logic. But the theme never varied: always the gods led the Havasupai. When memory grew dim, these storytellers need only tread again an ancient trail, peer into a long-abandoned cave, or read the messages on boulders and stone walls to recapture the story's flavor and sequence of events. Of these legends, one, at least, certainly had the ring of truth.

Evidence other than Indian lore indicates that, generations back, the Havasupai lived in the region of the Little Colorado River. They may have settled there after the god Tochopa, on account of the crowded conditions in Mattawodita Canyon, dispersed the tribes. However, this new location again placed the tribe within raiding distance of the savage Whajes (Apache), who relentlessly drove them from their cliff dwellings and gardens to wander in an unfriendly wilderness. The tribe crossed the desert to the San Francisco Mountains, but even here they could not live in peace, so again took the westward trail, seeking the home to which their gods would lead them. A canyon cut across their path. They worked their way down its rugged walls to the floor—an oasis of greenery cut by a rollicking stream of blue water.

[p. 167]

Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 MT14 Plateau Tumum MT14
Havasupai

173 Desert weary, they tarried by the stream, reluctant to leave a spot that had everything they so much desired, but their gods had not yet spoken. Discouraged, they began the long climb up to the plateau and westward. A child cried. The procession halted and the child's voice was stilled. Each effort to resume the journey brought that cry of protest. The wise men quickly issued their edict: "The gods speak to us through the voice of the child; this is the home to which they have led us."

Joyously the people unpacked their loads and began building houses and making gardens.

173 Handed down through many generations, this old tale expresses 77b the Indians' desire to lay in the laps of the gods every problem that affects their lives. On the canyon rim overlooking a wide section of the floor, they found the god-spirit in two gigantic pillars of stone. So they built their houses on either side of the stream of blue water where the gods could watch over them night and day.

133 The Indians' accounts of the god-spirit residing in the two stones turned our attention to the walls of the gorge. Miss Goenawein, the only old-timer employed at the school, had visited every point of interest within walking distance, so she acted as guide.

From the Indians she had learned of the Black Man. After Sunday school she took Frances and me to a side canyon where we gazed up at the shiny, black form of a giant stone man, lying prone as if he had dropped down and fallen asleep. We stood in the hot sun, trying to discover what force had caught and held the black mineral while the red sandstone built its layers around it. Doubtless the old men had a tale about this phenomenon, had we asked them. But in the discomfort of the intense heat and the sunlight striking our faces as we gazed upward, our interest in the Black Man quickly vanished. So we wandered over to examine some pictographs on a boulder, beautiful primitive art that could hold one entranced indefinitely.

212 The boulder stood in the center of the canyon; the base, worn away on one side, left a projecting ledge some four feet above the ground. Stooping low, we crawled under the ledge, straining for

S.James T-8 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

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From leading Havasupais I learn that many years ago the various tribes of this region were at war one with another, until finally a treaty of peace was entered into and boundaries defined. The Paiutis were to remain in Nevada and Utah and not cross the Colorado River, the Wallapais had their region to the west of Havasu Canyon, the Mohaves, Hopis, Pimas, Apaches, Navahoes, Chimehuevis, and the rest their prescribed limits, over which they were not to go without permission from the chiefs into whose territory they wished to pass. And, generally speaking, this treaty has been observed.

Of the exquisitely beautiful waterfalls that give the commonly accepted name to Havasu Canyon, viz., Cataract Canyon, I have not space here to treat. I have already somewhat fully described them in my book on the Grand Canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

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until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

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In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

[P.538A]

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131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
● 173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on
[172] the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present
361 village, composed of temporary cabins or
342 shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural
131 caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai
142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and
105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datils and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but fire-arms have practically replaced these more

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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Havasupai

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY
R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence, I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that these Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Coninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an [783] enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukávi'k tatápoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Cocopa
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

sent travelling over the mountains, but killed never an enemy. The Yavapai had come down and killed some whites and their mules, taken the harness and burned the wagons. The Pima-Maricopa went to Fort McDowell, where they stayed a year looking for Yavapai. They came over to Sacate near the Maricopa villages where they heard Yavapai were stealing horses.

They pursued the Yavapai. There were three of them, armed one with a gun, another a bow, the third a sword. Some followed their tracks directly northward toward the mountains. Others, a large number including the boy Kutox, circled to get ahead of them.

The three Yavapai walked along side by side. When someone rushed at them, they turned to face him and the one with the gun made as though to shoot. Those following came up with them first, but no one dared go close. They continued following. Toward morning the three came to where Kutox's party was. Kutox started toward them to see if he could not beat one down. The man with the gun was facing those following, so he thought he would chance it. But as he drew near, the bowman turned on him; so he retreated. The one with the sword disappeared; perhaps crawled under a bush. The man with the gun walked backward, holding off his pursuers, so they kept trying for the bowman. Kutox tried again. Just as he got close, someone at a distance shot the Yavapai. He tried to rise, but Kutox dismounted and hit him on the head with a stone, killing him. (Because of this Kutox would have had to undergo purification when he returned, so he gave the credit to the one who had shot the Yavapai, "rather than starve", he said.[48]) This was at early dawn.

They knew two had escaped, so they scattered to search. Kutox felt very sleepy. He came close to a giant cactus, which he mistook for an enemy. He was afraid, so he dismounted and ran away. This has always been told as a joke on him.

PURIFICATION

The theme that physical contact with the enemy was defiling threads through all the proceedings that follow on the return of the war party. The enemy, his scalp, his women and children who were made captives were all extremely dangerous. They were "diseased"; they brought sickness to such as touched them; they had potentialities for harm of a magical order. Once struck down, the very sight of the enemy must be hurriedly avoided. Even the mountains of his land, spiritually his in a literal sense, must no longer be looked on. This was clearly not for fear of the dead as such, for they had no comparable strong concern for their own dead, but because the enemy had maleficent powers on his side. All persons and things that had had intimate contact with him must undergo a stringent rite of purification (mata-

[48] Gifford recorded the same yielding of credit among the Cocopa. The one who took the credit had to undergo purification (Cocopa Ms).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moencopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1804. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moencopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Henshaw observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 41; Linge, *The Navajos*, 84 et seq. In 1829 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mahahoes." Four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 50 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, 130, 141.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

114 131 174 refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the Ukeyápá, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Picacho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them. In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[5] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 326. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1880*, I, 84.

[2] Bandelier, 4a, 5, 10b.

[3] Sitgreaves, 10; 11, 14, 15, 16; Cosnos, 10b.

[4] Whipple, 66. He says Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whereas they were said to range to the foothills of the Rio Virgen and the Colorado.

[5] Beale, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] Ibid., 79, 88, 89. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's drawn-horse had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 105, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizonans.

[3] *A Yuman Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. c).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *Axasáwaipa*, blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ká'nisa*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[2] They call the Walapai *Pulpimpapi* or *puehpaid;* the Yavapai, *tiedhud* (enemy) or *nyúvipa*[3]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé;* the Navaho, *hua'dzá'u;* the Hopi, *wókki;* the Zuñi, *ad'u'á;* the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamókwa;* the Paiute, *paiutia;* and, by my recollection, the Ute, *pádu* and the Pima, *palapd.*[4]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[5] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[6] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[7]; in 1869 there were 300[8]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[9], and Coues, 214[10];

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[1] Von Kate, (1), xxx, gives Kuchaikwa or Kuchainkwa (yellow-eat people ?) as the Zuñi name. This might be explained as dja, eat, and kapkpi, black, or kapi, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black sun.

[2] See p. 239 for the composition of population.

[3] Coues, 243.

[4] Coues, 238.

[5] *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 926.

[6] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology,* 1881, XVIII.

[7] Coues, 243.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[3]; 1899, 261[4]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 *yrs.* (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[5] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[6] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[7]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[8] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[3] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 191; 1897, 163; 1898, 300; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[4] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[5] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 208). When the mothers are principally old women, as in the case, the figure is too high, for some in reaching to observe the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the cases where the latter survive than the elder. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their survival.)
[6] Hrdlička, (a), 413.
[7] A peculiar configuration of the wheels of the ear is common.
[8] Garcés, 341; Cushing, 346; Smart, 418.
[9] See also Spier (d).

Bojames T-6 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

dwelling style of homes. My friend Wa-lu-tha-ma is forsaking his wood and brush "hawas," and constructing a house under the cliffs, where, as he quaintly puts it, he can "keep dry when much rain comes."

It seems to me a reasonable supposition that it was from the frequency of the occurrence of these corn-houses in the walls of Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, with the occasional appearance of a few of the larger houses used as dwellings by the Havasupais, that the absurd and romantic yarns had their origin that fifteen, or less, years ago, were current in Arizona and elsewhere about this interesting people. The cowboys, miners, prospectors, and others, who accidentally stumbled upon the upper entrance to the Havasu Canyon, and wandered down its meandering course for ten or forty miles, even to the village of the simple Havasupais, returned to civilization and propagated and circulated stories that out-Munchausened Munchausen. They said these people were cliff-dwellers, living at the present day in the walls of the canyon; they were of powerful physical presence, and possessed great endurance. Their fields and gardens were wonderful, and their peach orchards surpassed those of most civilised cultivation, and they held in slavery a lesser people, dwarfs or pigmies, doubtless, who were cliff-dwellers like themselves, and whom they compelled by great cruelty to perform the most arduous labors.

Others, having heard these stories, but whose spirit of adventure took them no farther than the "rim" of the canyon, claimed to have looked into the village and side canyons, and there seen the truth of these stories demonstrated. They had seen the pigmies and the gigantic Havasupais, had heard the harsh yells of the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [857]

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 317) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Ranchería tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona.

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred.

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees.

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color.

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people).

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman.

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians.

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties.

For several years following the establishment of the reservation

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
646 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
179 and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
645 either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[597] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now
[598] they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
284 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
283 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
646 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suppression of crematory activities also began soon after the
745 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
646 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

178 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable.

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos.

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain.

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors'

7;Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better in turn to inquiries of another sort.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

9:Emerich E-8 (1955)1964 NT14 Plateau Tomato NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerich

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Cosninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotŧunina, which, they say, is from kohu, wood, and nina, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the
197 parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

●174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

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The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

[756]

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ʔ°bâ°djih.

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The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Canon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apaches and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

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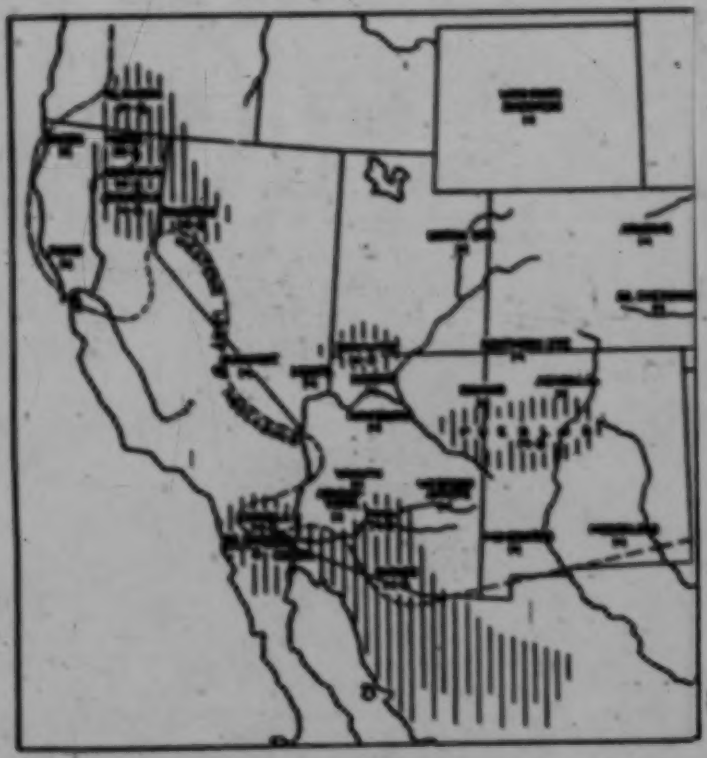

Fig. 68. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and California Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

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The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, pp. 149; St. Clair and Lowie, 178.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause has in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents ((6), 39-41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 148, in 1906, 161. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. 423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

422 Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [775] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [769] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

428 A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- [769] sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 287 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 351.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

648 forced to go? Who always went when the Indian had land that the white man coveted?

The white men had plenty of cash with which to allay the Havasupai's fears. They bought alfalfa from them for their horses, [482] paying five dollars for the load a woman could carry suspended from a strap across her forehead. They gave a silver dollar to those who posed for a picture. But this proved little compensation for the Indians, who could only stand by and watch as heavy machinery rumbled in along the widened Lee Canyon trail, and old Mooney began to lose her wild timbered beauty. This trail, these falls, everything here had belonged to the Havasupai since the day the gods had led them into the canyon. Lanoman, gray-faced and angry, went about his duties. The foreign men were desecrating the "Mother of the Waters," sacred to his wife and those other dead whose spirits could sometimes be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The Indians feared these invaders as they had never feared the Yavapai or the Apache. They could meet the latter and deal with them as they deserved, but these white men—working like ants, building roads, making permanent improvements—had taken possession without need of battle. Mr. Ewing wrote that the contract had been negotiated in Washington; he was powerless to interfere. And in increasing numbers the white men continued to come.

The Havasupai recalled the story the Navaho had told them of how the white men had elbowed them out of their ancient home. When, in retaliation, they killed those who had stolen their hunting ground, the Great Father in Washington sent soldiers with fire-sticks, who punished the Navaho, and took the guilty to some far place.

648 The people again gave thought to the warning of the Chemehuevi Indian who had come to them as an evangelist, reminding 175 them of the old ways and warning them of the penalties of forgetting the customs of their ancestors. Mr. James, in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, recorded the Chemehuevi's impassioned appeal to the Havasupai at a dance where an agent from

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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Havasupai

172 of Period V, the change was complete. No more cliff dwellings were in use. For the Cohonina three hundred peaceful years were to follow, a rest they could well appreciate.

During this period the population was small compared to that of the previous one, when it had been three hundred per cent higher. The drop was mainly due to the exodus of all but one of the foreign groups near the end of the thirteenth century. Only the Cerbat remained in small numbers, perhaps represented by scattered families. As far as can be determined, all the Cohonina lived in the canyon during the summer, but in the winter the people were probably scattered in small settlements on the plateau. Possibly there were some farming communities in the upland regions, but these could have been located only near springs, for since Period III, when full-time farming was last practiced on the plateau, an increasing aridity had made the plateau less well suited for agricultural exploitation.

The archaeological record indicates very little change during Period V, which for this reason might be termed a period of stability. There were still trade contacts and influences from the Tusayan groups to the east, and if the historic Havasupai pattern applied at this earlier date, a certain number of Cohonina may have resided among the Hopi in their pueblos east of the Little Colorado River. However, this had little effect on the Cohonina, who by this time had had enough contact with the prehistoric Hopi to have accepted all the traits they wanted.

This period of peaceful stability and low cultural intensity ended near 1600 A.D., with the first gentle impacts of Anglo-American culture

Period VI — Anglo-Diffusion

175 The gradual acquisition of American material culture characterizes Period VI. Living as they did in the seclusion of Cataract Creek Canyon, the Cohonina-Havasupai were able to avoid the sharp break which took place in the culture of so many American Indian groups at the time of contact. Although there had been Spanish expeditions into the general region as early as 1540, when Cardenas discovered the Grand Canyon, the borrowing of white traits probably did not begin until the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Hopi country, in 1629. By 1776, when the first white man descended the canyon trail, the Havasupai had already acquired horses, cattle, and European trade cloth (Coues 1900). They had also adopted Old World plants such as apricots, figs, peaches, and alfalfa before the later white men began to frequent Havasupai territory regularly.

The culture which we have outlined for this period is that traditionally known as Havasupai, with the addition of the Anglo items. Spier's (1928) description of the Havasupai, which attempts to give a picture of this culture as it was before the new items were accepted, is thus possibly applicable to Period V.

As far as can be determined, settlements at this period were still concentrated in the canyon, with the plateau used only for winter

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
● [175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[464] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[432] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
943 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

1 I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

175 487 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 487 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [342]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [133] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poskai Anˀia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 793

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

● 175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

[86] "The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

[756] The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[515] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[231] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362–374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

114 that Mr. Cushing has published anything further upon these very in-
115 teresting people, although he was evidently among them for several days and must have in that time amassed some considerable information.

This is absolutely all the information of any importance that I have been enabled to get together about these Indians, and Mr. Gatschet has informed me that it is about all that has ever been written.

Science in general, and anthropology in particular, I must believe, would be well repaid could a good and active anthropologist live with these Indians for a month or more and gather up everything there is to be known about them.

114 The styles of their lodges and their architecture are well shown in my two plates. We can also see other objects there worthy of our attention, as the varied costumes of the men, women, and children, as well as the peculiar forms of their curious baskets lying about. Further, in Pl. II, it is interesting to note the fashion of fixing the hair in the women
[[71]] and in the girls; it would seem that it pointed to affinities with the Pueblan Indians.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
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Havasupai

THE NATION OF The Willows.

II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

●175 More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which it still retains.

131 The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, piñons, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many

[137]

[P. 541 A] varieties.

[pp. 375 – 540 not processed

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-paí by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-paí have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

175 acter of a frontier and Indian tradition; a strange adventurer he, who, possibly 648 in search of mineral treasure, was driving about the Colorado Plateau in a buckboard, the remains of which may yet be seen, it is said, at the head of the eastern trail. Lost and nearly exhausted, he sought water and refuge in the cañon, and came upon the Ha-va-supaí village; he narrowly escaped with his life, to tell his tale only to incredulous frontiersmen, and then to pass out of knowledge.

Some six or seven years ago, a party of prospectors, three in number, headed by the adventuresome Mooney, penetrated the cañon, in search of mineral. Mooney's survivors, unable to reach his body, returned to Prescott to tell the story, not only of their comrade's death, but also of the mineral riches they had discovered, and of the strange people, whom they called "Su-pais," that they had seen. An article in the Arizona Miner, narrating these things, caused other visits of prospectors to this country. The Mormons attracted by their characteristic zeal for the conversion of Indians, made an expedition to the cañon, under the leadership of the celebrated Lee. The Indians received the little band of Saints suspiciously, and listened gravely to their preaching; then, rising, escorted them to the trail leading out of the cañon, and directed them on their way, but assured them that their visit might be repeated only under penalty of death.

648 The attention of General O. B. Wil-
657 cox, commander of the Department of Arizona, having been drawn to the Ha-va-su-paí by the reports of prospectors and others, he feared disturbance for their lands, as well as for the safety of citizens visiting them; and, with characteristic kindness, he secured for them in 1880 the declaration of a reservation. He organized a cavalry expedition to survey this reservation during the season of my visit. This, under command of

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with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyā'ljīpa"*, with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n„msavīghuwdlā*), white and blue (*n„msā'vīgwasú*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n„údā*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea arnglacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[1] Mr. Gossler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

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285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (50.2-1663, 1664). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. *a*, Beginning of twine stitch; *b*, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made 285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's 531 claw (*halā'k*[a]). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long, [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her elder sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[114]

[1] Mason misinterprets his Plate 208, (b), also 487: the unfinished face is not the interior.

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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 415 [177] [178] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdi*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See G. T. Mason's diagrams, (b), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

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though the string is loosened somewhat when not in use. New bow-strings are a necessity, because a worn string might snap and the tension of the sinew backing is such as to reverse the arc, break the wood, and "perhaps drive a broken end into a man's side, killing him." The bow is kept in a buckskin case; a tube with a single seam. Specimens of such

Fig. 23 (50.2-1601, 1599). Quiver and Self-Bow.

bows are not extant. No trussed or compound bow of any other description was used, but the trussed bow is credited to the Navaho.

The bowstring (*Imĕcma hăpudjĭnăgiă*) is always sinew (*Imĕcma*"); leather and yucca fibers are never used. The best sinew is that from the hind leg of a deer or mountain sheep. (Tendons are pulled from the hind legs from knee to hock. Others are stripped from both sides of the deer's backbone beginning at the withers, leaving them attached to each

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HOUSES

342 Most Havasupai families have two residences (*kdwa"a*); the group of structures in the canyon occupied during the summer, and a house on the plateau for winter living. The winter house is located in a clearing, [351] just big enough for the house alone, in the midst of a dense cedar or piñon thicket, because these are warmest. The site should be a sandy, gently sloping hillside with a southern exposure. The typical year-round house is a dome-shaped affair, thatched and, depending on the season, dirt-covered. This serves against the rain during the summer. The second type in the summer camp is rectangular, with dirt-covered roof and thatched sides. Besides these the summer camp contains shade structures in a great variety of forms. Two other types are used, both [177] in the canyon and on the plateau, which are considered of foreign origin: a gable roof structure and a polygonal log house built in imitation of the Navaho.

The dome-shaped house may be circular or somewhat elliptical in plan. (Fig. 31 ab.) It is quite conical, for, though the main posts are somewhat crooked, they are not sufficiently so to produce a hemispherical structure like that of the White Mountain Apache. The house is built on a four post foundation: two heavy posts (about 25 cm. in diameter) are set into the ground on opposite sides with their forks interlocking: two lighter posts are set four-square with these with their forks locking into those of the first pair. The space between these primary posts is filled in with an indefinite number of poles, leaving a gap for the entrance. These secondary poles are set in the ground separately,[1] with their upper extremities locked into the forks. Those which do not stand solid are tied at the apex. Flexible poles are tied horizontally around the framework with soapweed leaves, spaced 15 to 30 cm. apart near the bottom and somewhat closer at the top. These ribs do not cross the entrance, which is left free to about the height of a man. In the tightest winter houses, additional short poles are set upright close together all around the circumference, being tied to the horizontal ribs. The frame is now ready for the thatch, which is about 10 cm. thick. Brush of any kind may be used, but in the canyon "white" willow (*amatama*[2]) is the best, and next in preference a long-leaved weed growing by the creek (*hamasdiva*). The first tier of thatch is tied on with the butts of the bundles resting on the ground; subsequent overlapping tiers are placed butt end up. The space above the entrance is often left open for a smoke-vent, but it

[1] The White Mountain Apache dig a trench in which to stand them and to receive the first row of thatch.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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Fig. 32. A Gable-Roofed House of the Mohave Type.

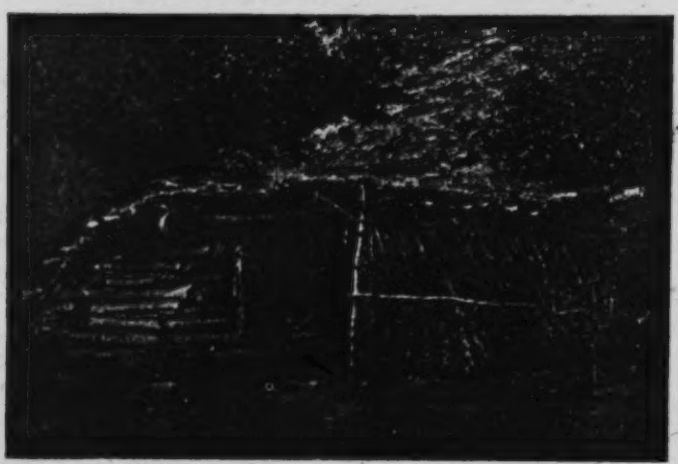

Fig. 33. A Log House of the Navaho Type with a Shade constructed in Front.

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342 is sometimes thatched as well and no orifice is left. (Most cooking is done out-of-doors, however.) Flexible poles are tied over the thatch to hold it in place. Dirt is heaped up around the circumference to a height of about 60 cm. Some houses have an entrance-way added. Two stout posts, about two meters tall, are set up at the toe of the two slanting poles which form the entrance. A lintel is set across the posts, and corresponding beams tied to the slanting poles at the same height. Sticks are laid longitudinally between these, and covered with brush and dirt. Sticks are also tied horizontally between the upright posts and the slanting poles so as to form the sides of the entry: long brush is stood against these, and dirt heaped against the base. The door in all types of house is a blanket (never a buckskin) hanging loose from the top of the opening but devoid of a stiffening stick in the bottom. The house is usually heaped over with dirt, especially that for winter living, but the summer rains wash this cover from the steep pitched roof so easily that frequent renewal is necessary. Usually the apex was so poorly protected that smoke had no difficulty in finding its way out. Neither the groundplan nor height of these structures are laid out by measurement (one typical fair sized house measures 4.6 m. by 4 m. in plan and 3 m. to the apex). The summer house is placed with its entrance facing in any convenient direction: the winter house faces somewhat south of east, i.e., where the sun rises.

[177] The ridged house resembles a gable set on the ground. This is thought of as a foreign type. It is nearly square in groundplan, with the corners somewhat rounded (Fig. 32). Two heavy posts are set upright (in one house 3.75 m. apart), supporting a heavy ridge pole in their forks at a man's height from the ground. Poles are laid slanting against the ridge from both sides, leaving a space for the entrance, if that is to be on the side. Others are similarly laid slanting at each end, with the line of their bases 50 cm. from the base of the main post and their upper ends resting in its fork. Slanting poles also fill in the corners, the lower ends arranged around a quarter circle. Slender poles are tied horizontally around the structure about 30 cm. apart. The frame is thatched and covered with dirt in the same manner as the dome-shaped house. A stick is fastened part way up the slanting entrance poles to which a blanket is hung for a door. The space above the door is open for a smoke hole. Some of these houses have the entrance in the gable end, and the summer house even stands with one of both ends open as Shufeldt's and James's photographs show. The whole structure has usually such a low pitch and is so sand-drifted and brush-covered as to be amorphous. A typical house measures 4.5 m. square and 2 m. to the ridge pole.

[Text continues on p. 178]

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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horizontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the midpoints of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horizontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

[462] Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

354 The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otáwo*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel.
352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedarbark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed.
513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck 291
in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives.

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from 294
flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the 281
hands of the men. 462

The man's shirt (*nĭgwaid*) seems to have been based on the poncho 291
type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are 294
now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1]Coues, 435.
[2]Compare the Western Apache (Bourke, (d), 133). [Text continues on p. 185]
[3]Cushing, (a), 548.

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Fig. 37 (80.2-1267). A European Variation of the Plains Type of Man's Shirt. (The neck flap is lifted to show its decoration).

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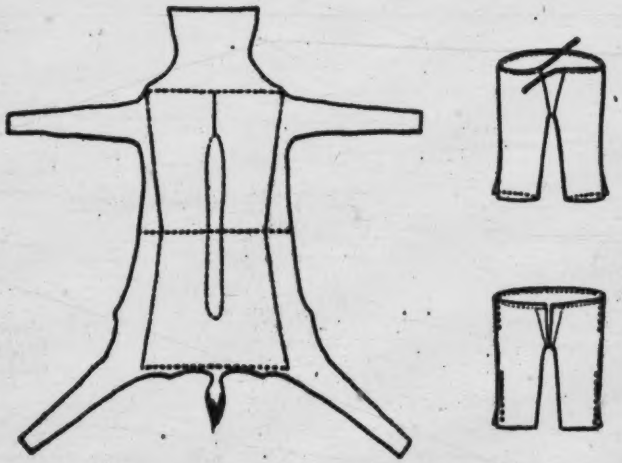

Fig. 38. Diagram illustrating the Cutting and Construction of a Man's Trousers.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*maklaipéva*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*dgdl mlkiál*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven.
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtdölled*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dĕnyúdlgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

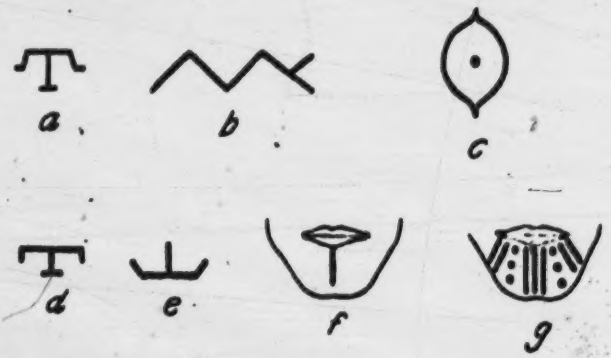

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. a-c, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'nyddd* means both photograph and camera (*apá*, man).

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by the Pueblo and Navaho, suggest a fascinating problem which ought to be open to analysis, but will not be attempted here.

We are dealing here with an area in which two styles of clothing prevail. For men, these are either sandals, kilt or apron, and cloth poncho, or else moccasins, leggings, breechclout, and the Plains shirt, which is essentially a skin poncho. For women, the types that correspond are sandals with either aprons or the dress of the Pueblo women, an uncut square of cloth, or again moccasins and the Plains woman's dress.

The characteristic Californian man's garment is the apron of fiber or skin. For example, on the borders of our area the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño men wear a single apron in front and never affect the breechcloth. The Mohave use either breechclout or apron. The apron is presumably related to the traditional garment of the Pueblo, a woven kilt, persisting today only in ceremonial dress. The Navaho make use of a broad fringed belt which to the Franciscan Fathers suggests a kilt.[1]

All the other Southwestern tribes and their neighbors wear breechclouts. This is recorded for the Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Pima, Navaho, and the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. It is implied in the Plains dress of the Northern Shoshoni and Jicarilla, and undoubtedly was used by Mescalero and Western Apache and by the Paiute.[2] Even where trousers of Spanish or later patterns have displaced the Pueblo kilt, the breechclout is worn, as at Zuñi, beneath the trousers.

The breechclout is then characteristic of the whole area westward to the Californian border, excepting only the Pueblo of the prehistoric period. There is some variation even in this simple garment. The typical Plains form having long flaps pendent front and back is that of the northern Pueblos, Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. Other Pueblos and the Havasupai, Maricopa, and Cocopa wear it with short flaps. On the other hand that of the Mohave is long again, while that of the adjacent Yavapai has a long flap in the rear.

The Pueblo trousers are ultimately derived from Spanish sources; short-waisted, knee length, and open at the knee. The Havasupai form with the outer seams open at intervals is identical with the Navaho, from which it is probably derived. Kaibab Paiute are also shown in one

[1] Dixon, (c), 209–210; Spier, (c), 340; Whipple, 114; Franciscan Fathers, 459.
[2] Lowie, (i), 216*f*; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Corbusier, 281–282; Smart, 419; Trippel, 505; Heintzelman, 48; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 319–320; Bartlett, II, 180, 229; Russell, (d), 157; Letherman, 289; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 82, 151; Lowie, (a), 180–181.

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of Powell's illustrations wearing trousers, or perhaps only long fringed leggings. One curious feature about the Havasupai and Zuñi garments is that they are made from two straight pieces which fail to meet at the belt in front, leaving a space to be covered by the breechclout. This suggests an origin of the pattern in two long leggings attached to the belt, but the case is inconclusive.[1]

The Plains man's shirt is found throughout this area, though it is probably not so commonly worn as on the Plains. It is essentially a poncho of skin, as Wissler has demonstrated, yet always with a well-defined pattern. It is precisely the Plains form which we encounter everywhere. It is recorded for the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Western Apache, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, other Rio Grande Pueblos, Zuñi, Hopi,[2] Pima, Mohave,[3] Yavapai,[4] Havasupai, Paiute,[5] Uintah Ute, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Klamath.

Wissler has made a case for the origin of the Plains shirt pattern in the cloth poncho.[6] The older Havasupai type and that of the Yavapai lend corroboration; both are folded skins slit to pass over the head. The woven poncho is at least characteristic of the Pueblos in our area, as well as in use throughout Mexico and the cordilleran region to the south. The Navaho also have the typical form; a blanket so woven that a slit remains in the fabric. The Southern Diegueño prepare a rabbitskin blanket similarly. Yet, both the Hopi and Navaho[7] make a cloth poncho which, by the addition of short lengths of cloth to cover the arms, approximates the Plains type of shirt. It is more likely that this is in imitation of the Plains garment, which was patterned on the original simple cloth poncho, than the reverse.

The triangular flaps attached front and back to the Plains shirt at the neck hole have been tentatively explained by Wissler as possibly originating in a knife sheath hung in front of the throat.[8] It is difficult to account for two appendages in this manner. I think rather we have here confirmation of his general theory, for the Mexican ponchos in the collection of the American Museum are decorated with large lozenges woven at their centers, so arranged that when the cloth is folded, a triangular area extends downward from the neck hole in front and in back.

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 480; Powell, Fig. 45; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 309.
[2] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 31; Hough, (c), 242–245.
[3] "A kind of tunic made of a buckskin fringe hanging over the shoulders" (Whipple, 114).
[4] A deerskin folded crosswise, slit for the head, and tied at the sides (Corbusier, 282).
[5] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 180, ill.
[6] Wissler, (d).
[7] James, (d), Fig. 140; Franciscan Fathers, 247, 457, 458.
[8] Wissler, (c), 103.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŏk,óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same 484 place. So we all came down the Tovŏk,óvá trail and went around into the canyon 648 where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hánlg*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaiya, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [526] [648] [537] [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

A performance of masked dancers (*gîdjî'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid.* 811, 813.
[3] James, (b), 255.

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and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 535
The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man steps to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

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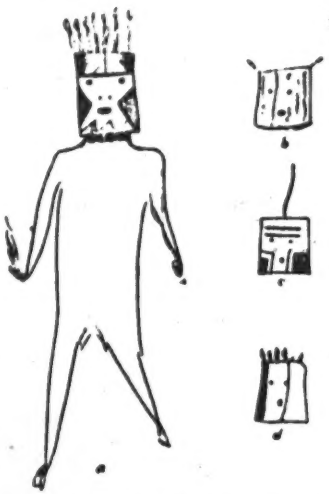

Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

Mohave Dance

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Havasupai. The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the 177 535

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's [533] line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kiǿádà, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.
[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 92.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped.

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgatú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant.

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes.

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise steps) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosumte,[8]

[1]Kroeber, (e); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2]My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3]*Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4]About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5]Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6]Lowie, (i), 306.
[7]Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8]Reagan, 40.

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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjĭpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wĭtagosâ"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yâ'dsatyâ*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd*[2]). Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *yâ'sdmâ* (doctor, medicine).

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Dieguefio, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1]Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2]Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 100, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; Jones, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 202; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 98; Sparkman, 220; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3]Kroeber, (a), 295.
[4]Lowie, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (c), 45. Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippa, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [171] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1]The Pima have the same caution (Russell, (d), 119). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 9). Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2]Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a thong loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 50). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Dixon, (b), 432).

[3]Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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541 giẽa giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhal isundə honeyá (repeat)
789 gáẽigánágóagó nóŋágábá isundə hineyá
533
[539] A second song is:—
sí'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋá ,hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yõllgal

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djíydgə*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'θwigə*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

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These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

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812 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [515] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [347] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

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how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

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872 stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the
177 fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with
872 hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes
177 and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children.
262 Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, *'Hanatoopega!* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

[522] The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

262 When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

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241 igating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

[412] The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

291 All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. 177 They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except 191 those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

812 Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

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accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

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177 liquid, and asked anxiously, "Heap good? You think heap good?"

My first impulse was to tell him honestly, "No, I do not think heap good, but it is the only medicine on these shelves that I know how to give, except quinine and castor oil." But honesty would have destroyed the spark of hope his face still held, so I replied, "It will ease Jasper's cough, and I hope will help him to get well."

After he had gone, I looked upon the rows of bottles and tins with positive loathing; drugs enough to stock a drugstore, but useless to us. Most of the containers had never been opened. Who had requisitioned them? Why had such a requisition been honored when the school had never had a doctor nor a nurse nor anyone who was legally qualified to dispense drugs? A visiting official had exclaimed, "You have enough drugs to last the city of Chicago for ten years. What can you do with them?" The Indians asked for medicine only on rare occasions; their suspicion of the white man's drugs was greater than their doubt of their own medicine men's skill. Giving this no thought, I had sent medicine to Jasper. If they gave him a dose or two, and the boy died, it would be a matter of cause and effect, and the blame would be mine.

Two days later, Manakadja was back; hope had given way to despair. "You give 'em new uniform, bury my boy," he requested.

Surprised and shocked, I asked, "Is Jasper dead?"

"Pretty quick die," he said, his face tight and gray with suffering.

"Did you give him the medicine?" I asked, anxious to learn what had been done with the cough sirup.

He shook his head. "I taste. No good."

I was so relieved to learn that Jasper's relapse could not be laid to the cough sirup that I gave Manakadja a new school uniform without waiting to learn whether or not I had authority to issue government clothing for the dead.

763 It was the custom to gather about the sick and mourn, telling

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional 796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the 527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

796 The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing. 527 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former, 574 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja. Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much 527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past 541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

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And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *toholwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

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from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-so-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

● [177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Töd-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more really than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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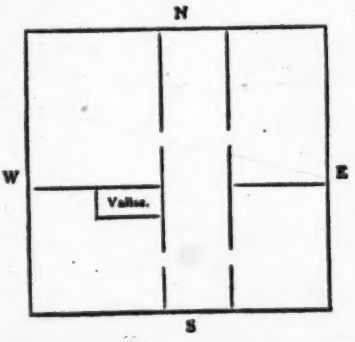
wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal dread of the camera.

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
● 177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
194 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the [372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet [276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields 361 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. 312 Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates 177 their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

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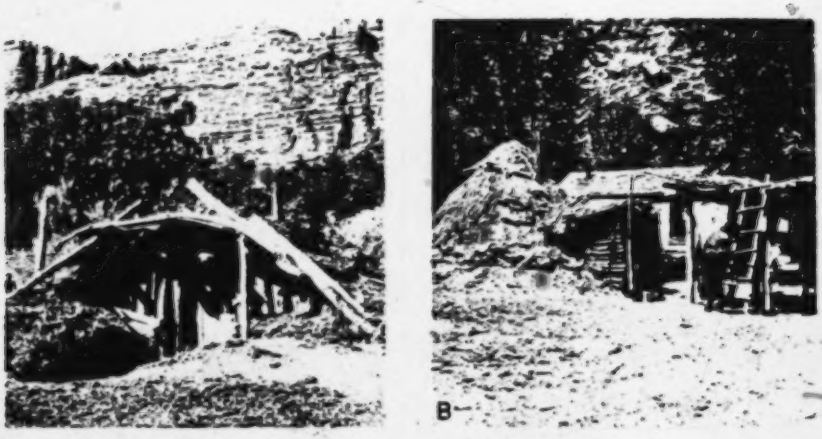

[177]

Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A. Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B. Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C. Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped 621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built 592 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is [562] constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as [591] nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an 596 extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
● 177 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the
787 white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasio for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [314] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

524 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially
● 177 manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough
[462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle
868 and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing
[753] infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated
[262]

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 198 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 [177] The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 553 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally [301] were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
[841] because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
415 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

291 ship period.
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[114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[285] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
●[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and
[768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

302 are discovered on a child.

● 177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the chin, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
● [177] broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest, cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
● [177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

[302] [841] [554]

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 584 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

Difficulties in Labor

844 Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

"Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it."

"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

"I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone."

845 165 Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon at the time. A physician summoned from Grand Canyon Hospital was able to repair the damage and save the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, [177] died in a similar condition. Apparently these two cases prompted Havasupai women to weigh the advantages of hospital confinement.

845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time. 593 461 855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit. [854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
[177] these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[237] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
● 177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white familes in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [872]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing,
[768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
428 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title
562 might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

423 nance of herself and her children.
428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

4: Smithson E-5: (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 19. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Putesoy prepares green corn for johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, aqlisa (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath ner, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djĭ). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the
262 husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not
[251] combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried stripe were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for
[177] roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi con-
252 tact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by
262 several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased
177 with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ' -vá' i -ñdt. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat
262 flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In [177] [535] the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the [562] same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service per- [657] sonnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement. 181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense. 152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.) 181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots. 421 562 [221]

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

175
648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1882 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

431 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs.
[175 Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon,
[177 who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following
233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand
[328 and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev-
591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct
[591 unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot
[713 lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

432 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the
[433 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in
281 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(Aawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
423 readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
343 plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
353 meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
263 stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
986 use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

227 The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 242 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 [315] [462]

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [324]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [582]

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyepa* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [882]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [518] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [522] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [523] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been 648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play, [175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work [468] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash [439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now [432] they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same 241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and 943 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form 648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the 765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re- 648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete, 177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

[4] About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The House-Clan*

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planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Problems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and coöperation.

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come. 487

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown. 133

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians. 133 361

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for 361 (177) 177 342 342

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An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

[172]
[245]

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [412] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 [161] In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today, early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] [439] [527] [648] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 361 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 221 241 [361] The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

such items as Lucky Strikes, Carnation Milk and Tide washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati.

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year.

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings.

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy.

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not.

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[441] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

55 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. Knives of hand-iron, occasionally of good steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *hō-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-[177] pai has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-pai — least acquainted with civili-[177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig-614 nificant one in the consideration of the

[P. 550 B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy
674 the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering graybeard. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the
[855 964] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange
721 frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them.
648 "But," he added, "the time has come
● 177 when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

648 177 ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how [412] my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

782 The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

[539] "Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants,
to accept of my sacrifices."

823 The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

773 539 Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

[P. 559 B]

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework coveted with brush or tule and some-
times with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post
brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and
allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way
as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food
among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
(221) been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for
the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and
spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game,
although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
(251) bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
(439) furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that
the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was
plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is
changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without
asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must
be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little
children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing
/100/ corn by all tribes of the Southwest are much the same.
Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later
ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are
harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to
dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either
alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/100 cont./ LIKE THE PIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an [554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The [302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their [302] boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the [439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The [415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil, [251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A 482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
W15 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [197] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

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Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ǎ°bă°djih.

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The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

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199 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village] , were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [341] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

756 755 533 [753] Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 533 [752] Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes, scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled, were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 787 [177] Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave [177] mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died, that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

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[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

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he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[128] [177] [533] [535] [771] [764]

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

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[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

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Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gátágáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

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Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 This indication was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a center pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
533 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost
●177 dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

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"A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: 'You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Wescogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

4/4 [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gătágăma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gătágăma also was singing his own songs."

Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue. 796 533 177

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

535 727 [533] head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it." The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 727 539 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.

> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies [who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man [for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 [177] Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear. [114]

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times. [177]

that's why she had the bone. She split one piece of the bone lengthwise and put it in the ground. She left it a few minutes and pulled it out and water came forth. She traveled on to the southwest until she was thirsty again. Again she split a bone, put it in the ground, and brought water out. A spring is still there on the Walapai Reservation. [Perhaps Rose Well.] She kept doing this until she had made four springs, all the while traveling southwest. Then she reached some people camping at a village in the afternoon. An old lady was on the edge of the village. Some of the men were out hunting. When they returned, one shouted that there was a runaway girl and that she was going to be his. Another man said no, we'll look into it and see whose she will be. The men ate supper, and about dark they built a fire a little way from the house where the girl was staying with an old woman. The men started playing the sixteen-stick game. [A gambling game, not reported by Spier (1928), wherein the sticks were used as counters. Probably borrowed from the Southern Paiute.] Every once in a while a man would slip away from the game and go to the girl's house but she would beat them away and throw dirt on them. Even all the birds and animals tried except the quail. Others told him to try but he said, "I'm not a good-looking man like some others she has turned down. So why should I try. " But he finally tried. He put makeup on the feathers on his head and went in. She grabbed him and took him for her husband.

539* [523] [525] [177]

The men went hunting, all except the quail. He was lazy. Other men were jealous of him because he ate gravel and didn't hunt for meat. The men said they wouldn't give him any more meat.

Finally, the girl was expecting a baby. It was in the girl's thumb. When delivery time came, the girl went out and thrust her thumb in a forward motion and the baby stood up on the ground before her. After the baby boy was old enough, his mother wished for meat. She told him to go to Grandfather Squirrel who was a good hunter. The boy didn't say anything. After they went to bed, he got up, put a stick under his cover for a dummy, and went to his grandfather, the squirrel. The boy was approaching his grandfather's house when he came to some women picking pinyons. They gave some to him, and yucca juice to drink. When they set his food before him, he said, "This isn't good to eat, just good to soften leather of shoes. " So he put it on his shoes. The juice was good for shampoo, so he washed his hair. Then he got his fine cornmeal lunch out and told them to eat. They said, "This isn't good to eat, just good for makeup. " So they painted their faces with it. No one ate anything. Then they went to bed. The ladies were lying in a row. After they were asleep he got up and tied their hair together. In the morning he awoke and waited for the women to wake up. They slept on so he called out, "I never saw anyone sleep like that. I thought you wanted to work. " One started to get up and all jerked each other, and laughed.

*539 So Coyote built a rock house and said, "Snake, I'm through, I think this is the kind you want." Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind. I want one where the shade moves from one side to the other."

Coyote thought hard but didn't know what kind Snake wanted, but said he would try again. Coyote went to a cottonwood tree, dug it up by the roots and took it over and planted it. The sun moved across the sky and the shade shifted from side to side. Snake said, "This is the kind I want." Snake began to move to that tree and the people assembled. Snake said he was ready to start the song, but his body was still moving far away. Somewhere someone saw it was still moving. Coyote started to cut the snake in the middle so someone could pass through. Snake knew they were cutting him in half. So Snake made up his mind that he wouldn't sing the good songs he knew but would [533] pick out the top parts of songs. So he made a salt song to begin with. [These [177] salt songs were Mohave. They could be sung at any time although today few Havasupais know them. Some are funeral songs sung by, but unintelligible to, the Havasupai.] The people all sang together with him.

Then the chief of the people got sick and died. Before he died he said he wanted the people to burn [cremate] him.

While the people were singing, everyone liked the songs, and women came, too. The kids at home were crying because their mothers had gone to hear Snake. Some people were quarreling. Snake said, "This is a round dance song. It looks like people are going to have trouble and be mad." The chief told them not to bury him, but burn him. The chief said, "I am afraid of Coyote. He is a person eater. If you bury or throw me away he will dig me up and eat me. South of here is a mountain with a fire in it. Ask Coyote to go there and fetch a burning coal to start my funeral fire. But you keep the fire here and burn me while he is gone so he won't know. I'll burn until I am ashes and I'll turn into a plant. Where my body is burned, pour water on the ashes and keep it wet. Then the plant will grow and will be called corn."

When the chief died, the people sent Coyote off for coal. People started the funeral fire when Coyote was a little way off. People stood around and poked the fire to make it burn faster so it would be gone before Coyote returned.

Coyote ran about halfway, then looked back and saw smoke. He guessed what it was so he ran back. All was burned except the heart, lungs, and liver. People were poking it around as the chief had told them. It smelled good to Coyote, who ran up to the circle. Two short men were in the circle so Coyote planned to get over them. He said nothing, but jumped over them, the badger and porcupine, and grabbed the heart. He went off still running and ate the heart.

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Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (f), 39 411. The Havasupai sex ratio is 1210 males to 100 females; in 1900 it was 145, in 1904, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 179 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 381.

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171 764 ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Gosiute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with those to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

171 178 764 An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1875[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 887; Sapir, (a), 373; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 66; Pressléve, 257. A burial in an unnamed tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1822–5 (Allen, *Burial Customs in Oregon*.)

[2] Lowie, (i), 279–280; Yarrow, (b), 137, 154, 161; Keegan, 31; Hopkins, 70; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lowie, (a), 214; Sisseton, 288; Chamberlain, (a), 660.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 143, 159.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 15, 27, 68.

[6] Davis, (c), 64.

[7] Allen, 615. I have been told that it was common as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 257.

[9] Powers, 340.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house, but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical harvest, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 190, 192 ff.

[2] Hill-Tout, (a), Yale, Rivers, (a), 643; Teit, (a), 298, 333; (b), 372. (Hills-Tout does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Salishan tribes mentioned obtain or carved them.)

Hillff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not
stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the
employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and
used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a
281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow
[237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking,
burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands
until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins
and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were
[177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and
customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The
clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their
very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their
grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions
that had molded the character of the people, their children were
now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they
were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their
648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The super-
stitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now
nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which
also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer
were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized
[709 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant)
231] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target,
lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consider moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
● 178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
[591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation
178 residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

562 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress,
561 with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

[591]

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes
562 of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed
581 to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period.
834 This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

[89%]

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 584 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

854 736 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 854 736 58 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual affection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently. [178]

Old Age

488 737 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

If one violated this prescription
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabíʔiyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving
[178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more
[535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were
[177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones
[766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial
[178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764
[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

000 the Indians out on the mesa, and no school to teach, perhaps the new man would have time to do just that. I envied him. Yet I knew that this was his first association with the Indian people, and he would need the time to become acquainted with those remaining in the village and to understand the Indians' slow transition from primitive life to the complexities of modern civilization.

648 On the day of my departure the few friends who were still in the village came up to say good-by. Vesnor and Lanoman, Walapai Bill, old Captain Gabe came—and precious, old, Gentle Annie, wearing my strawberry-red dress, much dimmed by constant washing in the stream and exposure to sun. We shook hands. Questions were asked, "Why you go? You no come back?" Gentle Annie's gnarled fingers clung to my hand. "You no go," she insisted. "Pretty good you stay."

They were anxious about the future. The one in charge of the reservation could assume almost any authority over them that he pleased; and strong men that they were, they resented being told when they might "go out or come in."

000 Few farewells have been so difficult for me.

At Hilltop that night we cooked our supper on a stove that had been set up in the warehouse for use during inclement weather. We ate outside in the frosty air, only a few yards from that bowl-shaped abyss which had so filled me with awe the last time I stood on its rim. I had been uncertain then as to what I might find at the end of the trail. Now I knew that there were floods, and falling columns of stone; that the thermometer soared to one hundred and seventeen degrees and forgot to come down. But I [181] knew also that a kindly, trusting people lived there—a people gifted with native wisdom, warm with laughter and carefree play; and children who needed an uncrowded school, offering better opportunities for adjustment to the alien culture we were thrusting upon them. And there were canyon walls with their guarded secrets—one of them a sealed cave filled with the ancient arms and tools of Those of Old.

I climbed to the wagon seat for the two-day drive to Seligman,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tho-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-se-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-gui'-chi-ka to-ki'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tid-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [231]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he ●181 has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will [55 tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by 57] the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article.

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Huc-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

157 just the same as the white men did, and, when it was
181 completed, train their horses to run on it until they
541 were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais
574 came, they would be able to take all the advantages
499 this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as
181 casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties." 302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. 302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing. 515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general. 836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself. 864 894

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

[181]

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

562 967 181 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

181 562 967 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement. 181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense. 152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.) 181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots. 421 562 [221]

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 [161] In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today, early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] [439] [527] [648] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 361 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 221 241 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The [361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. [515] Both men and women are rather light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-paí are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate ●181 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively 609 suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control 152 themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

They never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Their perceptive Faculties

181 151 153 are good, especially relative to simple ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous. They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original. [212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi. [522]

281 461 They are skilled in manufacturing and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

[CP 549 A]

The
women excel the men in such dexterity, being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert hunters, and constantly practice marksmanship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

Strangest of all, however, with their lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews to the uses of the lesser rooms and niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little cachés, or granaries

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] They are not so fair-dealing toward 648 721 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. 648 177 "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you?" [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

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Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the woman have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [684]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123–142, 1923.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Clan*

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There is no marriage rule [illegible] A feeling that close relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to *use* the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among

9 Out of 59 intra-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising form the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

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One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [177] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

582 [182] [614]

584 585 595 421

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

768

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlvá* or *kahá't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdvá*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagídjígdtà*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlvik'ádjà* and *pagámúlvákdvátéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183● 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahote* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwáhádo*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is Aon-ah-thal (Trippel, 508).

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624 They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their
● [183] families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would
624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If
626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate
624 occasions (*akwigwaulg*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The
[156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others
[554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any
[701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess
624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis-
554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications
428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwivámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdga*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Mamakudja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being 764 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor 178 enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, 768 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build 179 elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's [183] fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, [428] to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 221.

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 832 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation
178 residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 38 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 577 183 Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609] In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 183 609 Woman, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of [836] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 846 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [5%] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar insta-
[836] bility in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[183] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[585] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

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RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

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[823]

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ă?bă?djih.

[756]

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928; 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

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irigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Pecos and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2]

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Moapa, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5]

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *úsa*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *op* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *ô"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *piuku'e*, and possibly Pima *vopal viofá*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*).

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai,

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. III, 204; Russell, (d), 98, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 285-6. Mohave specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
[2] Spier, (f), 80.
[3] Mitchell: Curtis (XII, 20) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Corbusier, 328; Russell, (d), 119; Spier, (a), 348; Bandelier, (a), 49; Goddard, (e), 365.
[4] Lowie (b), 215; Kroeber, (a), 289.
[5] Goddard, (a), 37.
[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Doctor Lowie, 1926.
[7] Goddard, (e), 148-149; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 647; Corbusier, 327; Russell, (d), 70; Barrows, Lumholtz, (a), 13.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, then he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjïpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *ułtagosd"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yd'dsatyd*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd*")[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gisimd* (doctor, medicine).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papago both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+2, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

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It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, (l), 288.
[2] Harrington, (b).

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sĕn-dŏ' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mula(ende (old mule)	ti'ị (el hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	speckled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	penopeni	poyopeni	wihipeni	kẹịeni	
Pima	ma-atcovolt		old man	middle black	old woman
Papago	imá-ok ju ool		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorsh		old man	tok-gum-yorsh	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have transposed these names because the names as given in Culin's account (366) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington [(b), 351] has identified with the San Ildefonso analogs.

[2] Harrington, (b), 349-351.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

When I assured him no possible injury could result, he yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapidity with which they learn new words is remarkable. Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
●[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu k tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 328). Blood was recorded as ahuát' and red as ahuá'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
362 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

a	as in father	å	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ω	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dȟȧ*, water, *dȟȧ*, cottonwood tree; *kaθθ'dȧ*, coyote, *kaθd'dȧ*, left hand; *θdúlgȧ* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *θdúlgȧ*, a woman's children. K' probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical

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Havasupai

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152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

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194 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

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192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
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●194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hva-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556B]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have incorporated a Zuñi greeting here.
[2] Also Yavapai (Corbusier, 238).
[3] Compare the Hidatsa *la, la, la* [Lowie, (a), 234.]
[4] No offerings of tobacco or smoke are made. Tobacco is not chewed

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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *Itcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 726 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache 722 associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa, (e), 165.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] *Ibid*, 79, 82, 83. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's dromedaries had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *A Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (a, c).

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely aban-
114 doned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so
172 far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai
114 and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai,
114 form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family.
197 Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 25) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasúwa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasú were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasúwa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axá in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 3[illegible]some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona.

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred.

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees.

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color.

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people).

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman.

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians.

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties.

For several years following the establishment of the reservation

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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and WINNINGLY.

/98 cont./

water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotúnina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only. Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separation must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave. They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

/99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sîrtkôvi*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to 726 the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gûgôpâ*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*gûwawâ'ĝ*, scalp; *gûwâwâ*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 169.
[2] M. Mohave (Opata, 188.
[3] Cushing, (a), 161.

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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (c), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have misinterpreted a Zuñi greeting here.

[2] Also Yavapai (Corbusier, 339).

[3] Compare the *hi* idiom in, e.g., Lowie, (c), 224.

[4] No offerings of tobacco or smoke are made. Tobacco is not chewed

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

869 ● 198 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 [177] The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 553 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahdnd*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working. [171]

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, (1), 203.)

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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified.

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*uwdelgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess, to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:—

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kdpdd'dtdtópigd*, "It is hard to say."

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdsmddjigd, gwétdsmd'djigd*, cf. *smdgd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin.

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 514, footnote.

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovõk,óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly rt the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same

484 649 place. So we all came down the Tovõk,óvá trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

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578 691 We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

800 I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

578 691 695 Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

203 At that moment a woman, her *sutam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

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As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 574

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Later, I went out to have a look at the cottonwood tree that held the thermometer. It hugged the wall of the house, spreading heavy branches over the roof. A few years afterward, this tree became very important to one of my successors. He and his wife saved their lives by climbing as high as its creaking limbs would allow while a flood raged below.

A short ladder leaned against the gnarled trunk. By standing with one foot on its top rung, the other on a stout limb, I would be able to read the thermometer that was enclosed in a rectangular box, nailed to the tree's trunk. I had played in trees in my childhood; tree climbing had always been fun. But now, when I tried to picture myself in my ankle-length skirts perched on a rung of the ladder and a limb of the tree, peering into that box, I couldn't bring the picture into focus; I didn't want to. But that didn't keep me from taking the readings and sending the reports to Washington. The canyon's temperature, I learned, varied by ten degrees from that of the mesa, winter or summer. Even nature applied a special law to the land of the People of the Blue Water.

Mr. Ewing had been right about our isolation. I was soon hungry for news from the outside. Our mail was brought by Indian carrier from Seligman, and this was "mail day." We were so eager for letters that by the time the sun's rays had left the canyon at three o'clock, we were already watching the trail, hoping the carrier had made a faster trip than usual. However, we had lighted the lamps before Spoonhead came riding in with the mail-sack thrown across his saddle.

It was the first time I had seen Spoonhead, but I did not need to speculate as to the origin of his name; just as the Indians declared, his head was shaped like the bowl of a spoon.

Miss Goenawein kept the post office in one corner of her room. She sorted the mail while we waited. Among my letters was one from Mr. Ewing, asking me to prepare an annual report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs covering conditions on the reservation for the past year, a duty neglected by my predecessor. It was long overdue, and he urged that I submit it immediately. Although

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Canyon to A, Topocoba Hilltop, where B, it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C, the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 936 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.) 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
[777] position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. [302] [841] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [854] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly with frequency.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 30 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 209

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 579 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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428 than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to land a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai say that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 291.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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A knotted cord or quipu (*dütwuwddjïgà*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 26, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

north	mátávigà
west	nyatópovï (sun's setting place)
south	kàwïvigà
east	nyádjà'dlovë (sun's rising place)
zenith	amiávigà or imiatávigà (middle of the sky)
nadir	matviálà or ámötávigà (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ámötátu"waiyü'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

Color terms are as follows:—

inyágà or inyádj	black
inyaa'gà	brown
áhwö'tigà	red
gwalaa'gà	pink
ágwáötg	yellow
nyimä'vá	white
vaadwà	blue-green
valaadgà (?)	blue
valaadlïávägà	green

[1]The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, A), Stephen, (6), 369); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east [Fewkes, (c), 22]. That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache ritual is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 7.)

[171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 821 [805] only in the early months of both calendars is presumptive evidence of historic connection.

There are some data on the identity of another group in this region. The Havasupai may know the cluster, but I did not record it. This appears to be the three stars of Orion's Belt, called *Mountain Sheep* by Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and *Hulaish* or *Hula'chum* by Luiseño. I think Trippel is mistaken in identifying *A-mau* (presumably mountain sheep) with the Great Bear; there is no obvious triad in that constellation. Waterman doubtfully questions the identification of the Northern Diegueño group with Orion. Southern Diegueño *Mountain Sheep* is probably the same group, which makes it impossible for *Cülük* to be the Belt.

211 805 171 In our area the quipu or knotted string record is a formal accompaniment of an invitation to a gathering; one knot is cut off or untied for each day that elapses until the event. Beside the Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho, this must have been in general use among the Pueblos for it figured in the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.[1] There is also a mythical reference to the device among the Zuñi.[2] The Miwok and the Northern and Southern Maidu have invitation strings identical with these.[3] The Huichol knot strings to keep count of days, untying a knot for each day elapsed. They also enumerate lovers by knotting cords.[4] As a mnemonic device the knotted string is also known to some Mission Indians, the Palonies (a subdivision of the Chemehuevi), the Klallam, Yakima, the Interior Salish of Nicola Valley, B.C., the Zuñi[5], and in a variety of forms in Peru. It is conceivable that this has a continuous distribution from Peru to Canada.

[illegible]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . . " Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . . "; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . . " Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory; they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every one's speech there was a chorus of approval; *hánlgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

75

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 574

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had perviously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Framework of Havasupai sweat lodge, left foreground. Conical brush house, center, with brush-covered shelter where family activities are carried on

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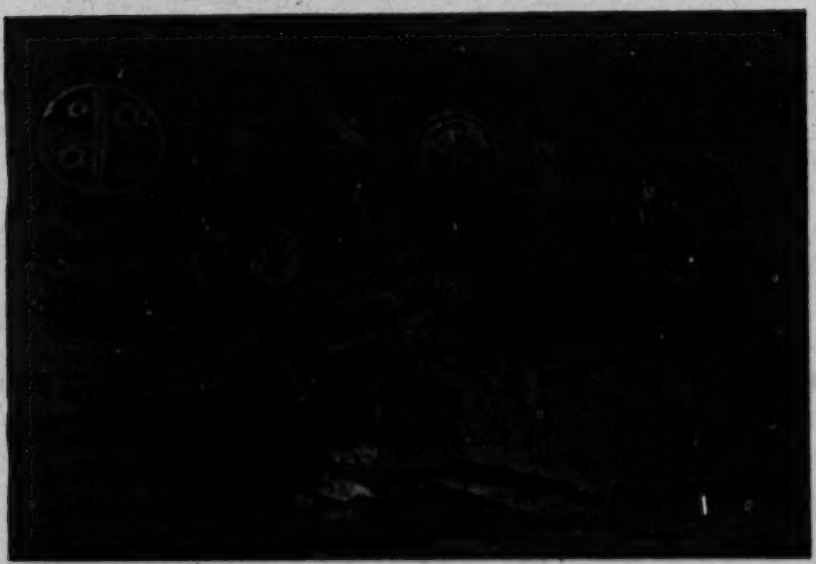

Havasupai signs and symbols painted on a rock surface by Those of Old. Their meaning has long since been lost

[p. 116 G]

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Desert weary, they tarried by the stream, reluctant to leave a spot that had everything they so much desired, but their gods had not yet spoken. Discouraged, they began the long climb up to the plateau and westward. A child cried. The procession halted and the child's voice was stilled. Each effort to resume the journey brought that cry of protest. The wise men quickly issued their edict: "The gods speak to us through the voice of the child; this is the home to which they have led us."

Joyously the people unpacked their loads and began building houses and making gardens.

Handed down through many generations, this old tale expresses the Indians' desire to lay in the laps of the gods every problem that affects their lives. On the canyon rim overlooking a wide section of the floor, they found the god-spirit in two gigantic pillars of stone. So they built their houses on either side of the stream of blue water where the gods could watch over them night and day.

The Indians' accounts of the god-spirit residing in the two stones turned our attention to the walls of the gorge. Miss Goenawein, the only old-timer employed at the school, had visited every point of interest within walking distance, so she acted as guide.

From the Indians she had learned of the Black Man. After Sunday school she took Frances and me to a side canyon where we gazed up at the shiny, black form of a giant stone man, lying prone as if he had dropped down and fallen asleep. We stood in the hot sun, trying to discover what force had caught and held the black mineral while the red sandstone built its layers around it. Doubtless the old men had a tale about this phenomenon, had we asked them. But in the discomfort of the intense heat and the sunlight striking our faces as we gazed upward, our interest in the Black Man quickly vanished. So we wandered over to examine some pictographs on a boulder, beautiful primitive art that could hold one entranced indefinitely.

The boulder stood in the center of the canyon; the base, worn away on one side, left a projecting ledge some four feet above the ground. Stooping low, we crawled under the ledge, straining for

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

a view of the ceiling. It had been polished smooth, then completely covered with pictures, doubtless the key to the tribe's history, the handwriting of Those of the Long Ago.

Several animals which we could not identify were artistically outlined; also done in outline was the buckskin-clad figure of an Indian. Two small right hands, evidently those of a child, had been placed palms down on the ceiling and outlined with white native paint. There were circles, divided into segments which contained symbols. We twisted our necks until they ached, tracing and studying, but the pictures were as meaningless to us as the written words of our language would have been to the people who placed them there. In various other parts of the canyon there were hieroglyphics in strategic places on stones or walls, some depicting the Great Serpent, which must have played an important part in tribal legends. The tribe's old men explained these paintings by saying that when the Apaches and other enemy tribes slipped in and drove the Havasupai out of the canyon, the Havasupai hastily placed them there as messages. These gave the direction the tribe was traveling and its destination for the guidance of those separated from the main body. That may have been true of some of the pictographs, but those on the under side of the boulder were the work of a painstaking artist, possibly created for a hunting shrine, where men offered prayers for success in the chase.

The sun had long since dropped below the rim and deep shadows filled the gorge. We had tramped six miles and were dreading the walk home. Then we saw an Indian pony nibbling at the sparse grass. It lifted its head, gave us a questioning look and came toward us. I took off my petticoat, tore it in strips which we tied in a rope. One of us rode while another led—the gods had been kind to us too! When we released the pony at the school he went running back to his pasture.

Our next exploring trip wasn't just a jaunt by three women; we had an escort, Mr. Burnett, the farmer, and his constant companion, a big yellow dog.

We had heard rumors of a secret crack in the canyon wall through

Their perceptive faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-paí, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
●[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my [522] interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
ono the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

● 242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Kliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172. 161 174

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll. 163

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6] 144 [141] [142]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May. 221 [342]

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Ornibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from [512]

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 191; 1902, 163; 1903, 320, 1905, I, 191, 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child bearing years (see p. 380). When the mothers are (artificially) old women, as in the case, the figure is too high. Because according to chance the younger children of such women would most frequently figure among the ones vivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their death
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 346; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

221 [648] [439] the middle of June until September. When the harvest is abundant, invitations are sent to the neighboring Walapai, Navaho, and Hopi to join in the annual dance, a week of festivity. In the course of gambling and trading, another link is fixed in the trade route that runs from Oraibi and the Navaho settlements, through the Havasupai and Walapai, to the Mohave in the west.

The harvest in, mesquite and local seeds gathered, there is no further attraction in the canyon. In the middle of October the exodus to the plateau begins. By single families, or in groups of two and three, they go off to establish snug camps in the denser cedar thickets. These are semi-permanent, for they move from time to time as piñon nuts are reported growing thickly in one glade, wild seeds abundant in another locality, or hunting good near the mountains. When the snow falls, rabbits, deer, and antelopes are easier to track. During this season they live in part on corn which they have carried up from the canyon, and from time to time replenish from the granaries there. As spring comes they drift back, perhaps along the ledges of the Grand Canyon, to resume life in the village.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyd'ijpa*", with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n„mauighuadid*), white and blue (*n„sa-sá'vigwasá*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n„dádi*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea aruglaca*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[1] Mr. Gossler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper: corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtekwt'ĭwa*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown.

Sunflowers (*ak'ŏta*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry.

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úsi*, and *kaŏŏ'da,lu'wa* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute.

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade.

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*ŏŏp'ŏ'ĭ*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*ágwidjá*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

372 obtained from the Hopi. It is braided into a thick cord (*hâ'jûwâ'hwuwû*) 30 cm. long, and drawn through a tube (the hind leg bone of a wildcat) of half its length. When wanted the charred end is pulled out of the tube which protects it from dampness. The tinder and stones are wrapped together in their own case.[1]

It is quite as convenient to carry a slow-match (*akakwâkâ*) when traveling (Fig. 19). This is a rope of rubbed cedarbark, 2 cm. diameter

Fig. 19 (30.3-1391). A Slow Match of Cedarbark Rope.

and nearly 2 m. long, tied at short intervals with yucca leaves. It is carried in a coil, the smouldering end being blown on from time to time.

There is no great discrimination among fuels in the canyon for all the available materials are inferior (cottonwood, willow, sagebrush, cercocarpus, etc.). In fact, this is assigned as one reason for leaving the canyon in the winter; it is certainly too laborious to pack firewood from the plateau. Fallen trees and dead limbs are broken with heavy stones.

[221]
[412]

[1] Compare a ritual containing observed sections found by Perkins near the Verde Valley, Ariz., 474.

Bailiff Y-S (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

canyon several months, instead of the one month originally planned, because they could not find a man with the necessary qualifications who would accept the superintendency at the salary paid. Educators were not clamoring for a chance to work in a canyon, isolated even from the privilege of buying from a grocery store.

Later my appointment as principal teacher of the Truxton Canyon Training School for the Walapai came through. What an imposing title for a new boarding school out in the middle of the desert! I knew that the Indian Office had combed the woods for a qualified man, for the responsibilities of this position were much greater than I had carried in the day school. I knew, too, that the inspector's recommendation had tipped the scales in my favor.

My reports and the school were ready to be turned over to my successor, but before I left the canyon I had a chance to witness the final event on the Havasupai calendar.

As jealously as the Havasupai guarded their canyon and as passionately as they loved it, the tang of autumn in the air turned their thoughts to a winter home on the mesa, and started them packing their possessions with a happy abandon. All summer they had planned for this—harvesting, preserving their food, and setting aside a portion to take with them.

Even though it was depressingly hot, the employees as well as the Indians were obliged to work harder through the summer, so that this winter outing might take place. I had taught at Truxton until school was dismissed for the summer vacation, and had quite naturally expected to be free from such duties during July and August. But no; here I must hold school through the summer and fall so that the Havasupai children's vacation might come in the winter. Nothing could be permitted to interfere with this jaunt to the outside.

The Indians used various arguments to prove the necessity for the migration. They claimed that there was not enough wood in the gorge for their cooking fires and to warm their houses. Yet

Sedliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

they had wood to sell. They needed the wild seeds, fruits and roots 221
that grew on top, they insisted. But, when I saw their childish delight as they made their departure, ponies loaded with cumbersome bundles, I knew that they were motivated by the very human desire for change, to get outside, where they could look about, with the full sweep of the vaulted sky above, with endless miles in which to wander.

Not an Indian who was physically able to ride but longed for this trip to the mesa. Only our policemen and the few persons needed to care for the sick and the aged stayed on through the winter.

It was a strange procession that finally departed up the trail. A single file of horses so encumbered by household equipment, clothing and food—all topped by a member of the family—that it looked like a train of bundles, walking off on four feet.

And what mysteries those bundles contained!

Near the village that fall I had watched a young woman glean 222
the ripe fruit from a sprawling bed of prickly pear cacti by catch- 262
ing the fruit between two gathering sticks, and with a quick twist break it free. After removing the spines by swishing the pear with a fiber brush, she tossed the clean pear into the burden basket on her back. At home any remaining spines would be wiped off [257]
before the fruit was split and laid in the sun to dry. She had approached her task fully prepared with gathering sticks, brush and burden basket. Tied in those huge bundles that obscured their ponies, I knew, were the crude, homemade tools they would use in gathering the many edible wild plants that grew up above.

The pigweed on the mesa should be a luscious bush loaded with small rich seeds. Its leaves, boiled, were eaten as a vegetable; the ripe seeds were toasted, ground and cooked into a mush. Mormon tea would be gathered, dried and stored to be brewed in a refreshing drink. The dry pods of the mesquite were sweet and nourishing; they were chewed for their food value or, reduced to a powder and mixed with water, used as a drink. Fall ripened the fruit of the yucca, which was an important food. After frost, the Indians

Bailiff T-5 (ca. 1981) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

would comb the desert for the pinon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

Zuñi Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yuman NT14
Havasupai

from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 800 to 900 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below. 133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, except those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers. 221 312 [342] [341] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasupai in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation. 241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house. 133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.

Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress is abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 30 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Wikapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

Peach trees were introduced prior to 1870 (Whiting n. d., 59), and the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1948, 134). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs.

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 90). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consider moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1953 a government soil scientist estimated that the

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1933; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1938.)

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, house furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the semi-nomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

6:Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE HAVASUPAI 600 A.D.—1935 A.D.: A SHORT CULTURE HISTORY

By DOUGLAS W. SCHWARTZ

THE HAVASUPAI are a tribe of Yuman-speaking Indians who now live at the bottom of Cataract Creek Canyon, a side branch of northwestern Arizona's Grand Canyon (Spier 1928). When they were first discovered, in 1776 by an exploring Franciscan priest, they were leading an economically double life. In the spring and summer they irrigated corn and bean fields from an ever-flowing spring of clear blue-green water, while during the winter they migrated up to the plateau,

FIG. 1
Map of Arizona showing the distribution of prehistoric cultures (After Colton).

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1500 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

[4] Almost half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, as he occupied four when awaked. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, as they can be considered negligible as a factor in the discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership would, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Tew*

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 [161] In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today, early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering pinon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] [439] [527] [649] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 361 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 221 241 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The [361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[324
the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
•321] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
pai have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[559
however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned together
behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around
[P 548A]

262 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared
252 for food by stewing. Squashes are either
boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much
the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unplea- ant
characteristic of all these foods is the
absence of salt from them. Sometimes
the corn preparations are sweetened by
chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a
[251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven ing
screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than
an inch in thickness. The manual of salt
252 more southern tribes, the ahvin of the
Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest per- the
tion by the Ha-va-su-pai from the fer-
and inner leaves of the agave, or ma- tur-
ry plant. It is gathered by the wo- ous
in great quantities throughout the ges
and upon the terraces of the cañon, and
[482] transported in large baskets, strapped pod
across their foreheads, to the great cially
beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in
the gravel and fuel collected by the
men, huge fires are built in the exca- ava-
tions, and kept burning for several hours. the
The embers are then drawn forth, and
pits lined with leaves and grasses, the
the agave thrown in, a layer like ated
lining them being added, and the hole
gravel and embers heaped above. The
[527] harvings are occasions of great fest- ivity
and merry-making. When taken out,
the agave is easily made into pulp, and
dried, either on the flat rock surface or
as in the fruit of the datila.

221 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-
262 va-su-pai, possessing neither cattle nor
sheep, are almost exclusively vege- tari-
ans during the summer months. With
the beginning of winter, however, the
tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the
surrounding plains, where they re- last
chiefly on the flesh of the game they
262 kill. This is made ready for use rep-

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[683
754 versal punishment of death. Like most
752 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

Labor is not regularly divided, except
440 between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
461 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quan-
● 221 tities of datils, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins,
[241 which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, ponchos, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[CF553A]

12: Cushing F-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

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221 alike of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and
439 various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

312 The engineering skill and enterprise
231 of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

487 Most wonderful of all, however, are
491 their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pocked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

[P558B]

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of
[768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. Upon the wings of the last film
[778] of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose
[725] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of
[754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821
●221 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P 556A]

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there, and plant the ear of corn they had, and it would be a means of life. So they did as she told them, and the Apache Mojaves lived above them, where the cañon was narrower. For a long time all was well, until a young Ha-va-su-pai man stole an Apache Mojave girl, which caused strife, and wars ensued, so that the Apache Mojaves were driven away. For this reason we live alone in the cañon.

"But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique: hence, only during summer do we live in the home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.

"Do you Americans," said the old

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[P. 559A]

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and some-
times with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post
brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and
allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way
as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food
among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
(221) been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for
the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and
spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game,
although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
(251) bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
(439) furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that
the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was
plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is
changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without
asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must
be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little
children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing
corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same.
Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later
ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are
harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to
dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either
alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtsbut'ñst*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 257

Sunflowers (*ak'ñtá*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. [241] [244] [272] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *ûnt*, and *kñtá'da,ha'wa* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*ñp'a'n*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*ñgwidjá*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [442] 252 [412]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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thirty or forty plants is carried home. A pit (*mañpóma"a; émdi*, ground) 1.8 m. in diameter, but of a lesser depth, is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel, else the stream would escape. Green or dry brush of any description is piled into the hole to the height of a meter above the ground; the uppermost brush must be dry. Stones the size of one's fist are spread over this to a depth of 10 cm. The pile is fired early in the morning, before sunrise. After three or four hours, when the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot, several men (not women, because of danger from the flames) pound on the pile to reduce it level with the surface of the ground (?). Meanwhile women pile the mescal all around the pit to have it conveniently at hand. The pit is apportioned in sectors among several people; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are stood on edge to mark these divisions, the others are then packed indiscriminatingly in between. Long green grass, gathered by the women at the time the fire was started, is first carefully arranged over the plants, and then piled in to a depth of 3 cm. This is then covered with a layer of dirt, 15 cm. deep. It is now 8 or 9 a.m., depending on the quantity of plants. Forty-eight hours later the pit is opened, and grass spread over a convenient space to receive the roasted mescal.

Mescal paint (p. 197) is made from the dried juice which coats the stones. (The plants of the lowest layer have been burned black.) These stones are boiled for a few minutes to remove the sediment: the liquor is poured off and boiled until it thickens; then red paint is stirred in to thicken it further. After boiling longer the paint is reduced to a doughy consistency; the small quantity obtained is rolled into a ball.

The leaves of the roasted mescal may either be chewed at once to obtain the pulp and juice, or they may be mashed and spread in a thin layer on an arrow reed mat to dry. When half dried the fibrous layer is turned over to dry further. While it is still flexible, one edge is folded back and the opposite edge folded over to meet the crease. This preparation (*ova'i*) will keep indefinitely; it is soaked in cold water for an hour to make a sweet drink.

Arrow reed mats (*ilakwiné; ilá"*, arrow reed) measure 110 by 80 cm. and 73 by 60 cm., the first dimension being the length of the reeds. Thongs or sinews are twined through the reeds at half a dozen points. Mescal and yucca products, peaches and figs, are spread to dry on such mats.

The leaves of the young plantain (*'ol'i'ei*) are boiled and served as we do cabbage.

The fruit (*hatá'a*) of the prickly pear cactus (*álási*) ripens at the same time as peaches (September). The spiny fruits are broken off

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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits spread and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When drained these are soaked for a few hours and spread to make a sweet dry onion.

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles.

Mesquite pods (*ipd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*ámdad'l*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*aitsis'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*ágwaiad*); goosefoot (*hiripáhij*); *ollí''l*, *gáhá*, *('íhá* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*ádjaqt*), and pinon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sill''l grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she rubs the seeds with a seed beater (*sill'ávas; dras*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread.

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 4/2

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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intervals twigs arcuate those which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Gravic records that besides mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] Pinon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

Fig. 3 (30.2-1278). A food Beater.

Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (SW'l) is collected from a cave in the cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Gravic, MS.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horn scapula but without hafting it.[1]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Picuris and Taos), Pima, Mariopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2]

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Mojave, Chemehuevi, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hopi.[5]

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *tóo*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *tup* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *áp*, Tubatulabal *ó'p'*, Chemehuevi *tup* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ó'pa* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pitakur*, and possibly Pima *stupul stuñi*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species: Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*).

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the pre-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The several cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai,

[1] Castetter, (d), Pt. III, 204; Russell, (d), 96, 97; Francisco Pachuca, 264-6. Makers specimens in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
Spier, (f), 88.
[2] Mitchell: Curtis (XII, 98) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco. Castetter, 220; Russell, (d), 119; Spier, (e), 248; Shoemaker, (a), 68; Goldfrank, (c), 368.
[3] Lowie (b), 214; Kroeber, (a), 396.
[4] Goldfrank, (a), 27.
[5] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Hunter Lowie, 1926.
[6] Goldfrank, (a), 146-148; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 647; Castetter, 227; Russell, (d), 70; Harrington, Lumholtz, (a), 12.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

[1] Powell, 1880; Corbin, 233; Lewis, (1), 234; Chamberlin, 241; Mason, O. T., (2), 639; Dixon (2), 160; (3), 215; Barrett, (1), 227; Kroeber, (2), 45; Lowie, (2), 167; Mason, J. A., (2), 156, 161; Bourke, (2), 152; Carbonell, 328.

[2] Lumholtz, (1), II, 60, 61; Spier, 190; Dixon, (2), 160; (3), 215; Bourke, (2), 178; (3), 202, 204; (4), 638.

[3] Mason, J. A., (4), 120; Robles.

[4] Kroeber, 227; Powers on Pomo, 473; Matthews, (2), 220; Carbonell, 330; Dixon, (2), 162; Chamberlin, (2), 215.

Bliff Y-S (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in this canyon might be like living among children, except when savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incorporate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower section, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed imminent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them, maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

Bailiff T-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumaco NT14
Havasupai

they had wood to sell. They needed the wild seeds, fruits and roots 221
that grew on top, they insisted. But, when I saw their childish delight as they made their departure, ponies loaded with cumbersome bundles, I knew that they were motivated by the very human desire for change, to get outside, where they could look about, with the full sweep of the vaulted sky above, with endless miles in which to wander.

Not an Indian who was physically able to ride but longed for this trip to the mesa. Only our policemen and the few persons needed to care for the sick and the aged stayed on through the winter.

It was a strange procession that finally departed up the trail. A single file of horses so encumbered by household equipment, clothing and food—all topped by a member of the family—that it looked like a train of bundles, walking off on four feet.

And what mysteries those bundles contained!

Near the village that fall I had watched a young woman glean 222
the ripe fruit from a sprawling bed of prickly pear cacti by catch- 262
ing the fruit between two gathering sticks, and with a quick twist break it free. After removing the spines by swishing the pear with a fiber brush, she tossed the clean pear into the burden basket on her back. At home any remaining spines would be wiped off [251]
before the fruit was split and laid in the sun to dry. She had approached her task fully prepared with gathering sticks, brush and burden basket. Tied in those huge bundles that obscured their ponies, I knew, were the crude, homemade tools they would use in gathering the many edible wild plants that grew up above.

The pigweed on the mesa should be a luscious bush loaded with small rich seeds. Its leaves, boiled, were eaten as a vegetable; the ripe seeds were toasted, ground and cooked into a mush. Mormon tea would be gathered, dried and stored to be brewed in a refreshing drink. The dry pods of the mesquite were sweet and nourishing; they were chewed for their food value or, reduced to a powder and mixed with water, used as a drink. Fall ripened the fruit of the yucca, which was an important food. After frost, the Indians

Bailiff T-S (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Pinyon Tunnam NT14
Havasupai

would comb the desert for the pinon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

LSUMF T-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 102) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of *June*, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

●[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 30 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consider moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1937) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

252a few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

241 Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden bas-
251 kets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

251 Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but
252 often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

233 In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several
242 wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The pinon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground
252 on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on
272 the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of
232 seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and
252 utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

232 The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers
252 mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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flat are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fi
built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed
stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it
ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have
cal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is d
sections among several families; when the mescal is put in
plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the ch
packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, ca
gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown
eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal.
ally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from whic
dishes are prepared.

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September
gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with ton
in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a
cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carri
the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in th

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found
dance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arra
bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks
until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is remove
into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is
and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to
layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet
and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing
in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the
leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After b
washed, the hair is soft and glossy.

The Havasupai house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either
or *kapas*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like
others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole
and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof
with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not tramped
way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept
the center of the house against the walls and after a time the
appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and
sessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings
in paper cartons and log boxes. The cooking is done on a
ing stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke
ing through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote can
everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding
Havasupai have few modern household goods.

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread
ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is
a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few family
modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usual
with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will
from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai
of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not
their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash,
supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatch
close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the
least a part of the year, but some claim the government bu
are too hot in summer and too cold in winter.

The construction of these houses probably has had somethin
with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies
in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each f
its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks

plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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Rabbits are also tracked in the snow to their refuges in hollow logs, etc., whence they are drawn with a straight poker (*kalualtelda*) corresponding to the crooked stick of other tribes. This is a thin pointed stick more than a meter long, nicked for a distance of 10 cm. at its tip. When thrust into the log, it is twisted about until these barbs catch in the rabbit's fur. When the rabbit is drawn out, the hunter locates the heart, pinches it, and with a sharp yank ruptures it.

Traps are placed on the rodent trails in the fields and near storehouses to catch the squirrels and rats which root up the corn, tear their way into the storehouses, etc. Snakes and birds are sometimes found in these devices, but no attempt is made to trap or snare larger game. A stick rests in the fork of an upright stick, 25 cm. long, with one end propping up the deadfall weight, a large flat stone (Fig. 4). A cord tied

Fig. 4 (50.3-1225). A Rodent Trap.

to its other end has a short stick attached to it. The cord is carried half around the upright, so that one end of the short stick rests against it. The trigger stick is propped between the stone and the other end of the short stick; the tension of the cord holding it in unstable equilibrium. The trap (*gwea'ónia*, something ——) is placed on the trail, with wings of brush arranged so that the rodent must pass under the deadfall. It is baited with dried peaches or mescal pulp tied firmly to the trigger.

Turkeys, found on the plateau, especially near Pine Spring, doves, and quail, as well as the eggs of the last are taken for food. Other birds and their eggs are not eaten.[1] Fish are not eaten.

Dogs are sometimes used in hunting, for driving rabbits into hollow logs whence they could be chopped out, or for following wounded deer over hard ground. The dog is loosed on the trail, to pursue and hold the

[1] Unlike the White Mountain Apache, the Havasupai do not build fires under trees in which doves and quail roost in order to stun the roosting birds.

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

223 411 of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

136 At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

224 Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

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285 4/2 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a hoop drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

222 252 Gayton records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] Pinon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 1 (50.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (Nɑ'i) is collected from a cave in the [917] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 [262] Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Gayton, 344.

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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*gwagiilá*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

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224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

myíšn,ákšdjá	pá'ámáhágá	tyúdjš
Sun, my relative	look at us	that is why I am here
pá'ámáwtwuká	djipaimšuh tiová	má'dvuká
you should give us	your domestic animals	let us see them quickly
imá'ᵛdja'áká		
we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer,

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*dmauldjuwóvigd*, *dkwagádjuwóvigd*, *dmudjuwóvigd*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

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The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Pinyella) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime.

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

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224 and wanted to run, but we were rooted to the spot. Then the bear ran right by us and I shot him in the side. He went on and the other man a little way behind me shot him again, but he went a little further before he tumbled over. We took his hide and told B—— who bought it for $5.00.

The third time I was down near Black Tank (near Seligman) about the time *sîl'i* seeds were ripe. There were a lot of people gathering them. These people said that they would like to go hunting antelope. Quite a number went out to the south of the mesa (toward Seligman). A long way off they saw three bears: one was digging the ground, while the others were sitting by, watching. I said to the others, "I have the only good running horse; I will go alone to shoot them." I wanted the others to tie their horses to the trees and I told them to climb tall trees to watch me shoot. Then I went off. The others did as I told them, while I went by myself. I circled around back of a hill. I tied my horse to a tree and went toward the bears. They did not see me, although I was only fifty meters away. I sat down behind something and shot the biggest one, hitting him in the ribs. He growled and grabbed the little bear and threw it to one side; then he did the same to the other seated on the other side. I went right back and mounted and showed myself to the bear. When the bear saw me, he rushed at me. I whipped my horse and ran with the bear running after me. The bear nearly caught me: I thought my horse was a pretty good runner, but the bear was only a little way behind all the time. So we ran for a long way, when the bear began to tire, so that I drew a little further ahead. When I was quite a long way off, the bear stopped; so I stopped too, and turned my horse and sat there watching him. Soon the bear walked slowly to a big cedar tree and lay down in the shade. Then the other men came toward me, but I shouted to them. "You stop and wait there: the bear is lying down." The others all came and stopped; came on again a short way and stopped again, until they got to me. Then we all went toward the bear; I was a little ahead. "If, when I get close to the bear, it is not dead, but gets up and chases me, I will come back to you," I told them. I went close and found that the bear had been dead a long time. The bullet had gone right into his ribs. We merely looked at him, but we did not touch him. Then we went home.

This month (October) there is no snow: next month when the moon is half full, it will snow. It was like this month when I and Jess were over at *Djápiðwáá'pi'ma* (Apache Spring, near Ash Fork). It was snowing a little. We were hunting deer, when I found mountain lion tracks, which I followed until I saw the lion. I was riding my horse. I chased him; he circled around to the spot I first saw him. I killed and skinned him, and packed the skin and meat to camp. That day we killed two. Next morning Jess brought his lion hide over to my camp. We took them to town and sold them.

Squirrels, raccoons, and wildcats are hunted for their flesh. Mountain lions are also eaten by the older people.

Rabbit drives are attended by all the available men and boys. There is no special hunt leader. They drive in a straight course, not by drawing in a circle, for they say that there are too few individuals for a surround. The animals are shot; never clubbed.[1] The hunt has no esoteric significance.

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[1]While the Hopi curved rabbitstick (*kwh'wtsi*, rabbit—) and the Walapai drive nets (*ataháh*) are known, they are not used.

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Rabbits are also tracked in the snow to their refuges in hollow logs, etc., whence they are drawn with a straight poker (*halaPuldai*) corresponding to the crooked stick of other tribes. This is a thin pointed stick more than a meter long, nicked for a distance of 10 cm. at its tip. When thrust into the log, it is twisted about until these barbs catch in the rabbit's fur. When the rabbit is drawn out, the hunter locates the heart, pinches it, and with a sharp yank ruptures it.

Traps are placed on the rodent trails in the fields and near storehouses to catch the squirrels and rats which root up the corn, tear their way into the storehouses, etc. Snakes and birds are sometimes found in these devices, but no attempt is made to trap or snare larger game. A stick rests in the fork of an upright stick, 25 cm. long, with one end propping up the deadfall weight, a large flat stone (Fig. 4). A cord tied

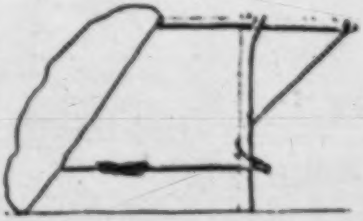

Fig. 4 (30.2-1228). A Rodent Trap.

to its other end has a short stick attached to it. The cord is carried half around the upright, so that one end of the short stick rests against it. The trigger stick is propped between the stone and the other end of the short stick; the tension of the cord holding it in unstable equilibrium. The trap (*gwen'daia*, something ——) is placed on the trail, with wings of brush arranged so that the rodent must pass under the deadfall. It is baited with dried peaches or mescal pulp tied firmly to the trigger.

Turkeys, found on the plateau, especially near Pine Spring, doves, and quail, as well as the eggs of the last are taken for food. Other birds and their eggs are not eaten.[1] Fish are not eaten.

Dogs are sometimes used in hunting, for driving rabbits into hollow logs whence they could be chopped out, or for following wounded deer over hard ground. The dog is loosed on the trail, to pursue and hold the

[1] Unlike the White Mountain Apache, the Havasupai do not build fires under trees in which doves and quail roost in order to stun the roosted birds.

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animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwadad*, labia minora (a male dog), *gi'n,ikdwaid*, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *idôa*, painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sat'*, *admigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depression and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*wigwetu'tid*; *wi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

[1] Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2] Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 100.

1 [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

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171 222 [253] [412] White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

171 412 222 The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

171 224 A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

[833] The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 1226; Coville, 253; Lowie, (b), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 198; (c), 213; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 130, 143; Bourke, (d), 131; Carlsmith, 329.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 80, 41; Sparkman, 109; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (c), 802, 804; (e), 438.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 136; Bolton.

[4] Stephen, 257; Franciscan Fathers, 475; Matthews, (d), 229; Carlsmith, 328; Dixon, (a), 192; Chamberlin, (b), 355.

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Yavapai, Luiseño, Salinan, Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi,[1] Kombo (Yana or Yahi), Paviotso, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Chop-punish (a group at the eastern edge of the Nez Percé reservation), and Crow.[2] There are doubtless others.

Communal rabbit drives are probably very common in the Southeast and the Basin, but records of the fact elude a search. They are recorded as the practice of the Navaho, Acoma, Zuñi Hopi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Shivwits, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern and Southern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi, and probably Walapai, Mohave, Uintah, and Salinan.[3] There is some variation in the procedure: the Paviotso, Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hopi hunters form in a line and drive in a straight course; the Shivwits, Navaho, Pima, and again the Hopi form a circle. The Washo, Paviotso, and Shivwits have a special director of the hunt; the Havasupai do not.

The rabbits are frequently driven into nets: Walapai, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Salinan, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi. This distribution omits the Southwestern tribes, except for those on its western fringe.

The characteristic curved rabbit club was not in universal use. It is the weapon of the Hopi, Zuñi, Navaho, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. The Zuñi, at least, also use straight billets of wood. Several others are known to use clubs of some sort (Yavapai, Pima, Western (?) Apache, Achomawi, and Atsugewi) but the Shivwits and Havasupai use none at all.[4]

Many tribes in this area use a stick provided with a crook to draw rabbits and other rodents from their hiding places. But it is recorded only for the Yavapai, Tonto Apache, and Shivwits Paiute. I have also a recollection of seeing this tool among the Navaho, but a Havasupai informant referred to the use of a straight stick provided with little barbs like their own. The same straight stick is used by the Zuñi and probably as a second type by the Shivwits.[5]

The Navaho use a trap identical with that of the Havasupai, and this is true of the Hopi, if I correctly interpret the description given by Mason based on information from Hough.[6]

[1]Cremony, 29; Franciscan Fathers, 275; Matthews, (d), 217; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 439-441; Hough, (a), 285; Corbusier, 328; Sparkman, 197; Mason, J. A., (a), 124; Dixon, (a), 192 . . . 212.
[2]Powers, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 185; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 40; Lowie, (b), 210.
[3]Franciscan Fathers, 324, 476; Sedgwick, ch. 11; Bourke, (c), 545; Hough, (e), 174; Cushing, 398; Russell, (d), 50; Spier, (d), 337; Sparkman, 198; Lowie, (i), 196-199; Powell, 127. Chamberlin, (b), 336; Harrett, (b), 11-12; Dixon, (a), 195; Faye, 38; Dixon, (e), 213; Whipple, 115. Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Mason, O. T., (c), 268.
[4]Hough, (e), 285, 287; Mohave specimen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Barrows, 50; Bourke, (b), 60.
[5]Corbusier, 328; Smart, 418; Powell, 123; Cushing, (d), 501; Lowie, (i), 198.
[6]Franciscan Fathers, 322; Mason, O. T., (j), 472.

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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*kâpá'"*) is called *kâp'âylma'a*, or *kâp'â*, or *puima'â*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 143–190.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovõk,óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovõk,óvá trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to
cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be
classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dgwdgd glsdmd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwelvdg glsdmd*), for fractures (*pakaûd glsdmd*), for wounds (*nahdmi'dvidjd glsdmd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjl gdsdmdvd*), and for snakes (*dluwi sdmd gd*). Both doctor and medicine are called *glsamd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.

[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-sand doctor (*mdtdkdd dmdtdmgd'djd dgdamdvdldj*). "Your sumo [black sand?] off and make it dark," he is told (Spier, (*f*), 113).

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 169; Hasborlin und Günther, 82.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (a), 502; (c), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (a), 82, 108 ("... rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").
[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 203–209; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (c), 349; (d), 131.
[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99972). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.
[5] Curtis, 236; Dixon, (a), 266.
[6] Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (c), 16.
[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [117] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1]The Pimas have the same custom (Russell, (d), 119). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 91). Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2]Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a throng loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 80). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Dixon, (b), 432).

[3]Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

Hilliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

was following the trail through the village when laughter and shouting broke the silence. At a home a short distance off the trail, Chickapanyegi, hot and tired, with headband askew, stood by his horse, unlashing from his saddle the carcass of a small deer. My first thought was of the violated game law. I said to him, "You know this is the closed season. Why did you kill that deer?"

He wiped the sweat from his face on his sleeve before he replied, "Indians, deer, here first. White man no here. Now white man make law. We got no meat. My family hungry."

"Eat your meat, now that you have it, but don't break the law again. I can't protect you. You will be taken away from your wife and children and sent to jail."

The crowd had grown while we talked, but they were silent, knowing well enough what was wrong and wanting to see what would be done about it.

They and the deer were here first; a close relationship existed between them. They killed only for food, and the deer spirit understood that. If one of them killed wastefully, the spirit that protected the deer would punish him with sickness and death.

I explained to the forest ranger the Indians' idea as to his ancient relationship to the deer and reminded him that the white man killed for sport, taking the legal limit and leaving to spoil the meat he could not carry away, while the Indian killed game for food and this was a sacred privilege. The ranger was as helpless as I. We both were obligated to demand respect for the law, regardless of our sympathy, but I wanted him to understand their idealistic attitude. The time would come when these Indians would need a friend at court.

"My sympathy is with the Indians too," he admitted, "but that will not keep them out of jail if they break the law."

So Vesnor and Lanoman went through the village, warning every man of the penalty of breaking the game laws.

Life among these people had taught me that we could not force them into an alien mold. We must teach them, lead them, give them time. Suspicion and superstition went hand in hand, con-

Sulliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

223 411 of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occasion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

136 At one time in February I found the canyon alive with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

● 224 Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams [103] Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 80). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] 224 [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [476]

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 294 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [487] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [524]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [483]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
● [224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
311] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in almost inaccessible places, everywhere occur in nooks and shelves throughout the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the forest-covered plains of the desert above and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-pai have been in the habit of procuring, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-off soldier and other American clothing, which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, however, is not rare. It consists simply of a coat made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the centre serving as neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist. Add to this the breech-clout of soft, fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin, close-fitting leggins fringed down the front, — though quite as often the legs are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of buckskin, which reach above the ankles like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an additional luxury, possession of which is indispensable to good standing in the tribe. The dress of the women is yet more simple. It consists of a long fringed apron of red buckskin, buttoned together behind, extending from the breast — where it is secured by a strap around

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224 ●

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten. 252 262

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the [illegible]ado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the H[illegible]upai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. [illegible]nakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned. [226]

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food. As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal. [252] 264

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail. [171] 241

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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224 animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1]
[232] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwadad*, labia minora (a male dog),
gi'n,ikdwaid, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *ldôa*,
552 painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gatyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sst'*, *admigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than
252 they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are
4/2 ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but
[324] nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of
252 the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depres-
4/2 sion and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*dwigwetu'tid; dwi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to
[252] pound) are also used for pounding corn, pifion nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[231] [1]Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2]Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 109.

1 [I.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Young

231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

237 Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane discarded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
411 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed
531 arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 25) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 25 (50.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

411 marks, for a man could always recognize his own arrows. Glue is applied at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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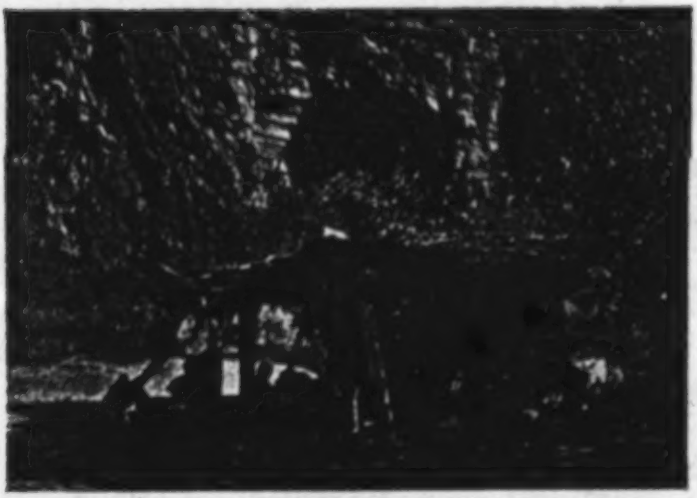

Fig. 34. A Shade or Open-Sided House.

[231]
[492]

Fig. 35. A Rectangular Shade House.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

soft. They joked, hilariously mimicking the picture we would make on our return—wilted as a squash vine severed from its root.

We jogged on until we came to the mile-long strip the Indians used as a race course. Without an instant's warning, my horse took the bit in his teeth and ran like the wind. At the mile's end, he stopped, heaving and gasping for air. He was, I discovered later, Walapai Bill's best race horse.

Our party of three and the two men from the forest reserve followed old Ute along the widening stream, which was so highly charged with minerals that every root, branch or leaf obstructing its flow was coated with solid stone. I gathered some of these leaves from the stream; each tiny vein and serrated edge was plainly marked in the stone coating. The debris along the banks had been transformed into a filigree of great beauty, concealing hollow places and deep caverns that became a danger when one walked too near the edge.

We passed Navaho Falls, so concealed in its jungle of tangled growth that we could not see it, but only heard its roar as it dashed over cliffs and boulders. This was the first large falls, and by some considered the most beautiful, perhaps because of its isolation.

The stream dropped rapidly, but we continued at the same level, traveling on a wide shelf that flanked the chasm. On the rim above Bridal Veil Falls we halted and looked down on the impressive scene two hundred feet below. Here the canyon formed a bowl or amphitheater, centering attention on the falls. The river spread across a high, wide cliff, dropping like a wind-tossed, gossamer veil into a deep blue pool. Thick mysterious folds of mist churned up from the pool, curtaining the gnomelike caves. Weird mineral formations, deposited by the water on shrubs and vines, covered the canyon walls on either side. Shaded by tall trees, the floor of the bowl was a tangle of bright green grass, climbing clematis, mosses, ferns and columbine.

In the past weeks we had visited this amphitheater several times and entered the caves back of the falls, finding giant stalactites and stalagmites and long stone-coated tendrils of maidenhair fern,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light,—all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [23]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

526 868 confirms this. From earliest childhood they are expert swimmers, boys and girls alike learning the art often before they can walk. I have seen mere babies placed in the creek and ditches by their parents and older brothers, and one can scarcely say they are taught to paddle, for it seems to come instinctively. There is not a child in the village who cannot swim and dive expertly, and there is no greater fun than to expend a dozen nickels by throwing them into one of the reservoirs and having the children dive for them. Sometimes they can be induced to bring the coins up in their teeth, even picking them in that manner from the sandy bed of the reservoir. They are as expert swimmers as the children of the South Seas. No Kanaka going out to meet an incoming steamer could ride the billows more daringly than the boys and girls of the Havasu swim in the rapid currents of their little stream. I have been with them to-day for a couple of hours. The boys dived into deep water and rose and fell like loons. I amused myself by throwing a stone into ten or more feet of water, and four or five of the boys would dive for it and get it almost as quickly as I could throw it. It was no sooner in than it was out again. One of the little girls, a sister of one of the boys, stood watching the sport. She became so interested that, suddenly, without removing her calico dress, she jumped into the deep place and enjoyed the fun with the rest.

526 ● 231 Then, a Havasupai man, riding a burro, brought the animal down into the stream where it was shallow and had a gravelly bed. For an hour he and the boys amused themselves by swimming back and forth through the deep pool, and every now and again one or another would jump on the creature's back and, hanging on,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time.

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

231 423 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

577 578 Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

131 423 As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the Indians 648 recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

311 were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing
●[231] frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer
[131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls.
[135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure
[657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school housekeeper and cook, $120.
657

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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352
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142
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B

Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A, Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C, Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

● 231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

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A

C

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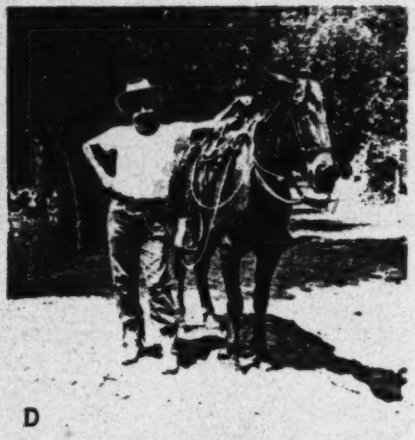

D

Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

4: Smithson. R-S (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Pinkson Tumene NT14 Stevenson

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142
(234)
177
415
412
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Fig. 19. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Patsoey prepares green corn for johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware,
[648] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

● 231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-paí; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-paí domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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224 animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1]
[232] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwaddd*, labia minora (a male dog),
gi'n,ikdwaid, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *ldéa*,
552 painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gatyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sst'*, *sdmlgd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than
252 they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are
4/2 ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but
[324] nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of
252 the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depres-
4/2 sion and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*wigwetu'tid*; *wi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to
[252] pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[231] [1]Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2]Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 100.

1 [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [17] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1887. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most 233 of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several 591 generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Sinyella) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime.

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539] Wâtim'a wa'a'ŋgadj (a hero's name) — aháwamuhavi he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wîda'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,[a] presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171] [1] The Navaho bury mountain lion skin in the earth to make them pliable (Francisco Fathers, 1910).

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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second *finger tips bear on the string* (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*kdpá'*) is called *kdp'âyîma' a*, or *kdp'â*, or *puîma'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Mooney, 143-146.

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322 411 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The [412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 322 237 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mšmd*", sinewed?): it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally, [412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly [439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back [531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The 411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by 237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

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though the string is loosened somewhat when not in use. New bow-strings are a necessity, because a worn string might snap and the tension of the sinew backing is such as to reverse the arc, break the wood, and "perhaps drive a broken end into a man's side, killing him." The bow is kept in a buckskin case; a tube with a single seam. Specimens of such

Fig. 23 (50.2-1601, 1599). Quiver and Self-Bow.

bows are not extant. No trussed or compound bow of any other description was used, but the trussed bow is credited to the Navaho.

The bowstring (*ĭmĕcma hăpudjĭndgiă*) is always sinew (*ĭmĕcma'*); leather and yucca fibers are never used. The best sinew is that from the hind leg of a deer or mountain sheep. (Tendons are pulled from the hind legs from knee to hock. Others are stripped from both sides of the deer's backbone beginning at the withers, leaving them attached to each

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411 other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is
237 soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This
[556] is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a
411 half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: hápúagwlóà (Let this be
[788] strong; let this not break).

Fig. 24 (80.2-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrow-head to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldmí*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

Reed arrows (*dp'a"át'a'* or *át'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most
411 common. Arrow reeds (*át'á'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten
322 them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*doθúwd*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'á'a'i'i*; *i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dmavdlá*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*múkwapadjiá mëdëmídiá*) is
[321] a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have
[412] been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not wet with the tongue at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife—which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamdlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaúiga*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

411 322 [412] [782]

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

411 324 [321]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdcd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vitat'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

411 531

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

237

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the series of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States [171]

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Young

231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

237 Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane discarded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
411 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed
531 arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 25) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 25 (50.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

411 marks, for a man could always recognize his own arrows. Glue is applied at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 372 Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their New Fire ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2–1234) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

285 171 Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

171 411 237 As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

[1]Hough, (e), 885; Fewkes, (d), pl. 3; Lowie, (i), 222; (a), 189; (b), 214; Hough, (a), 536–543; Barrett, (a), 257; Haeberlin und Günther, 15. Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926.
[2]Franciscan Fathers, 65.
[3]Hough, (e), Pl. 26; Lowie, (i), 223; (a), 189; Chamberlin, (a), 35; Barrett, (a), 257; Teit, (a), 207; Haeberlin und Günther, 15.
[4]Franciscan Fathers, 467.
[5]Russell, (d), 134; Sparkman, 210; Dixon, (a), 148; Lowie, (a), 184.
[6]Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (a), 159.
[7]Pattie, 164; Gabbard, (b), 261; Hough, (e), 887; Letherman, 203; Mason, O. T., (f), 640, 666, Pl. 79, Fig. 3; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 188; Bourke, (b), 87.

[Text continues on p. 160]

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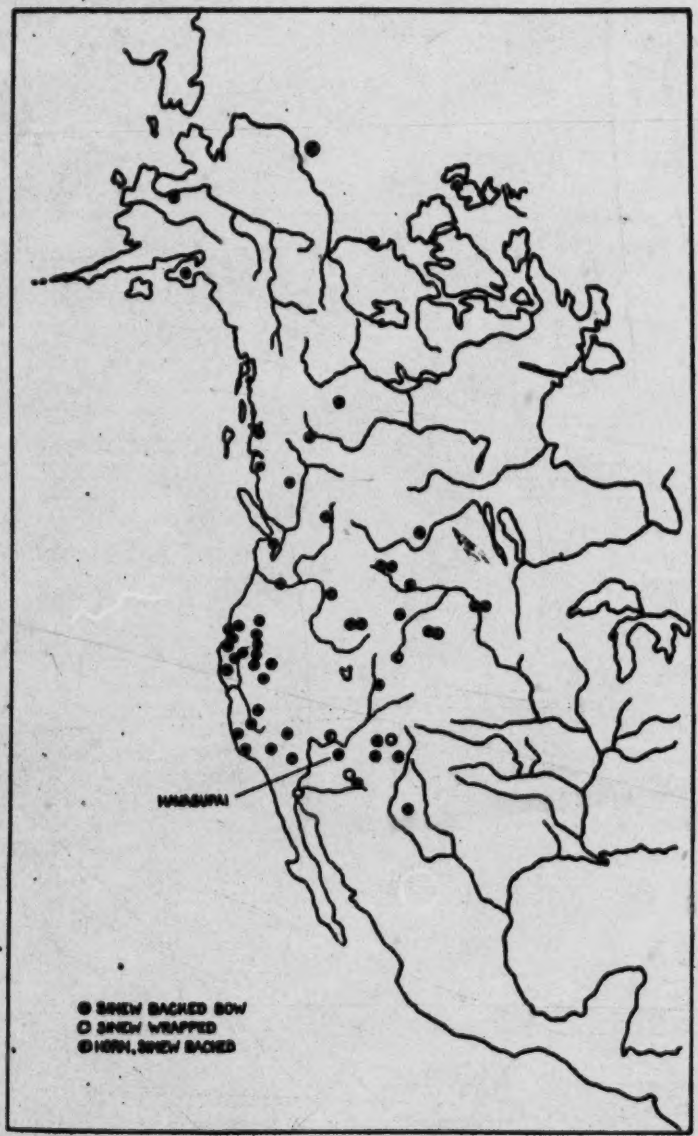

Fig. 28. Distribution of the Sinew-Backed Bow in North America (omitting Eskimo types).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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of Anthropology, University of California (2-3342). The Tonto have a bow "strengthened at points by a wrapping of sinew," and that of the Yuma is also wrapped with sinew.[1] In California and the adjacent part of the Basin the sinew-backed bow is used by the Chemehuevi, Panamint, Kitanemuk (Tejon), Salinan, Yokuts, Wükchumni, Washo, Paviotso, Northern Maidu, Yana (?), Northern Wintun, Eastern Pomo, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Rogue River peoples, Modoc and Klamath.[2] According to Kroeber this occurs generally in California south to the Tehachapi Range, including the Panamint and Yokuts and a single specimen attributed to the Chumash. The Cahuilla, the Northern and Southern Diegueño did not have the sinew-backed bow, nor did the Hopi, and perhaps Shivwits and Uintah.[3]

To the north and east this form is recorded for the Northern Ute, Lemhi, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Cheyenne, the Sioux of Montana, Hidatsa, Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, the natives of Port Discovery on Puget Sound, Middle Columbia Salish, Shuswap (?), Chilcotin, Carrier, Sekanai, Ts'ets'aut, Kenai, and the Tinneh of the lower Yukon River.[4] Mackenzie observed the bow in what is probably Bella Coola territory.[5] Another type, consisting of joined pieces of horn and backed with sinew is known from the Kaibab, Wind River[6] and Lemhi Shoshoni, Cheyenne, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Nez Percé. Some of those referred to above may be of horn rather than of wood. The data used here are not sufficient to distinguish between the wide bows of the Pacific slope and the slender variety of the Basin and Plains, as O. T. Mason does.

The Eskimo have still another form of the sinew-backed bow, which commonly has a cable of sinews extending along the back. This is known from Baffin Land to East Cape, Siberia. The trussed bow is also credited to the Navaho by the Havasupai. Compound bows are widely distributed in Siberia and other parts of the Old World.

There is some suggestion that the length of self bows increases in the direction of Baja California. The relevant data (chiefly approxima-

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[1]Smart, 418; Trippel, 576.

[2]Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 32; credited to the Chemehuevi by the Southern Diegueño [Spier, (d), 350]; Coville, 360; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 63, Figs. 2, 3, 4; Pl. 92; 675; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Powers, 373; Barrett, (b), 16; Lowie, (i), 245; Snyder, 327; Dixon, (a), 202; Pope, 339, 341, Pl. 52, Fig. 2; Pl. 48, Fig. 15; 337, Pl. 47, Fig. 8. Pomo data from Dr. Edwin Loeb; Wükchumni from Miss Ana Gayton. Dixon, (c), 213; Barrett, (a), 346; Quarterly Oregon Historical Society, 7, 1906, 170.

[3]Kroeber, (g), 58; Spier, (e), 350; Lowie, (i), 245.

[4]Culin, (a), 96; Lowie, (a), 175, 191; Thwaites, III, 19-20; Lowie, (g), 230; Wissler, (a), 155, 189; Kruskey, (b), 180; Skinner, 83; Grinnell, (b), I, 174. Pope, Pl. 48, Fig. 14, 340; Sapir, (a), 272; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 62, Figs. 2, 3; 676, 677; Teit, (c), 518, 782; ms. on Middle Columbia Salish; Morice, (b), 58, 59; Boas, (b), 563; Wasco specimen, Field Museum no. 60491.

[5]Mackenzie, II, 311.

[6]Powell, 128; Lowie, (i), 246.

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing those for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or dewclaws are hung as rattles (*sdwó*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The scored line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the forelegs of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 531 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A buckskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294 291

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(almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes

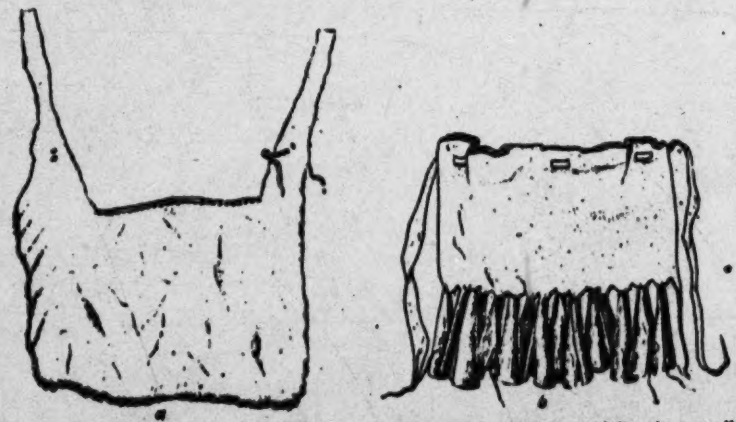

Fig. 40 a (80.2-1563), b (80.2-1563). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).

Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*dgâld*) and cotton-tail (*hdlô'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[1] Clothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins

[Text continues on p. 181]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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woman's moccasin. This differs from the woman's type only in that the ankle piece is short. Two sets of tie strings are furnished in the older style of fastening as shown in Fig. 42; a short thong ties into a corresponding hole, a long thong is wrapped several times around the ankle before tying. The tops of moccasins were sometimes turned down inside to present a finished edge. Porcupine quill decoration (*gwawa tapt'*) was then added in a band encircling the top about 1 cm. from the edge. The band was 1 to 2 cms. wide, the quills standing vertical, black, red, and green alternating. The quill (*gdlöllĕnyamlā: gdlöla*, porcupine) was

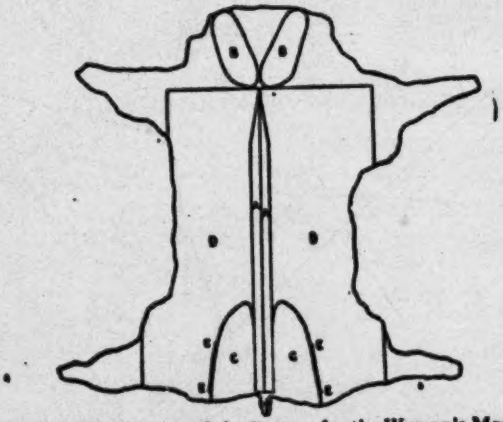

Fig. 44. Distribution of the Pattern for the Woman's Moccasin.

flattened before it was applied.[1] Men's moccasins were usually painted red, but there was no other decoration, appendages, etc.

The woman's moccasin (*pak'emahānyō'*) has a two piece upper, a toe piece and tongue in one, and a long ankle flap.[2] This flap is worn wound around the ankle, not the calf as Pueblo women wear it. The single tie-string is wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. The pattern is distributed as shown in Fig. 44. The deer hide is folded lengthwise and split from tail to neck. Tie-strings (A), 2 to 3 cm. wide, are cut. The contour of the sole (B) is marked on the folded, thick neck skin but each sole is cut out separately. The toe and tongue piece (C) are marked on the next thickest part of the skin, the withers, using an old upper as a pattern. A leaf of narrow-leaf yucca is chewed into the edge of the sole,

[1] The method of coloring these is forgotten.
[2] This is in general the Hopi pattern described by Wissler, (a), 186.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1628) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1894). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcī'ī*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 848.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

514 Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the 413 237 duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a [532] buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

515 Necessity had devised this clever instrument; for even though 413 we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

[p. 146]

2:llliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

854 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the
285 backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at
283 right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper
[314] bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood.
A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude
●[237] infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the
[177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or cr[illegible] blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand
854 smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both
854 of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. [illegible]y girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a [illegible]ustomarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 1[illegible] 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 328) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, ślič (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

291 ship period.
302
832
[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 128) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[287] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[285] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[257] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during
853 pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at
789 gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also. Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
[184] treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[321] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[715] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

THE HAVASUPAI

sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practised from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [315]

The Havasupai are among the most consistentious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [448]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [337]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [357] 261

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

The/99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[321] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arizona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five. 131 133

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid—except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow 133 137 [241]

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ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture

The Havasupai are largely agriculturalists. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields, and comparatively so little attention is given to wild products, that the loss of a crop may mean a famine year. In fact, although the quantity of wild seeds and plants that is gathered is considerable, it is used chiefly during the winter to eke out the field products. The Havasupai are inordinately proud of their abundant harvests and their superiority in this regard to the Walapai, Navaho, and Paiute. Harvest is a time for jollification, when their neighbors come to share their bounty. So great is their interest in their fields that even today, when remunerative employment is to be had on the plateau, so Mr. C. H. Gensler, the former agent, informs me, men will leave their work, with its ready money, to tend their crops.

The fields[1] about the village are as extensive as irrigation will permit, so that, depending on the location of the erratic creek, all of the one hundred tillable acres are farmed. A new field is cleared of brush by grubbing and burning it. Trees are felled by burning their bases; the charcoal is not chopped away, nor are trees ever girdled. The fields are fenced.

At present there are two dams supplying water to the irrigating ditches; the first is located well above the village, whence the main ditch follows the east canyon wall as far as Camp 29 (see map, Fig. 50); The second is at the bend below Camp 26 whence its main ditch parallels the creek in the direction of Camp 51. The dam, which extends halfway across the shallow stream is built about a heavy log set well into the bank, where it is held in place by stakes driven on the down-stream side. The bank is roughly faced with stones to prevent the log washing out. A series of poles are driven obliquely along the upstream side, their upper ends resting on the log. Fascines of willows, about 1.5 m. long and containing stones, are laid end to end along the base of this slanting face, with a second set laid in front on the bed of the creek breaking joints with these. A second tier of fascines might be built above these. Willow brush, placed transverse to the stream, is then piled thickly on the face of the dam to the top. The rapidity of the stream is such as to drive considerable water behind this scoop into the main ditch. Changes of water level produced by every little storm necessitate frequent renewals of the dam. Constant attention is also necessary for the irriga-

[1] There seems to be no word for cornfield; one speaks of going to his corn, even if the field contains a mixed crop.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539] mĕdjpák	teyădjnehána	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows t toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

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[114] [1]Couse, 345. A later statement (438), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.

[2]Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[171] [3]The Zuñi also pray at the first planting [Cushing, (d), 178–179].

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtekwt'lîvd*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*dk'ŏld*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [372] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úwi*, and *kaθŏ'du„lu'va* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*lŏp'ŏ'l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*dgwidjd*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] 252 [412]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten. 252 262

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned. [226]

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal. [252] 264

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail. 171 241

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.

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In northern Mexico cultivation has been recorded among several modern tribes: Huichol, Cora, Tepehuane, Tarahumare, Tepecano, and Opata.[1] There are records of the Jumanos in eastern Chihuahua in 1582, the Guaymas, a southern Piman group near the Seri ("land-tillers on a very low scale"), and the Sobaypuris, Pimans on the Rio San Pedro.[2] Intensive agriculture is characteristic of the Pueblos.[3] It would be interesting to know the extent it was followed in such outlying communities as Taos and Picuris. Pima, Maricopa, Yuma, Cocopa, and two groups near the last, Talliguamayque and Cajuenches, Mohave, and Navaho raised crops in abundance.[4] The Havasupai and Papago are agriculturalists to a lesser extent, both subsisting in some degree on wild seeds. But cultivation is greater among them than among the Jicarilla, and Western Apache, Apache-Yuma, Chemehuevi, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, and Walapai.[5] These tribes mark the limits of agriculture in the west. It is known not to have extended into California, the Basin, or into the southwestern Plains. In fact for certain tribes in the immediate vicinity of those practising the art we have specific information that it is lacking; to wit, Mimbreños and Tonto Apache, Moapa Paiute, Akwa'ala and Halyikwama of Baja California, and the Seri.[6]

Perhaps irrigation was in all these cases part of the agricultural technique, but it is not recorded. It is the practice of all the Pueblos, the Navaho, Havasupai, Shivwits, Kaibab (?), Pima, Maricopa, and Cora. The Mohave utilization of the overflow of the Colorado corresponds to the planting of other tribes in dry washes or creek bottoms.

The planting sticks and hoes offer some comparative points. Planting sticks are of two types; one a straight stick having a wedge-shaped point, the other similar but provided with a projecting footrest near the lower end. The first type is that of the Havasupai, Hopi, Pima, and probably Shivwits. The Zuñi use the form with the footrest, while the Navaho use both. The Havasupai hoe is one form of a general type: a flat stick with its blade and handle in one plane, approximating a weaving sword in shape, although there is considerable variation. This type is also used by the Pima, Mohave, Hopi, Navaho, and Zuñi. The last two also use a hoe like our own, a wooden blade or elk scapula set

[1] Lumholtz, (a), 4; Bandelier, (a), 60, 93, 99; Bartlett, I, 444; Mason, J. A., (d), 135.
[2] Bandelier, (a), 60, 76, 101.
[3] Cushing, (d); Hough, (e), 238, 239, Pl. 10.
[4] Bartlett, II, 173, 180, 214, 232, 263; Pattie, 121, 131-2, 144; Russell, (d), 82-92; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 886; Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 123; Kroeber, (a), 276; Letherman, 288; Franciscan Fathers, 204; Lippa, 50; Stephen, 354; Bandelier, (a), 104, 176.
[5] Gaillard, 283; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 632; Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 120; Corbusier, 338; Lewis, (h), 269; Ruhle, 67, 68, 74, 78; Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 32, report agriculture as the main pursuit of the Chemehuevi, but this does not seem likely.
[6] Bartlett, I, 327; Whipple, Eurbank and Turner, 14; Kroeber, (h), 476; McGee, 180.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdga*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days.

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

241 Their garden was lush with corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and sunflowers that grew large seed heads. Purple figs and red-cheeked peaches grew at one end of the plot.

Chickapanyegi worked unhurriedly, pushing the dirt aside with his bare toes to open the floodgates, letting the water gush through to fill the ditches that ran between his rows of vegetables. Toes did the work of fingers, opening ditches or packing the soil to close them, picking up sticks and stones and piling them ready to be removed. Here was a way of life new to me and very intriguing. 000 The Walapai that I knew lived in idleness on bare sand, accepting government rations, a few working at odd jobs. These people produced and stored food, not only for the immediate future, but for years ahead. At one time, the Walapai, too, had been self-supporting and self-sufficient; then agents of the government had come, using rations as a buying power, and had established controls that crushed initiative.

241 412 The Havasupai had devised their own garden tools, even making a spade by fashioning the blade and handle from a long, flat piece of wood. They used the shoulder blades of horses or anything they could get that would loosen the soil or chop weeds. Obviously they were greatly handicapped by these primitive tools; sticks, bones and toes were poor substitutes for spades, hoes and rakes. The Indians themselves restricted production by refusing to till inherited land until it had lain fallow for a year or more. The spirit of the dead might at any time return to its former home, so they would not make immediate use of such land, partly through fear, but also to show respect to the former owner. Thus many acres of fertile soil lay fallow, necessitating more intensive cultivation of the land in use.

241 Tending their crops and preserving their food was the main object in life for the people of this village. Always the crop was divided into portions: some for eating, some held for an emergency, but the best kept for seed.

342 674 Chickapanyegi's rectangular house stood near his garden. The flat, brush-covered roof, topped with earth, and the sides, thatched

Gilliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

Elliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor. 241

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months. [412]

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood. 291 177 191

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71. 812

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of 133 ● 241 the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with 311 here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or [487] fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are [312] also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small [291] groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 2. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wealeva at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below.

133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers.

221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasupai in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation.

241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 6. Fields in Cataract Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 80). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were jointly held.

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241● 462 [177] [257]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1953, 84) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1953, 88). 241 824 177

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, salsa (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-dji). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

THE HAVASUPAI

silis, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his 422
possessions independently.

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually 492
has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips.

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with 241
stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small [512]
acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practised from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land.

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the [540]
Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot 241
and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with 412
a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped [537]
hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds.

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; 241
even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted.

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six [537]
inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the 251
roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use.

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

252a few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

241 Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the
251 seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

251 Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but
252 often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

222 In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several
262 wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The piñon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground
252 on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

272 A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of
222 seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and
252 utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

222 The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers
252 mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
[175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[464] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[432] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
[18] homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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and northwestward the number is five, in the Southwest and Plains, four and seven, on the lower Colorado, four, in California at large, quite variable.

All in all, Havasupai culture is of the Basin type with some affiliations elsewhere in intangible culture; a few ritualistic elements link with the Pueblos, mythologic elements perhaps more with southern California. That the Havasupai link with other Western Rancheria peoples occasions no surprise since they are geographically one of them, but the striking observation is that in culture they conform equally to Great Basin characteristics. In fact, in the general simplicity of their culture and in the specific details of its elements, they are more clearly participants in Basin culture than in that of the western neighbors of the Pueblos.

In this the Walapai and Yavapai resemble them, so far as we know. Nor is this inexplicable, since all these are located peripherally to the Pueblo focus and at some distance, yet are relatively unaffected by the life of the lower Colorado. We must look upon the culture of these three tribes as representing an extension of the Basin area southward across the plateau of western Arizona.

It is not certain that such specific Pueblo elements as appear among the Havasupai were directly derived. Their attenuation suggests rather that they were derived from some intervening group, who in the light of known contacts, must have been the Navaho. The difficulty is that they may not have had contact with the Navaho before the middle of the last century, but it may also be that the traits are no older than that in Havasupai life. I have in mind here the few masked dancers and clowns, prayer plumes placed at springs, and the rather weak sentiment that dances are prayers for rain.

Agriculture among the Havasupai presents a somewhat different situation. This was their mainstay and as such makes them one with the Pueblos. Yet I am not certain that their concern and pride in their crops means that they have derived this attitude directly from the Pueblos. On the whole I am of the opinion that the intensity of a trait development is affected by neighbors'

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123-142, 1923.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [412] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

342
252

An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

● 241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

[177]
[245]

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [342] 175

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, [241] and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [33] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zuñians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Anâ'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 193

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware,
[648] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

The Nation of the Willows.

I

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609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[previous portion of this article not processed]

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

●241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots
[P-549A]

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kä-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. [177] Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civilization perhaps, of any Indians in the [177] United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very significant one in the consideration of the
614 [P. 550 B]

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

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243 CEREAL AGRICULTURE--specialized cultivation of cereal crops (e.g., maize, millet, rice, wheat); techniques of planting and harvesting (e.g., transplantation, threshing); use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Milling industry . . . . . 586 Harvesting and threshing machinery 407

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig 592 holes. Garcés says:—

> I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyâ'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hudlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]	mêdjpâk	teyâdjmehâna	owi
	growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

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[114] [1] Coues, 345. A later statement (438), that tribes upstream from the Mohave look crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Hayocopai had less than the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 500, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[171] [3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, 6b), 178–179).

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with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyá'(j)pa*", with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are ascribed to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*a„mauighuaulá*), white and blue (*a„mad'ágwaá*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*a„ǵéld*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea araplacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[1] Mr. Cummins, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

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[252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Such ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little smudges of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency
[731] of flood, etc.

Sinyella has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 113) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by Wat, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jim, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

244 In former days two kinds of beans (*mtdipi*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10–12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus
[251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hamsit'*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Sinyella's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a
251 knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

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Mamie Chickapaniga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the hub around the much tender corn.

133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of three magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

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[252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Such ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little smudges of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency [734] of flood, etc.

Hayvilla has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 212) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by Wes, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jim, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

● 244 In former days two kinds of beans (*mukipi*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10-12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus [251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hamtil'*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Hayvilla's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a 251 knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
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137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate alongwith stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed)
[276] is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 30 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Yampai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

295 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1870 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

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An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

341 In passing through this wide portion the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of these are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, [177] and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts [245] of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

/100 cont./ LIKE THE PIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimâi, who succeeded Kôhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kôhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamdyut'lled*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 257

Sunflowers (*dk'lid*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [272] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *tini*, and *kdd'da*, Ju'us (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village; their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported pithon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Cocomino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*tdp'd'l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*tpwidjd*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle 30 cm. long, (sometimes of pithon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A bowl of [442] 252 [412]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1] 171 [402]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Picuris and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2] 171 x 248

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Mohave, Chemehuevi, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5] 171 249

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *áva*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *ep* (*N. attenuata*), Shasta *ép*, Takelma *é'p'*, Crow *ép* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *é'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pinéwi*, and possibly Pima *stopal etafá*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*). 192 171

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the new-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cultigens are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai, 171 222 252 [402]

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. [1], 264; Russell, (d), 98, 97; Pinacateno Pueblos, 261 d. Mohave specimens in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
Spier, (f), 66.
[2] Whitehead, Curtis (XII, 200 denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Cushing, 328; Russell, 65, 139; Spier, (a), 249; Hrdlička, (a), 69; Castetter, (a), 268.
[3] Lewis (b), 215; Kroeber, (a), 380.
[4] Castetter, (a), 227.
[5] Lowie, (f), 178. Washo names from Hunter Lowie, 1926.
[6] Castetter, (a), 140-149; Curtis, I, 17-18; Palmer, 647; Cushing, 327; Russell, (d), 98; Parsons, Laufer, (a), 18.

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●251 243 [252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Such ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little smudges of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency [734] of flood, etc.

Sinyella has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 312) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by West, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jess, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

244 In former days two kinds of beans (*naddpi*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10–12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus [251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hawil'*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Sinyella's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a 251 knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*kamtekwi'lted*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown.

Sunflowers (*dě'ěld*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry.

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *ěni*, and *kěkě'da,la'ni* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute.

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported pinon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Cataract Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade.

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*tdp'ě'l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*dgwěldjě*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of pinon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of

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thirty or forty plants is carried home. A pit (*matpéma"a; dmdt*, ground) 1.5 m. in diameter, but of a lesser depth, is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel, else the steam would escape. Green or dry brush of any description is piled into the hole to the height of a meter above the ground; the uppermost brush must be dry. Stones the size of one's fist are spread over this to a depth of 10 cm. The pile is fired early in the morning, before sunrise. After three or four hours, when the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot, several men (not women, because of danger from the flames) pound on the pile to reduce it level with the surface of the ground (?). Meanwhile women pile the mescal all around the pit to have it conveniently at hand. The pit is apportioned in sectors among several people; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are stood on edge to mark these divisions, the others are then packed indiscriminatingly in between. Long green grass, gathered by the women at the time the fire was started, is first carefully arranged over the plants, and then piled in to a depth of 5 cm. This is then covered with a layer of dirt, 15 cm. deep. It is now 8 or 9 a.m., depending on the quantity of plants. Forty-eight hours later the pit is opened, and grass spread over a convenient space to receive the roasted mescal.

Mescal paint (p. 197) is made from the dried juice which coats the stones. (The plants of the lowest layer have been burned black.) These stones are boiled for a few minutes to remove the sediment: the liquor is poured off and boiled until it thickens; then red paint is stirred in to thicken it further. After boiling longer the paint is reduced to a doughy consistency; the small quantity obtained is rolled into a ball.

The leaves of the roasted mescal may either be chewed at once to obtain the pulp and juice, or they may be mashed and spread in a thin layer on an arrow reed mat to dry. When half dried the fibrous layer is turned over to dry further. While it is still flexible, one edge is folded back and the opposite edge folded over to meet the crease. This preparation (*sio'l*) will keep indefinitely; it is soaked in cold water for an hour to make a sweet drink.

Arrow reed mats (*ilakwisi; ilit"*, arrow reed) measure 110 by 80 cm. and 75 by 50 cm., the first dimension being the length of the reeds. Thongs or sinews are twined through the reeds at half a dozen points. Mescal and yucca products, peaches and figs, are spread to dry on such mats.

The leaves of the young plantain (*'ak'Y'ai*) are boiled and served as we do cabbage.

The fruit (*Aatit'a*) of the prickly pear cactus (*ilidat*) ripens at the same time as peaches (September). The spiny fruits are broken off

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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits opened and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and squeezed to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [272]

Mesquite pods (*iyd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dwâdô'l*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*sdtdis'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dgwdsl*); goosefoot (*Ukrigdddj*); *sllt''l, gddi, t'êld* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*dêjuqd*), and pinon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the seeds are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sllt''l grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she raps the seeds with a seed beater (*sllt'dtwa; dtwa*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (*Fig. 3*). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 4/12 295

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Ears of green corn in their green husks are laid to roast on a small bed of coals, or buried in hot ashes, until the outer husks are thoroughly charred. The husks are stripped back, the ends of the cob trimmed clean, and the ears are tied in pairs by their husks to be hung up until some casual visitor comes by. Green corn is less commonly roasted in underground pits. The characteristic mode of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. When the hand is full, these are poured off the side of the hand into the mouth.

Bread is made of green corn cut from the cob and ground. This pulp is moulded into cylindrical masses, wrapped in green cornhusks and baked in the ashes. When husks are removed the solid cakes may be eaten as bread.

For dumplings, cornmeal (*teyδ̌ǰδ̌ídeo*, corn, ground?) is kneaded into a stiff paste with hot salted water. The dough is rolled between the palms into cylinders, bits pinched off, and rolled into balls, 3 cm. in diameter. These are dropped into hot water and occasionally stirred while they boil a few minutes.

Wafer bread (*bóp*, from Hopi *piki*) of cornmeal is baked in the characteristic Pueblo fashion on a flat slab (*tδ̌eveha'ipδ̌δ̌íd*), a meter long and half as wide, supported over a fire. It is made either of white or blue corn, but never by mixing varieties.

Beans (*mδ̌δ̌ípd*) are parched before they are ground. Bean flour mush (*mδ̌δ̌ípδ̌δ̌éd*, beans, ground) is made by slowly stirring the flour, into water that has been brought nearly to the boiling point. When the mush boils, it is removed from the fire.

Sunflower seeds are parched and ground, when they may be eaten with the sweet mescal drink or a decoction of dried peaches. Sometimes they are parched, mixed with parched corn, and ground fine; then it is eaten dry by the pinch.

Squash is boiled. The dried stripe (*hawiδ̌δ̌ápd*) are broken into bits and boiled until soft (*hawiδ̌δ̌ádá*); this is sweet. The rind is sometimes hacked off fresh squash, and the fruit cut into small pieces, discarding the seeds, before it is boiled; this is not sweet.

Squash, melons, peaches, figs, and even corn are eaten as soon as they show the first signs of ripeness, so glad are the natives at the appearance of an edible green. Unripe fruits cut off before they reach maturity, as by a flood, are not discarded, but furnish at least something succulent to chew on.

Meat is sliced and cured by drying. It is usually necessary to pound it between two stones before it is cooked, and then it is commonly

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with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

Zellff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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574 262 long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

343 251 When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone [333] walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

423 343 251 The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

251 Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

Sulliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place. 251

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste. [252]

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do. 887 291 576 522

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *satams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the 114

2:11ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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they had wood to sell. They needed the wild seeds, fruits and roots 221
that grew on top, they insisted. But, when I saw their childish delight as they made their departure, ponies loaded with cumbersome bundles, I knew that they were motivated by the very human desire for change, to get outside, where they could look about, with the full sweep of the vaulted sky above, with endless miles in which to wander.

Not an Indian who was physically able to ride but longed for this trip to the mesa. Only our policemen and the few persons needed to care for the sick and the aged stayed on through the winter.

It was a strange procession that finally departed up the trail. A single file of horses so encumbered by household equipment, clothing and food—all topped by a member of the family—that it looked like a train of bundles, walking off on four feet.

And what mysteries those bundles contained!

Near the village that fall I had watched a young woman glean 222
the ripe fruit from a sprawling bed of prickly pear cacti by catch- 262
ing the fruit between two gathering sticks, and with a quick twist break it free. After removing the spines by swishing the pear with a fiber brush, she tossed the clean pear into the burden basket on her back. At home any remaining spines would be wiped off [257]
before the fruit was split and laid in the sun to dry. She had approached her task fully prepared with gathering sticks, brush and burden basket. Tied in those huge bundles that obscured their ponies, I knew, were the crude, homemade tools they would use in gathering the many edible wild plants that grew up above.

The pigweed on the mesa should be a luscious bush loaded with small rich seeds. Its leaves, boiled, were eaten as a vegetable; the ripe seeds were toasted, ground and cooked into a mush. Mormon tea would be gathered, dried and stored to be brewed in a refreshing drink. The dry pods of the mesquite were sweet and nourishing; they were chewed for their food value or, reduced to a powder and mixed with water, used as a drink. Fall ripened the fruit of the yucca, which was an important food. After frost, the Indians

Bliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

4. Smithson E-9 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumaco NT14
Havasupai

183
311
241
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Fig. 3. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wescleve at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. [462]

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1937) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [267]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [326] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

252 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the
262 husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

[251] Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for [177] roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

252 Another method of baking which Whiting (1951, 111) traces to Hopi con-
262 tact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by
177 several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread piki from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded [illegible]. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat
262 flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break up pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled up pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Fruits are hung outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1908 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

242 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [75] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [77] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Most in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most 253 of it is from their herds of range cattle.

502 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [525] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several [97] generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [57] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [748] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

432 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [433] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 281 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his 422
possessions independently.

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually 492
has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenuous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips.

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with 241
stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running [3-4]
from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land.

The Havasupai are among the most contentious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when re- [3-6]
munerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot 241
and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with 412
a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a [3-7]
horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds.

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; 241
even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted.

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six [3-7]
inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the 451
roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use.

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The pinon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spi[illegible]; sometimes corn meal is added.

The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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fat are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared.

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun.

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then [illegible] removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked.

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy.

The Havasupai house *(kowa)* cannot be classed as either a wikiup or hogan. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods.

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed.

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter.

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud

12: Cushing E-6 (181) 1883
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304 In the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, fast goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

516 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer meat, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[512] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metate with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, roasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

● 251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for cakes, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P-549 A]

262 252 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a like process, the pulp thus formed being [251] spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the 252 more southern tribes, the ak-ia of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-pai from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and [482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These [527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 262 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-va-su-pai, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist 262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

[P 549B]

/99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
342 life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
(221) been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
(251) bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
291 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
(439) furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
177 the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

291 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
17/ and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/100 cont./ LIKE THE PIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad,

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[252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Husk ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little enclosures of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency of flood, etc.

[734] Sinyella has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 212) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by Wuat, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jose, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

244 In former days two kinds of beans (*matiqé*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10–12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus

[251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hawáll'*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Sinyella's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought

251 home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*kamiskwi'ñni*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*ak'ñki*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [272] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *ñni*, and *kñki'da,la'ni* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*ñbp'ñ'l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*ágwidjá*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] [412] 252

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thirty or forty plants is carried home. A pit (*matpáma"a; dendi*, ground) 1.8 m. in diameter, but of a lesser depth, is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel, else the steam would escape. Green or dry brush of any description is piled into the hole to the height of a meter above the ground; the uppermost brush must be dry. Stones the size of one's fist are spread over this to a depth of 10 cm. The pile is fired early in the morning, before sunrise. After three or four hours, when the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot, several men (not women, because of danger from the flames) pound on the pile to reduce it level with the surface of the ground (?). Meanwhile women pile the mescal all around the pit to have it conveniently at hand. The pit is apportioned in sectors among several people; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are stood on edge to mark these divisions, the others are then packed indiscriminatingly in between. Long green grass, gathered by the women at the time the fire was started, is first carefully arranged over the plants, and then piled in to a depth of 5 cm. This is then covered with a layer of dirt, 15 cm. deep. It is now 8 or 9 a.m., depending on the quantity of plants. Forty-eight hours later the pit is opened, and grass spread over a convenient space to receive the roasted mescal.

Mescal paint (p. 197) is made from the dried juice which coats the stones. (The plants of the lowest layer have been burned black.) These stones are boiled for a few minutes to remove the sediment: the liquor is poured off and boiled until it thickens; then red paint is stirred in to thicken it further. After boiling longer the paint is reduced to a doughy consistency; the small quantity obtained is rolled into a ball.

The leaves of the roasted mescal may either be chewed at once to obtain the pulp and juice, or they may be mashed and spread in a thin layer on an arrow reed mat to dry. When half dried the fibrous layer is turned over to dry further. While it is still flexible, one edge is folded back and the opposite edge folded over to meet the crease. This preparation (*ria'l*) will keep indefinitely; it is soaked in cold water for an hour to make a sweet drink.

Arrow reed mats (*dáskwisd; did"*, arrow reed) measure 110 by 80 cm. and 75 by 60 cm., the first dimension being the length of the reeds. Thongs or sinews are twined through the reeds at half a dozen points. Mescal and yucca products, peaches and figs, are spread to dry on such mats.

The leaves of the young plantain ('ok'l'ed) are boiled and served as we do cabbage.

The fruit (*hatá'e*) of the prickly pear cactus (*dáded*) ripens at the same time as peaches (September). The spiny fruits are broken off

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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits opened and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and squeezed to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [272]

Mesquite pods (*iyd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dmōnō't*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*sittdv'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dgwdvē*); goosefoot (*Ucivādādj*); *sllī''ē*, *gōlū*, *i'tlū* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*dd̄juqa*), and piñon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sllī''ē grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she raps the seeds with a seed beater (*sllī'ūrūa; drūt*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 285 4/12

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285 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop
412 to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1]
222 Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without
252 removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285]
[412]

Fig. 3 (80.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263
[222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (Ma'i) is collected from a cave in the
[917] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his
[262] field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Coues, 344.

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animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwaddid*, labia minora (a male dog), *gi'a,ikdwaid*, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *idda*, painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *sûgd*, *sûgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sa'*, *admigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*sa'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depression and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*'wiguetu'tid*; *'wi*, stone, *gue*, something, *tûtid*, to pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*sa'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

[1] Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten as far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unaltered and therefore worth study?

[2] Illustrated in Mason, A. T., (3), Plate 180.

[1] [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

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Seeds of all descriptions are parched not only to roast them, but to dehydrate them somewhat, rendering grinding easier. The kernels of corn, etc., are tumbled about with live coals in the parching tray by a swinging, sinuous, rotary movement. Finally, the lighter charcoal is separated from the grains with the same motion, throwing it up from the far edge of the tray and blowing it away. Any charcoal that remains is picked out.

Cooking is usually done in the clay vessels (*hamdtqaetadlid; hamdt*, clay pot) but boiling (*tulúmlqd*) in baskets is carried on at the same time. Small stones, heated red, are dropped, with the aid of a tongs, into a basket filled with water. These are replaced by others when cool. The food is stirred in when the water is boiling; the remaining stones are picked out when it is cooked.[1]

Green willow tongs are used on hot stones, but better wood, such as ash, may be used in tongs for handling hot or prickly objects, stirring stews, etc. Tongs (*sdtdo'*) are simply green branches, flattened on one side, with a kerf at the midpoint, so that they can be bent double, and bound until dry. They measure 40 to 50 cm. long; a smaller specimen is 20 cm. Crooked sticks and convenient twigs are also used for stirring, as forks, etc. Horn ladles are used in cooking as well as in eating.

A cooking vessel (*mdlldlqaetdlúmia*, cactus, something, boil) is sometimes improvised from the barrel cactus (*mdlhil*, possibly *Echinocereus*) when on hunting expeditions. Occasionally the same device is used at home. The spines are burned off, one end cut away, and the pulp removed, so that it can be used for stone-boiling. "Wild cabbage" (*dk'lad*), cornmeal, meat, etc. is cooked in this.

Green corn is usually cut or shelled from the cob and ground to a pulp on the grinding slab. Water is brought nearly to a boil before the corn is slowly added, stirring it into the water with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside. Corn is not boiled on the cob as a rule.

Green corn is cut from the cob, mashed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut into small chunks.

Squash flowers are boiled until the mass cannot be reduced further,[2] they are then fished out with a twig and mashed to a pulp on the grinding slab. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is boiling in the liquor. The pulp is then added and the whole is boiled to make a sweet dish.

[1] Food is never cooked in a skin or a parfleche.
[2] Cf. Lumholtz, Op. II, 180.

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Ears of green corn in their green husks are laid to roast on a small bed of coals, or buried in hot ashes, until the outer husks are thoroughly charred. The husks are stripped back, the ends of the cob trimmed clean, and the ears are tied in pairs by their husks to be hung up until some casual visitor comes by. Green corn is less commonly roasted in underground pits. The characteristic mode of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. When the hand is full, these are poured off the side of the hand into the mouth.

Bread is made of green corn cut from the cob and ground. This pulp is moulded into cylindrical masses, wrapped in green cornhusks and baked in the ashes. When husks are removed the solid cakes may be eaten as bread.

For dumplings, cornmeal (*teyâ'djâldva*, corn, ground?) is kneaded into a stiff paste with hot salted water. The dough is rolled between the palms into cylinders, bits pinched off, and rolled into balls, 3 cm. in diameter. These are dropped into hot water and occasionally stirred while they boil a few minutes.

Wafer bread (*hipâ*, from Hopi *piki*) of cornmeal is baked in the characteristic Pueblo fashion on a flat slab (*tcvahaiyâdid*), a meter long and half as wide, supported over a fire. It is made either of white or blue corn, but never by mixing varieties.

Beans (*mâdîpâ*) are parched before they are ground. Bean flour mush (*mâdîpâdvâ*, beans, ground) is made by slowly stirring the flour, into water that has been brought nearly to the boiling point. When the mush boils, it is removed from the fire.

Sunflower seeds are parched and ground, when they may be eaten with the sweet mescal drink or a decoction of dried peaches. Sometimes they are parched, mixed with parched corn, and ground fine; then it is eaten dry by the pinch.

Squash is boiled. The dried strips (*hamîlîpâ*) are broken into bits and boiled until soft (*hamîlîâdâ*); this is sweet. The rind is sometimes hacked off fresh squash, and the fruit cut into small pieces, discarding the seeds, before it is boiled; this is not sweet.

Squash, melons, peaches, figs, and even corn are eaten as soon as they show the first signs of ripeness, so glad are the natives at the appearance of an edible green. Unripe fruits cut off before they reach maturity, as by a flood, are not discarded, but furnish at least something succulent to chew on.

Meat is sliced and cured by drying. It is usually necessary to pound it between two stones before it is cooked, and then it is commonly

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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten.

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned.

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food. As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal.

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail.

[1] Cushing, (a), 559.

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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Pecos and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2]

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Mohave, Cosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5]

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *úsa*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *up* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *ô"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pinkur*, and possibly Pima *vopal viofâ*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*).[7]

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[8] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai,

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. III, 204; Russell, (d), 88, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 285-6. Mohave specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.

[2] Spier, (f), 80.

[3] Setchell: Curtis (XII, 20) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Corbusier, 328; Russell, (d), 119; Spier, (e), 348; Bandelier, (a), 48; Gabb, (c), 393.

[4] Lowie (h), 215; Kroeber, (a), 280.

[5] Goddard, (a), 37.

[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Dorter Lowie, 1920.

[7] Goddard, (c), 148-149; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 647; Corbusier, 327; Russell, (d), 70; Barrows. Lumholtz, (a), 13.

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White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

[1] Powell, 126f; Coville, 353; Lewis, (b), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 186; (c), 212; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lewis, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 130, 145; Bourke, (d), 131; Corbusier, 336.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 40, 41; Sparkman, 199; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (a), 502, 504; (g), 478.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 138; Bolton.

[4] Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 475; Matthews, (d), 239; Corbusier, 329; Dixon, (a), 192; Chamberlin, (b), 335.

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mortars as well. Mortars are the characteristic utensil of the central Californian tribes and those of the northern Basin.[1] As might have been anticipated from their geographic position some of the western groups apparently favor the use of mortars rather than metates: Pima, Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. (Fig. 5.)

Parching seeds by tumbling them about with live coals in a shallow basket is a method widely used among Californian, Basin, and the western rancheria peoples of the Southwest. It is recorded for the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Lemhi Shoshoni, Lower Californians, Luiseño, Patwin, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. (Fig. 5.) The Pima also cook in this fashion using a shallow pottery vessel. The Lower Californians sometimes substituted a turtle shell. Doubtless many others shared the practice: the Salinan, at least, did not.[2]

Wafer bread is a familiar Pueblo product, probably in use in all the towns, but certainly among the Hopi, Zuñi, and Acoma. It is also prepared by the Havasupai and Navaho but is not known to the Pima.[3]

Fish is not an article of diet of many of the Southwestern rancheria people. This is not altogether a matter of the absence of fish, for they must be at least as abundant as in the Basin where they are eaten. There is a definite taboo ranging from the horror of the Navaho to the mild sentiment of the Havasupai. These tribes include all the Athapascans, (except the Lipan), the Caddoan Taovayoses, the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Zuñi. Outside of this restricted area fish are eaten: Cochiti, Lipan, Hasinai, Pima, Cora, Tepecano, Seri, Southern Diegueño, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Washo, and all the Basin Shoshoneans.[4]

With regard to other tabooed animals little can be said because of the fragmentary nature of our information. Lizards are not eaten by the Havasupai, Mohave, Pima, Salinans of San Miguel, the Shoshoneans of Kern River, and the southern Yokuts. But the neighboring Yavapai, Walapai, and Paiute did not despise them, while in California, the northern Yokuts and the Miwok eat most reptiles.[5]

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[1]Cocopa (Chittenden, 203); Mohave (Whipple, 115); Salinan and Yokuts (Mason, J. A., (a), 137–138); Washoke Shoshoni and Fort Hall Bannock (Lowie, (a), 174).

[2]Corbusier, 326; Powell, 126; Lowie, (i), 234; (k), 136; Coville, 353; Lowie, (a), 178, 188; Baegert, 306; Spartkman, 193; Powers, 220; Dixon, (a), 169; (c), 212; Kissell, 194; Russell (d), 68; Mason, J. A., (a), 120.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (b), 361; Cushing, (d), 333; Sedgwick, Ch. II; Franciscan Fathers, 305, 307; Russell, (d), 68.

[4]Gushing, (c), 1st ed., 130; Matthews, (c), 106, 107, 110; Kroeber, (a), 276 277; Dunn, 148; Corbusier, 326; Russell, (a), 82; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Whittemore, 58; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 348; Mason, J. A., (c), 346; McGee, 183; Spier, (d), 336; Trager, 374; Chittenden, 201; Lowie, (i), 208; Mooney, (b), 1050, 1052; Lippe, 42; Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 214, 307; Matthews, (d), 220; Dalton.

[5]Kroeber, (a), 277; Russell, (d), 83; Mason, J. A., (a), 122; Corbusier, 326.

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Six types (Fig. 6) are recognized: burden baskets (*gdgō'k*), water bottles (*adud*), shallow bowls or trays in twine (*gdōd'ā"*) and coil (*gd'ā"*), stone-boiling bowls (*ha'aguēlāl'ēnia*, water, something, boil) in both techniques, and parching trays (*gdōdu'ulafa*, lit. old twined tray). Burden baskets, water bottles, and parching trays are made with twine weave. 285 415

While the weaving is quite coarse and uneven, with the exception of a few coiled pieces, many of the baskets are surprisingly water-tight. However, most baskets for liquids are rendered tight with some sort of coating, mescal juice or cornmeal mush. Trays in which mush is placed soon become impervious; the mess is sometimes rubbed into the interstices with that end in view. Small water-tight trays are used as pannikins to drink from. Water bottles receive a heavy coating of pifion pitch as well as soapweed paste.

Burden baskets are conical; some have a slight reverse curve near the apex which produces a nipple effect (Fig. 7). Two loops to receive the carrying band are inserted in the side of the basket somewhat more than a third of the distance from the rim. After the basket is completed pressure is applied to make this side flat so that the basket will not roll from side to side on the back. These baskets are generally made in three sizes: that used by the women measures about 60 cm. in diameter at the mouth, and 45 cm. in height; a smaller size used by half-grown girls is about 50 cm. by 45 cm.; that of small girls about 35 cm. by 32 cm. 482 415 285

Trays are used to hold seeds, meal, fruit, mush, and a host of other foodstuffs (Fig. 8). Twined trays are roughly of two sizes, although the variation is considerable; 40 cm. in diameter by 9 cm. in depth, and a smaller size 30 cm. by 6 cm. Occasionally these are quite conical. Fewer coiled trays are made: these are about the same size. They are somewhat flatter on the bottom than the twined ware. Parching trays are simply old twined trays, as their name implies, which are given a protective facing. Only the larger size of tray is used for this purpose. 285 415

Stone-boiling disappeared years ago so that descriptions of the baskets used for this process are somewhat vague. Apparently they were the same size as trays but quite deep, really bowls. One basket said to resemble them is 38 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep, quite globular, with a mouth slightly smaller than the body (Fig. 9). Smaller coiled bowls, such as those now sold to tourists, may have been used for stone-boiling. Cushing figures a coiled boiling basket, bottle-shaped, with rounded base and wide mouth.[1] [252]

[1] (b), Fig. 303. This shows the bundle foundation which my informants denied was ever used.

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A [252] ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, [356] although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

Clay pipes (*dmdl'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek [276] bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*uvatamdkwl'dlga*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. [462] It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's [439] work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[114] [2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins [(a), 553]. I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom. 171 323

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking cornmeal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*. [252]

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4] 171 276

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Moapa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains. 171 281

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes. 171 281 462

[1] Field notes of R. H. Lowie.
Spier, (e), 348; Hayo, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 30.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 287, 395; Matthews, (f), 314; Whipple, Eybank, and Turner, 47; Russell, (a), 307; Sparkman, 302, 210; Washo data from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1920; Dixon, (e), 214; J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yauelanchi used reeds, not clay or stone, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipes" ((a), 142, 183).
[3] Grinnell, (b), I, 208.
[4] Schufeldt, (b); Lowie, (i), 226ff; Mason, O. T., (e), 873.
[5] Cortusier, 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371; Dumarest, 146; Hough, (d), 70, 72.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above; others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oya"d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

Q:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place. 251

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste. [252]

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do. 887 291 576 522

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *sutams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the 114

Zilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up.

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face.

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes.

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story.

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted.

[1] [i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

Bilfiff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *tobolwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

2:11iff T-5 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in t... unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

3-James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

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302
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516
531

A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorn.

252
415
285
531

Chickapanaqie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

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A hole is made in this carbonized surface to let out the steam, and, when cold, the fruit is eaten as a great delicacy. I have often eaten and enjoyed it, though it has a sickish-sweet vegetable taste that at first is somewhat unpleasant. The pinion nut, sunflower and squash seeds are also regarded as delicacies. Practice has made the Havasupais dexterous in eating these husk-covered seeds. The novice finds it a wearisome task to hull them, but the expert throws a handful of seeds into his mouth, cracks the shells, and by skilful manipulation eats the nuts on one side of his mouth and expels the shells on the other. When I can do this I shall make a meal on pinion nuts, as they are of exquisitely sweet and delicious flavor.

Sunflower seeds, squash seeds, and a variety of wild grass seeds and corn are parched by the women by placing them in saucer-shaped baskets — or kŭ-ŭs′ — with hot ashes, and then tossing them up and down and to and fro until sufficiently cooked. The seeds are then scooped out with the fingers, and ground on a slab of basaltic rock, by rubbing one stone over the other. On the occasion of one of my visits, when I was the guest of Chickapanagie, I made the accompanying photograph of his wife as she thus parched corn in a basket. It was the placing of a covering of clay inside the kŭ-ŭ, to prevent its burning, that led Frank Cushing to the belief that here was the explanation of the origin of pottery.[1]

Green squash is cooked after being hacked into pieces in an apparently reckless but most effective manner. With the squash in one hand, the woman takes a large

[113]

[1] See chapter "Basketry the Mother of Pottery," in "Indian Basketry," by George Wharton James.

3 James T-3 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

4: Smithson. R-S (1931-1938) 1939 NT14 Pimmon Tennessee NT14 Newspaper

852
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415
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Fig. 19. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Pressey prepares green corn for johnny cake type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, agave (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djk). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 262 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

[251] Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for [177] roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

252 262 177 Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi contact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ' -vá' i -ñdt. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 262 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

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sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to *the top of* the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [312]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. [140]
Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [237]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [137] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

252a few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

241 251 Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

251 252 Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

222 262 In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The piñon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground 252 on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

272 A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of 222 seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and 252 utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

222 The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers 252 mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketaful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[53] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[285] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

[177]
[245]

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Though many Havasupai women use modern metal corn grinders, some still prefer the metate and mano.

Lina Iditicava is one of the oldest as well as one of the best Havasupai basket-makers.

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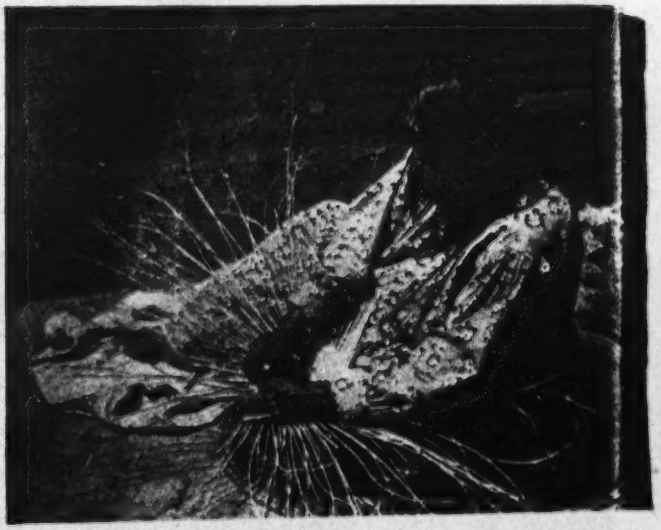

[P. 42]

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549A]

are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-pai from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-va-su-pai, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
177 the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Hayella) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime.

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 412 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] 222 252 Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 3 (50.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (*tôt'i*) is collected from a cave in the [317] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 [262] Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Coues, 344.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long tendons. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tanning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking punches for arrowheads, dewclaws for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches. 253 224 [237]

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding. [281]

I (Nayolla) used to stay in Coconino Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed them and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him: he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen meters from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around: he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not eat the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime. [262]

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few houses there. When we were west of Red Lake -- there were four or five men -- we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was coming straight at us. We felt afraid

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten.

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned.

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal.

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail.

[1] Cushing, (a), 559.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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mortars as well. Mortars are the characteristic utensil of the central Californian tribes and those of the northern Basin.[1] As might have been anticipated from their geographic position some of the western groups apparently favor the use of mortars rather than metates: Pima, Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. (Fig. 5.) 171 412

Parching seeds by tumbling them about with live coals in a shallow basket is a method widely used among Californian, Basin, and the western rancheria peoples of the Southwest. It is recorded for the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Lemhi Shoshoni, Lower Californians, Luiseño, Patwin, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. (Fig. 5.) The Pima also cook in this fashion using a shallow pottery vessel. The Lower Californians sometimes substituted a turtle shell. Doubtless many others shared the practice: the Salinan, at least, did not.[2] 171 252

Wafer bread is a familiar Pueblo product, probably in use in all the towns, but certainly among the Hopi, Zuñi, and Acoma. It is also prepared by the Havasupai and Navaho but is not known to the Pima.[3]

Fish is not an article of diet of many of the Southwestern rancheria people. This is not altogether a matter of the absence of fish, for they must be at least as abundant as in the Basin where they are eaten. There is a definite taboo ranging from the horror of the Navaho to the mild sentiment of the Havasupai. These tribes include all the Athapascans, (except the Lipan), the Caddoan Taovayoses, the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Zuñi. Outside of this restricted area fish are eaten: Cochiti, Lipan, Hasinai, Pima, Cora, Tepecano, Seri, Southern Diegueño, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Washo, and all the Basin Shoshoneans.[4] 171 262

With regard to other tabooed animals little can be said because of the fragmentary nature of our information. Lizards are not eaten by the Havasupai, Mohave, Pima, Salinans of San Miguel, the Shoshoneans of Kern River, and the southern Yokuts. But the neighboring Yavapai, Walapai, and Paiute did not despise them, while in California, the northern Yokuts and the Miwok eat most reptiles.[5]

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[1]Cocopa (Chittenden, 203); Mohave (Whipple, 115); Salinan and Yokuts (Mason, J. A., (a), 127–134); Washakie Shoshoni and Fort Hall Bannock (Lowie, (a), 174).

[2]Corbusier, 326; Powell, 126f; Lowie, (i), 234; (k), 136; Coville, 353; Lowie, (a), 178, 188; Baegert, 260; Sparkman, 193; Powers, 220; Dixon, (a), 189; (c), 212; Kissell, 194; Russell, (d), 68; Mason, J. A., (a), 130.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (b), 361; Cushing, (d), 333; Sedgwick, Ch. II; Franciscan Fathers, 205, 207; Russell, (d), 68.

[4]Gushard, (c), 1st ed., 130; Matthews, (c), 106, 107, 110; Kroeber, (a), 276 277; Dunmore, 146; Corbusier, 326; Russell, (a), 83; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Whittemore, 56; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 348; Mason, J. A., (c), 346; McGee, 193; Spier, (d), 338; Tyrrell, 574; Chittenden, 201; Lowie, (i), 209; Mooney, (b), 1050, 1052; Lippa, 42; Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 214, 507; Matthews, (d), 229; Bolton.

[5]Kroeber, (a), 277; Russell, (d), 83; Mason, J. A., (a), 122; Corbusier, 326.

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if
[827] these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last
856 the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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872 177 stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with 872 177 hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children. 262 Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, '*Havatoopegal* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

[522] The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

262 When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

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Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

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with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

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long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

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While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Stick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

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As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 514

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

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they had wood to sell. They needed the wild seeds, fruits and roots 221
that grew on top, they insisted. But, when I saw their childish delight as they made their departure, ponies loaded with cumbersome bundles, I knew that they were motivated by the very human desire for change, to get outside, where they could look about, with the full sweep of the vaulted sky above, with endless miles in which to wander.

Not an Indian who was physically able to ride but longed for this trip to the mesa. Only our policemen and the few persons needed to care for the sick and the aged stayed on through the winter.

It was a strange procession that finally departed up the trail. A single file of horses so encumbered by household equipment, clothing and food—all topped by a member of the family—that it looked like a train of bundles, walking off on four feet.

And what mysteries those bundles contained!

Near the village that fall I had watched a young woman glean 222
the ripe fruit from a sprawling bed of prickly pear cacti by catch- 262
ing the fruit between two gathering sticks, and with a quick twist break it free. After removing the spines by swishing the pear with a fiber brush, she tossed the clean pear into the burden basket on her back. At home any remaining spines would be wiped off [257]
before the fruit was split and laid in the sun to dry. She had approached her task fully prepared with gathering sticks, brush and burden basket. Tied in those huge bundles that obscured their ponies, I knew, were the crude, homemade tools they would use in gathering the many edible wild plants that grew up above.

The pigweed on the mesa should be a luscious bush loaded with small rich seeds. Its leaves, boiled, were eaten as a vegetable; the ripe seeds were toasted, ground and cooked into a mush. Mormon tea would be gathered, dried and stored to be brewed in a refreshing drink. The dry pods of the mesquite were sweet and nourishing; they were chewed for their food value or, reduced to a powder and mixed with water, used as a drink. Fall ripened the fruit of the yucca, which was an important food. After frost, the Indians

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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222 would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as
262 they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

221 Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for
222 Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

221 From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the
262 upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain
224 sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in
[316] hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

221 When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight
361 winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods.
262 One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

253 Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on
824 the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

221 Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers
222 leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction.

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors.

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes.

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice.

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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A hole is made in this carbonized surface to let out the steam, and, when cold, the fruit is eaten as a great delicacy. I have often eaten and enjoyed it, though it has a sickish-sweet vegetable taste that at first is somewhat unpleasant. The pinion nut, sunflower and squash seeds are also regarded as delicacies. Practice has made the Havasupais dexterous in eating these husk-covered seeds. The novice finds it a wearisome task to hull them, but the expert throws a handful of seeds into his mouth, cracks the shells, and by skilful manipulation eats the nuts on one side of his mouth and expels the shells on the other. When I can do this I shall make a meal on pinion nuts, as they are of exquisitely sweet and delicious flavor.

Sunflower seeds, squash seeds, and a variety of wild grass seeds and corn are parched by the women by placing them in saucer-shaped baskets — or kü-üs′ — with hot ashes, and then tossing them up and down and to and fro until sufficiently cooked. The seeds are then scooped out with the fingers, and ground on a slab of basaltic rock, by rubbing one stone over the other. On the occasion of one of my visits, when I was the guest of Chickapanagie, I made the accompanying photograph of his wife as she thus parched corn in a basket. It was the placing of a covering of clay inside the kü-ü, to prevent its burning, that led Frank Cushing to the belief that here was the explanation of the origin of pottery.[1]

Green squash is cooked after being hacked into pieces in an apparently reckless but most effective manner. With the squash in one hand, the woman takes a large

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[1] See chapter "Basketry the Mother of Pottery," in "Indian Basketry," by George Wharton James.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silé (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[838] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 88 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, aqlisa (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1953, 103, 105, 108, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djk). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

252 Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once, or the
262 husks were pulled back to permit drying for storage.

Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually was not
[251] combined with other foods. For storage, the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken off and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for
[177] roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning cooking stoves.

Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, 111) traces to Hopi con-
252 tact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by
262 several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased
177 with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dis ' -vâ' i -ẍdt. Only a few of the older women know how to make it. Informants referred to this baking method as "frying," possibly because a thin veneer of oil was applied to the baking slab, but Spier (personal communication, 1957) rightly points out that this is not true frying. He remarks further that, offhand, he was unable to recall any North American tribe which used frying aboriginally. Hopi and Zuni piki bread is baked rather than fried.

252 The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat
262 flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to carry softer food to the mouth.

Cornbread, made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit, continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinyon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1902 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by melons, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177 233] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1867. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 591] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a house soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

432 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [432 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The piñon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 482 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [482
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

The Nation of
THE WILLOWS.
II

varieties. Upon this strange desert,
132 some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the
136 latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-pai," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cata-
133 ract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime.
132 The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered
137 by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the
[273] material for the mescal, or *ak-na*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-supai, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and
[262] eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and
[P. 541B] October.

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549A]

262 252 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a [251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the 252 more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-paí from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and [482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These [527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 262 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-va-su-paí, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist 262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

262 tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

412 Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and [439] brass kettles, procured by barter with 415] the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped [264] from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden 415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a 482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. 412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good [177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

The/99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
342 life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop
412 to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1]
222 Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without
252 removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285]
[412]

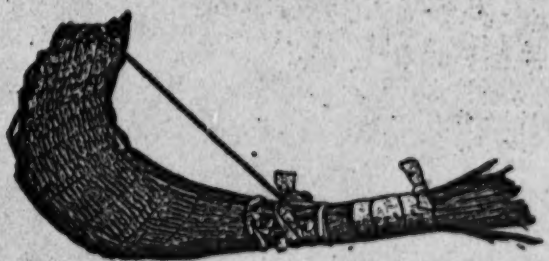

Fig. 3 (50.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263
[222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them,
[917] and collect the honey. Rock salt (tûl'i) is collected from a cave in the cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his
[262] field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One in[illegible]ce was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and [illegible] him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: o[illegible]an standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Coues, 344.

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

881 343 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 887 869 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 262 [263] During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, ollá (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 [237] [531] Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks on some of the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] [842] [841] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] [826] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[F187] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are flaked from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

262 252 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a [251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the 252 more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-pai from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and [482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These [527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 262 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-va-su-pai, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist 262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

[P 549B]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten.

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned.

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food. As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal.

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail.

[1] Cushing, (a), 330.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

who stuck it in the pocket of his jeans, grunted loudly, mounted his horse and rode off. Now that he had his blanket, he would ride up the trail tomorrow and across the mesa to Seligman, the mail pouch tied to his saddle.

We settled our troubles as they came to us, so the Postmaster General never knew that a game of chance, played several years before, had that day delayed the delivery of the United States mail.

Walapai Bill took the matter seriously when he realized that his crime could have landed him behind bars, and was grateful for the settlement. He offered his hand in friendship, grinned broadly and said, "You ride my horse. I think good you ride him."

The big bay was in a brush corral near the house. His long bony head and long legs reminded me of that dash across the race track on our way to the Grand Canyon. I declined as graciously as possible, for the morning had taken on a new beauty and I wanted to walk home. The fog, that rose nightly from the stream, drifted upward between the red walls, trailing long streamers. The white clouds it formed sailed majestically eastward across the wide strip of blue sky above the village. Rills of sparkling water traced patterns from the stream to the thirsty gardens. The people were tilling the soil, irrigating their crops or eating their early meal.

Kate sat by her outdoor fire, eating toasted sunflower seed from a shallow basket. She grinned at me and I squatted by her fire; its warmth on my cold, wet clothing was something to appreciate. She did not permit my presence to interfere with her breakfast, but scooped up a handful of the crisp seeds, poured them into the right corner of her mouth, moved her jaws for a few seconds, then let an uninterrupted stream of hulls drop from the left corner. Repeatedly she scooped up more seeds, poured them into her mouth without disturbing the outward flow of hulls. It was as mechanical as a gristmill.

"How do you do it, Kate?" I asked, laughing.

She thrust out her tongue. *"It,"* she said, moving her tongue across her mouth from right to left. "You try," she invited, pushing the tray toward me.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

252a few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

241 Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden bas-
251 kets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

251 Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but
252 often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

222 In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several
262 wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The piñon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground
252 on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

272 A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of
222 seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and
252 utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

222 The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers
252 mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[33] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[342] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[253] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[285] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Yuma; Maricopa
Mohave; Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

satisfied with the killing and scalping of a single enemy. They preferred, if possible, to scalp their victim alive: together they rushed the man selected, sat on him, and cut away the scalp. It was sometimes taken from the dead, but "they do not call that a brave deed." Immediately it was thrown into the air and allowed to fall to earth. (It was not kicked in Yuma fashion and the singing and dancing which Cocopa and Yuma indulge in at this point were absent.)

As soon as they were ready to return one of the younger lads was dispatched with the news, whereupon everyone gathered at the meeting house to await them. Some of the old people might join in expressing their happiness by such songs as Ivâ∂o' and Mountain Killdeer.

Only a man who had dreamed of it could scalp, hence the taking of a single scalp was sufficient to establish the fulfillment of his dream. His dreams were of winning battles against fearful animals. If he had not the requisite dream, no man, no matter how brave, would take a scalp. There was a saying that if he had not dreamed but forced himself to take a scalp, the dead enemy would grin, so that he would flee in fear. Scalps were exceptionally dangerous: they caused paralysis unless those that took them or handled them underwent the purification described below.

The scalps taken were those with long fine hair: not all the slain were scalped. They took the whole skin of the upper half of the head cut away just below [*sic*] the eyes and above the ears. (The scalp was hie'∂au'g, "hair taken.") Sometimes the ears were taken separately, but not the whole head nor other parts of the body.

Dead foemen were eaten by the Yavapai, according to Kutox; a practice quite willingly corroborated by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant[27] and recorded by Dr. Kroeber for the more northerly Yavapai. The Maricopa and Halchidhoma never did (nor, according to Kutox's knowledge, the Yuma and Mohave), not so much because of repugnance as because

[27] Who, however, accused the Maricopa of the practice (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 186).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
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P R 266 727 R [783] they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

P 266 727 Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

R 756 727 787 Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

R 727 766 Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

P R 173 726 On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukâvĭ'k tatâpoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits opened and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and squeezed to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [272]

Mesquite pods (*iyd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dmõnõ'l*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*sallde'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dgwdsõ*); goosefoot (*Ucigãdãj*); *sllõ''õ, gõõi, i'õõi* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*dõjaqõ*), and piñon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sllõ''õ grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she raps the seeds with a seed beater (*sllõ'dnia; dnia*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 285 412

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

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compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [348]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The pinon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

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the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Jack Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

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The Nation of THE WILLOWS.

II

varieties. Upon this strange desert, some sixty-six hundred feet above the level of the sea, considerable rain falls during latter July, August, and September; and with the end of November heavy frosts begin and snows ensue, occurring with greater or less frequency and severity of cold throughout the larger part of the winter. During the latter season, these vast plains, undulations, and forest mesas are filled with game of the nobler sort, such as deer, elk, antelope, and bear; followed by the constant coyote and fox, "the herds and herders of the Ha-va-su-paí," as the Zuñis say. Quite different is the Cataract Cañon itself, situated only thirty-five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the occupied portion of which is more than three thousand feet below the surrounding desert, — a veritable perennial oasis, with almost subtropical climate and luxuriance of vegetation, with a clear, cold, never-failing, impetuous stream cleaving its way through the little plain at the bottom of the cañon, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with carbonate of lime. The atmosphere is as moist, warm, and temperate as that of the surrounding waste is arid and extreme. Frosts rarely and snows never visit its little plains, and even the quietest pools along the rushing little river are never fettered by ice. The agave, or century-plant, which nowhere appears on the surrounding plains, reaches almost giant proportions in its valleys, furnishing the material for the mescal, or *ak-na*, so abundantly prepared by the Ha-va-su-paí, and so well known among the more southern tribes of the territory and of Old Mexico. Apricots ripen in June, peaches in July; corn is gathered and eaten during both months, and again planted, to ripen during September and October.

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A [252] ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, [356] although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

Clay pipes (*dmdl'hâ'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek [278] bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamakwi'dlpd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. [462] It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's [439] work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins (Id., 333. [114] fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom. 171 323

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking cornmeal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*. [252]

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4] 171 276

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Moapa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains. 171 281

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a *woman's task in the Plains*, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes. 171 281 462

[1] Field notes of H. H. Lewis.
[2] Spier, (a), 344; Hoyo, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 20.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 287, 305; Matthews, (f), 334; Whipple, Eybank, and Turner, 47; Russell, (a), 267; Sparkman, 207, 210; Washo data from Dorsey H. H. Lewis, 1926; Dorsey, (c), 214; J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yanduscki used reeds, not clay or stone, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipe" (a), 142, 168.
[4] Grinnell, (b), I, 208.
[5] Goldfrank, (b); Lewis, (f), 23697; Mason, O. T., (e), 873.
[6] Curtis, 208; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371; Dunn, 140; Hough, (d), 70, 72.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosumte,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lewis, (i), 302.
[4] About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lewis, (i), 305.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lewis, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 60.

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171 535 erned they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

171 276 The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinan, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Dieguеño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

171 534 Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 6, note 17; (a), 85; (c), 314; Mason, J. A., (a), 169; Sparkman, 221; Spier, (e), 316-321; Barrows, in Robinson; Gifford, (a), 190; Harper, 343.

[2] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 285-7.

[3] Parsons, (a).

[4] Bourke, (d), 165; (e), 455; Safford, 330, 332.

[5] Hrdlička, (f), 25; Palmer, 630; Mason, J. A., (d), 142.

[6] Hough, (e), 278, 294; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 108; Brown; Russell, (d), 167, states that only an inverted basket is used; Lumholtz, (b), 318; Lowie, (a), 206; Franciscan Fathers, 299; Guernsey, 326; Matthews, (b); Spier, (e), 340.

[7] Franciscan Fathers, 299; Bourke, (e), 462; Stevenson, J., Fig. 551. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 5, Plate 9.

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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have misinterpreted a Hopi greeting here.
(Also Yavapai (Corbusier, 558).)
[2] Compare the Paiutes in, in, in [Lowie, (a), 204.]
[3] No shortage of tobacco or smoke are made. Tobacco is not shown

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less tearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau, are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1890 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1948, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paiadha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgînyuś* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qudgâmuna* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Sumpweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

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Pima, Luiseño, Clear Lake Pomo, Trinity Wintun, Puget Sound Salish, and on southwestern Vancouver Island.[1]

It is well known that armor is used in a wide area of western North America from Bering Straits into the southern continent. The only variety we are concerned with here is a tunic formed of several thicknesses of heavy skin, commonly joined and stiffened by layers of glue and sand. Something of the sort is in use among Havasupai, Navaho, Western (?) Apache, Zuñi, Opata, Aztec, Comanche, Pawnee, Paviotso, Maidu, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Wailaki, Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, Takelma, Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Chinook, Quinault, Twana, Chimakum, Klallam, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Nootka, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, Loucheux, Hare, Nass, Taku, Chilcat and other Tlingit, and undoubtedly others.[2] The Blackfoot have a tradition of its use. The Pima evidently do not use armor.[3] To the south quilted cotton armor was used by Mexicans, Toltecs, Mayas, Isthmians, and Peruvians, according to Hough. Slat and rod armor reach no farther south than the Maidu: north from this point these types are used by Achomawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Klamath, Hupa, Takelma, Chinook, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, and Tlingit.[4]

So far as the information goes the curtain shield is used in the Southwest by the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai only. The Thompson use a large piece of stiff elkhide and the Lillooet roll marmot skins thickly around the left arm. The circular shield used in the Plains and Mexico extends into the Southwest among Comanche, Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Western Apache, and Pima. Kroeber adds Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño to this list.[5] In the Basin-Plateau it is known to the Ute, Wind River and Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Shuswap, and Thompson.[6]

The poisoning of arrows may have been more common than the collected data indicate; at any rate it is a widespread custom. One poison of a curious sort suggests that some cases at least are historically connected. This is made of a liver which a rattlesnake has been made to

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 75, 239; Pettis, 130; Bourke, (b), 39; Sparkman, 203; Powers, 315, 341; Eells, 602; Mason, 176.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 428; Hough, (b), 628, 631, 642, 645, 646, Pl. 16, 17; Russell, (c), 79; Winship, 448; Bandelier, (a), 70; Lewis, (1), 243; Dixon, (a), 203; (c), 215; Mason, O. T., (a), 230; Kroeber, (a), 299; Cotterell, (b), 66; Lewis, (a), 102; Lewis and Clark, III, 31; Frachtenberg, 252; Quinault information from Mr. Ronald L. Olson; Colden, 197; Spinden, 227; Eells, 603; Teit, (c), 336, 765; (b), 239; (a), 269; Morice, (a), 340; Mooney, (a), 317; (b), 140, 149; Krause, 209; Sapir, (a), 278, (b), 137, 250.

[3] Winser, (a), 155; Russell, (d), 39.

[4] Hough, (b), 631, 640, Pl. 14; Farrand, (a), 647; Sapir, (a), 273.

[5] Kroeber, (a), 299.

[6] Lewis, (1), 242; Lewis and Clark, III, 19. I have not attempted to complete his distribution to the northwest.

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strike (White Mountain Apache, Seri, Northern Maidu[1]), or part of a deer struck by a snake (Shoshoni and Bannock), or a mixture of liver and venom (Paviotso, Teton), liver and the juice of the wild parsnip (Achomawi), the spleen of an animal and pulverized ants (Northern Shoshoni[2]). In several of these cases this is allowed to putrefy: the Yuma also used putrid flesh. Others prepare compounds of poisonous insects and plants (Havasupai, Yavapai,[3] and Wishram[4]). Rattlesnake venom is used by the Southern Diegueño, Blackfoot, Lillooet, and Thompson; rattlesnake blood by the Takelma.[5] In addition to these the Jovas, Opata (and the tribes of Sonora generally), Lipan, Navaho, Cahuilla, the Indians of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Gosiute,[6] and Snohomish are known to have used poisons.

Scalp taking is general in the Southwest, although it seems everywhere a matter of little concern. It is specifically attributed to Havasupai, Yavapai,[7] Tonto and Pinal Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Papago, and Opata.[8] In the Basin we may add the Paiute, Uintah (?) Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, and possibly Paviotso.[9] Kroeber states that scalps were taken in the greater part of California, possibly excepting the Yokuts, Valley Maidu, and Pomo, and surely excepting the tribes of the northwestern area. Powers also excepts the Trinity Wintun although ascribing the practice to other Wintun. I have found records for one of the Mission groups, Saiinan, and the Maidu of the mountains.[10]

Removing the entire scalp in the Havasupai manner, not a small patch, is attributed to the Yavapai. This, according to Kroeber, is the general Californian practice, and, by my own information, that of the Klamath and Wishram further north.

The Havasupai do not take the whole head although it might have been expected. This is common in California (specifically Salinan and Patwin), in the Northwest area, and in Mexico it is noted for the Tepehuane.[11] Friederici believes that scalping is a substitute for head taking stimulated by the whites.[12]

[1] Dorsey, G. A., (b), 186; Bourke, (b), 58; Bartlett, I, 465; McGee, 256-258; Bandelier, (a), 70, 227; Dixon, (a), 208, 228.
[2] Hoffman, 67-71; Lewis, (1), 245; (2), 185, 192.
[3] Trippel, 372; Corbusier, 232.
[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.
[5] Spier, (a), 333; Tait, (b), 235; (c), 303; Boas, (a), 373.
[6] Bandelier, (a), 70; Franciscan Fathers, 186; Hopper, 253; Yates, 374; Chamberlin, 388, 394. According to the informant, Corbusier (232) denies this.
[7] Smart, 419; Bourke, (d), 29; Franciscan Fathers, 266, 426; Pattie, 137, 139, 165, 199; Parsons, (f), 13; Kroeber, (a), 201; Bartlett, II, 271; Gaillard, 295; Bandelier, (a), 152, 242.
[8] Lewis, (f), 820, 823; (a), 193; (b), 242, 245; Powers, 329.
[9] Kroeber, (a), 207; Powers, 256, 241, 331; Russell, in Holdrege, 308; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Dixon, (a), 208.
[10] Powers, 231; Bandelier, (a), 92.
[11] Friederici.

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*dpudthá* and *tríkqdit*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea serices* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*hatdgotlá tadma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhoea.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain.

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he likens to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bona-settens as at Zuñi. In fact, my informants had never heard of anyone as struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 1911).
[3] Snakebite is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 130, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, relaxes the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [418]

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The manner of butchering a deer is stereotyped. To remove the [253]
hide, cuts are made encircling the neck just back of the head, down the belly to the tail, inside the legs, and around the hocks, taking the tail with the hide, but leaving the head and hoofs on the carcass. If the headskin is desired as part of the hide, the belly slit is continued to the lower lip, and additional cuts are made around the base of the antlers, then on a line joining them, and from this line down the middle of the face to the upper lip. The skin is folded flesh side in to prevent it drying out while it is being carried to camp. One who kills a deer owns its hide [224]
and flesh, but he is obliged to give certain portions to those who accompany him, should they want them; to wit, both hams (cut close to the spine and well down on the leg) and the rib section. He reserves for himself particularly the skin and the section along the backbone containing the long trachea. This is said to divide the carcass into four equivalent portions. Anyone may have the legs and viscera which remain. Brains and marrow from the spinal canal are collected for tan- [237]
ning, antlers to furnish picks for digging clay and flaking pumelaes for arrowheads, shoulders for rattles, and sinews for bowstrings, sewing, etc. Mountain sheep horns are taken for ladles and arrow wrenches.

Cotton-tail and jack-rabbits, coyotes, and wildcats are tracked in the [251]
snow for the sake of their pelts which furnish warm robes and bedding.

I (Hayvilla) used to stay in Cataract Basin in the winter. I was then a grown man. There was a little snow covering the ground. I and another man went out to hunt deer on the plateau. We saw no deer tracks but we found those of a bear. We followed these and after a short distance we saw the bear walking ahead. We followed him; he did not turn around. We hid behind a big dead cedar tree which was lying on the ground about fifteen metres from where the bear stopped. The bear did not turn around; he was busy digging up the ground. First I shot at him with a gun and the other man shot too; we both hit him and he fell dead. We waited a little and, as the bear did not move, we loaded again and approached quietly pointing the guns at him. When we were within a few yards of the bear, which lay still, we both shot again. Then we took hold of his leg gingerly and pulled it. We said, "It is dead," and then we skinned it. We did not cut the flesh, just carried the skin home. We kept it, but did not know what to do with it, so eventually we threw it away. A long time ago the old folks ate bear meat, but I never saw it eaten in my lifetime. [262]

I killed three bears. The second occasion was when I wanted to go and see the new town of Williams; there were few hunters there. When we were west of Bird Lake — there were four or five men — we wanted to stop and hunt deer in the little mountains. Two of us went right to the top of a little mountain; we took up a position where the deer trails crossed. We wanted some of the others to go around the far side of the mountain, where, by making a little noise, they could chase the deer to the spot where we were waiting. We had been there only a little while, when we heard something running toward us. We thought perhaps it was a buck. Then we saw it running out of the trees. It was a bear; he was running straight at us. We felt afraid

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. Three vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[278] Clay pipes (*émut'hă'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in the side. Cigarettes (*uuttemuhwt'dipi*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

● 281 [962] [439] A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Undoubtedly the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[2] [illegible] observers that these people are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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● 281 The hide is hung over a smooth pole, 5 cm. diameter, which rests slanting against a tree. The hide is caught between pole and tree. The hair and pigmented layer are removed with the beaming tool grasped in both hands and drawn down the pole toward the body. The hair is frequently left on the legs, though it is just as convenient to dehair them or cut them off at once. Loose tissue is also removed from the flesh side. The [442] beaming tool is a deer cannon-bone or hip-bone broken lengthwise and sharpened. Now a horse rib, naturally sharp on its concave edge, is

[447] [291]

Fig. 47. Wringing a Deer Hide.

substituted. Dehairing takes about two hours. The hide is hung on a pole to dry in the sun for a day or so.

When ready for tanning, the stiff skin is soaked in the creek over night, but no longer. It is then rubbed thoroughly pliable in the hands, wetting it with warm water. Folded lengthwise flesh side out, the neck is looped about a post, the legs around a stick, and both are folded back inside the skin. Twisting the stick wrings the skin dry. (Fig. 17.) It is now stretched by pulling at the edges and rubbing it together everywhere [442] until entirely freed of wrinkles. A skewer threaded in little slits which

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have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which several friends may help, they sing:—

Wätim'a wa'a'ŋadj (a hero's name)	ahäwamuhavi he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wäh'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is flushed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 1910).

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side, it is rolled up, set aside, and later worked as described above. As the skin contains considerable fat, it must be dried in the shade. A second tanning is then given, using the spinal canal marrow. As 281

Tools

Fire Tools. Inasmuch as cooking is a day-long process there is usually a fire within easy reach. But fire may be readily obtained with palm drill or strike-a-light. 372

The firedrill (*o'ogádid; o'o*, fire) consists of hearth and drill. The hearth (*hatu'gúvdg*) is a section of the dry flower stalk of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa* S. Wats., *há'tugádá*), which grows on the talus slopes. This is flattened on opposite sides and provided on one face with pits (*ma'dáp*) adjacent to notches in one edge (Fig. 18). The drill (*gatá*) of dry mesquite root is straightened, trimmed, and rubbed down to a diameter of one centimeter. Beargrass and mesquite root are the best materials; others may be used, the only requisite being that they are

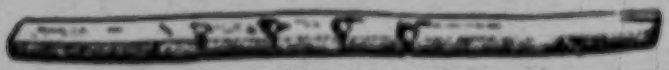

Fig. 18 (20.2-1234). A Firedrill Hearth.

thoroughly dry. Hearth and drill are made in two sizes. For ordinary uses about the camp, the hearth measured 25 cm. in length, the drill 60 cm. When traveling the drill is carried in the quiver, with the hearth in its own case tied to the outside. But by preference shorter sticks, each 15 cm. long, are carried together in a special case. The short drill is then substituted for the foreshaft of an arrow in order to lengthen it for use. The operator is usually seated with knees drawn up, holding the hearth on a flat stone beneath his feet. A pinch of sand is placed in the drill pan. The drill is rotated between the palms in the familiar manner, exerting considerable downward pressure; when the hands reach the lower end of the drill they are quickly returned to the top. The wood dust falls through the adjacent notch on to the stone; rubbed, dry cedarbark serves as tinder. A demonstration with a somewhat green drill took about a minute to produce a glowing coal. (Obviously two men drilling together can reduce this time materially. The pumpdrill is not used.

The strike-a-light has a native form. A white stone (*ddgi'alwid*, pyrites?) is held, together with the tinder, in one hand, and struck with a flint knife. The only tinder used is cotton (*hádjdwi*) grown from seeds

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several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers. 411

The best quiver (*n,épáud*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hide of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 20. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the 281 411 [556]

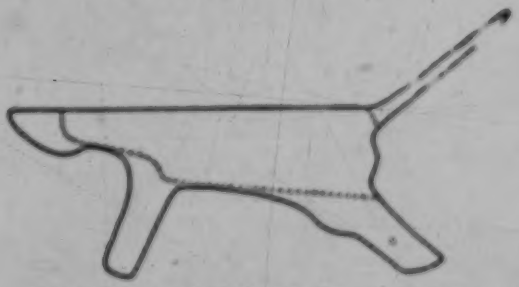

Fig. 20 (30.2-1931). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 22.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle. 171 285

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is an ornament for warriors (Reagan, MS., 438).

[2] This identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, 17 *J. Am. Ethn.* Pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal. [171]

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical base. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom.

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking corn-meal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*.

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Laguna, Wasko, Acoma, and Ateuguwi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4]

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Moapa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Arikara, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains.

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and so is also customary in other pueblos (Oraibi, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes.

[1] Field notes of R. H. Lowie.
[2] Kroeber, Ind. Life, 1907, 191, 192, Fig. 90.
[3] Goddard, Navaho, 1911, 71; Hrdlička, Apache, 1909, 211; Wissler, Dakota, and Teton, 47; Russell, Pimas, 1908, 247, 248; Hrdlička, Pueblos, 1909, 210; Winship, Pokonchi, and Tarasc, 47; Russell, Papago, 1908, 210; Wissler, data from Shoshoni, Ute, Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache; Lowie, Ute, 1924, 7; Hrdlička, Havasupai

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives. 291

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from 294
flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the 291
hands of the men. 462

The man's shirt (*ałpuwiś*) seems to have been based on the poncho 291
type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are 294
now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1] Coues, 455.
[2] Compare the Western Apache (Goodwin, MS. 1938).
[3] Cushing, Ms. 2nd.

[Text continues on p. 185]

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Fig. 39 (80.5-1506a,b). A Woman's Dress of Buskskin. a, The front apron; b, The back apron.

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(almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes

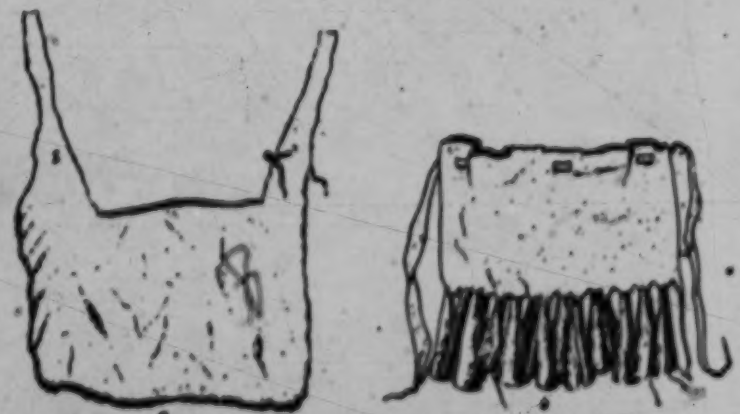

Fig. 40 a (80.2-1862), b (80.2-1862). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).

Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*ápáld*) and cotton-tail (*hálá'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[1] Clothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins

[Text continues on p. 181]

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281 this warp at intervals of 8 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; speci-
286 mens measuring 78 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls,
[291] at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as
[171] at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes
291 wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women,
294 with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin

a b

Fig. 43 a (80.3-1778a), b (80.3-1777a). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*makdopé*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho
[439] silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 43). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the knee like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of two handsome woven strips. They sometimes are fitted under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An undershirt is commonly worn.

Shoulder strap dress, moccasins, necklace, and basketry plaque are made.

[2] This is the type shown by Wissler, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Pap. III, for the Sioux.

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These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Athapaskawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[1]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Pecos, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Athapaskawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the puttee-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[2]

Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus, and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[3]

---

[1] e. g., Haeberlin [complete list], [P.] [illegible]
[illegible] Kroeber, [illegible]. Mason, O. T., [illegible]. Tirapel, [illegible]. Barrows, [illegible]. Chittenden, [illegible].

[2] Chamberlain Parkman, [illegible]. Hodge, [illegible]. Mason, O. T., [illegible].

[3] For wearing of a rabbitskin blanket as illustrated by Jacobs, [illegible]. Not according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Pueblo and Walapai. [illegible].

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos hang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Shufeldt, M. C., ibid., 1929; Hough, ibid., 1902; Pinart-Reed Fathers, 1911; Curtis, II, 68; Russell, 1908, 1908; Spier, ibid., 1928; Henshaw, 1908; Yates, 1871; Mason, J. A., ibid., 1917; Powers, 1877, 351; Pope, 1918; Dixon, ibid., 1908 (where the bloomers are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, ibid., 1909, 210, 217, 220; Hollenbeck, 1911; Chamberlain, ibid., 1909; Lowie, ibid., 1924.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art, or with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai.

[3] Stephen, 1936; Pinart-Reed Fathers, 1911; Hough, ibid., 1902; Stubbend, ibid., 2nd ed., 80.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 1886); Bourke, 1891, 111.

[5] Shuffered "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 1855; Spier, ibid., 1928.

[6] Hohenthal, 1854; Tripod, 1851; Russell, ibid., 1908; Cleveland, 1891; Henshaw, ibid., 1908; Shufeldt, I, 1922, II, 217, 220; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 1855. The Diegueño, a tribe found in Mexico at the mouth of the Gila in 1540, I, had a similar hairdress (Henshaw, ibid., 1908). Yuki-see, *infra*, are also Luiseño, ibid., 9; Curtis, II, 68.

[7] Stewart, 1918; Hrdlička, 1908, 438.

[8] Bourke, 1891, 111.

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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about
648 fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

171 Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai
623 in 1776.

> On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*tʌwʌ́ʔa*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 330–331. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, most likely in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, loc. cit.

Hilliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [189 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

3:James T-8 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

3 James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Tumeum NT14
Havasupai

Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 188-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 168) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [474]

[462] that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[478] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[261] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
[134] treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1937) records
that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men
as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to
make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[321] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai
obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types
and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me
not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it
might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was
made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However,
an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a
couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women
braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand
in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow
match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light.
Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every
baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman
may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

7:Spier E-5 (1918/1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

12: Cushing E-6 (1881) 1882
NT14 Pueblo Tumuli NT14
Excerpts

Their perceptive faculties

(8) are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the believers.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-wa-na-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; in attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.
[522]

●28 They are skilled in manufacturing
46 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

[P 549 9]

12: Cushing I:5 (1881) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT19
Havasupai

[483
857
752
826

neral punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

Labor is not regularly divided, except 440 between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practised by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for meal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

Sedentary agriculturists in summer, 461 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quan- 321 tities of datils, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[P 553A]

The/99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and some-
times with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post
brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and
allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way
as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food
among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
(221) been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for
the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and
spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game,
although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
(251) bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
291 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
(489) furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But
the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that
the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was
plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is
changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without
asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must
be saved for the Hálko. We are no longer men; we are like little
children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing
corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same.
Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later
ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are
harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to
dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either
alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

4115 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (kwaipa'l; also arrowhead) is lanceolate, 924 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with 4/2 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (30.2-1319) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (kthodiskwa'wa) are made of strips of cedar or 285 juniper bark (kthodik) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These [422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used. 283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves moistened pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (30.2-1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

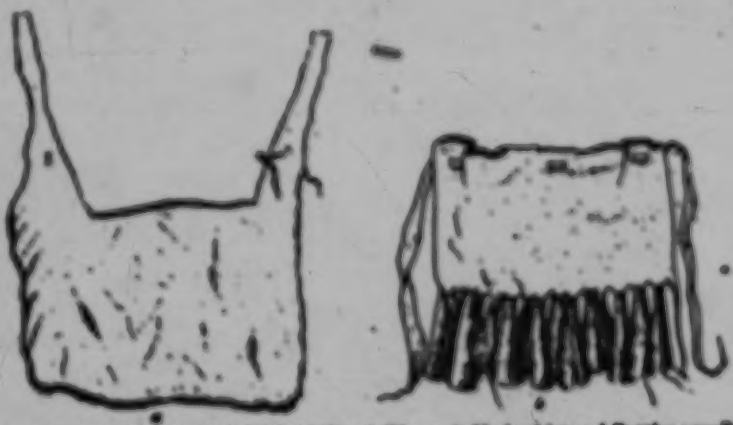
[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

291 (almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

291 237 301 Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

291 The underskirt is a short, somewhat ornamental apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes



[237] [301]

Fig. 40 a (35.2-1922), b (35.2-1922). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

[294] through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings sewed (Fig. 40a).[a]

291 291a [291] Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*tpûtû*) and cotton-tail (*hûtû'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[a] Bedding is never fashioned of rabbitskins [Text continues on p. 181]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 35 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 25 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [349] [287] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 857 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

285
water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

534 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape. The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carrying straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no 614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex- 602 isted. Individuals recognise their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

593 The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties. A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

thirty or forty plants is carried home. A pit (*mnipáwa"a; dendi*, ground) 1.5 m. in diameter, but of a lesser depth, is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel, else the steam would escape. Green or dry brush of any description is piled into the hole to the height of a meter above the ground; the uppermost brush must be dry. Stones the size of one's fist are spread over this to a depth of 10 cm. The pile is fired early in the morning, before sunrise. After three or four hours, when the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot, several men (not women, because of danger from the flames) pound on the pile to reduce it level with the surface of the ground (?). Meanwhile women pile the mescal all around the pit to have it conveniently at hand. The pit is apportioned in sectors among several people; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are stood on edge to mark these divisions, the others are then packed indiscriminatingly in between. Long green grass, gathered by the women at the time the fire was started, is first carefully arranged over the plants, and then piled in to a depth of 8 cm. This is then covered with a layer of dirt, 15 cm. deep. It is now 8 or 9 a.m., depending on the quantity of plants. Forty-eight hours later the pit is opened, and grass spread over a convenient space to receive the roasted mescal.

Mescal paint (p. 197) is made from the dried juice which coats the stones. (The plants of the lowest layer have been burned black.) These stones are boiled for a few minutes to remove the sediment: the liquor is poured off and boiled until it thickens; then red paint is stirred in to thicken it further. After boiling longer the paint is reduced to a doughy consistency; the small quantity obtained is rolled into a ball.

The leaves of the roasted mescal may either be chewed at once to obtain the pulp and juice, or they may be mashed and spread in a thin layer on an arrow reed mat to dry. When half dried the fibrous layer is turned over to dry further. While it is still flexible, one edge is folded back and the opposite edge folded over to meet the crease. This preparation (*vie'l*) will keep indefinitely; it is soaked in cold water for an hour to make a sweet drink.

Arrow reed mats (*ditkwiné; dit"*, arrow reed) measure 110 by 80 cm. and 75 by 60 cm., the first dimension being the length of the reeds. Thongs or sinews are twined through the reeds at half a dozen points. Mescal and yucca products, peaches and figs, are spread to dry on such mats.

The leaves of the young plantain (*'ak'i'ei*) are boiled and served as we do cabbage.

The fruit (*katé'e*) of the prickly pear cactus (*dídid*) ripens at the same time as peaches (September). The spiny fruits are broken off

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits spread and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and sprouted to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [172]

Mesquite pods (*ipd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dwaiwa'l*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*attida'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dpuuta'*); goosefoot (*Chenopodium*); *stil''i, gitta, c'ibi* (all three unidentified); juniper berries (*dadjaqa*), and pinon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Stil''i grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she rapa the seeds with a seed beater (*stil'dirat; dirat*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 4/12 285

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285 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop
412 to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

Gayton records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] 222 Pinon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without 252 removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 3 (30.3-1878). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (Mi'i) is collected from a cave in the [917] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particu- [262] larly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Gayton, 344.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

415 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 476 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the [460] long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

[485] [482]

Fig. 6 *a* (80.2-1234), *b* (80.2-1651), *c* (80.2-1230), *d* (80.2-1237), *f* (80.2-1643), *g* (80.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prised; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p.127]

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Fig. 7 (50.2-1634, 1235). Burden Baskets.

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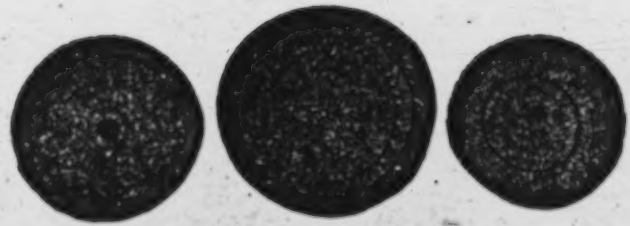

Fig. 8 (50.2-1247, 1648, 1654). Basketry Trays.

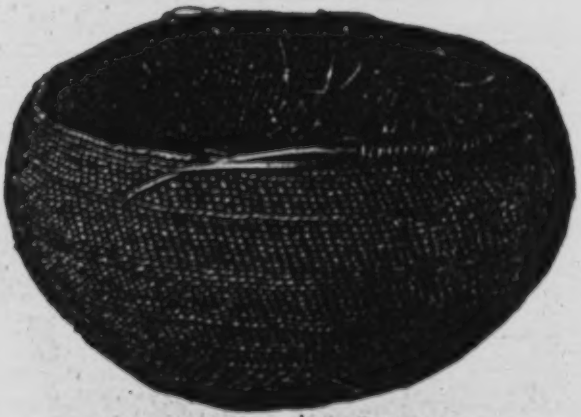

Fig. 9 (50.2-1250). A Boiling Basket.

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Six types (Fig. 6) are recognized: burden baskets (*gdθθ'k*), water bottles (*sdwd*), shallow bowls or trays in twine (*gdθd'ā"*) and coil (*gd'ā"*), stone-boiling bowls (*ha'ugwθtdlq'mia*, water, something, boil) in both techniques, and parching trays (*gdθdu'ulatd*, lit. old twined tray). Burden baskets, water bottles, and parching trays are made with twine weave.

While the weaving is quite coarse and uneven, with the exception of a few coiled pieces, many of the baskets are surprisingly water-tight. However, most baskets for liquids are rendered tight with some sort of coating, mescal juice or cornmeal mush. Trays in which mush is placed soon become impervious; the mess is sometimes rubbed into the interstices with that end in view. Small water-tight trays are used as pannikins to drink from. Water bottles receive a heavy coating of piñon pitch as well as soapweed paste.

Burden baskets are conical; some have a slight reverse curve near the apex which produces a nipple effect (Fig. 7). Two loops to receive the carrying band are inserted in the side of the basket somewhat more than a third of the distance from the rim. After the basket is completed pressure is applied to make this side flat so that the basket will not roll from side to side on the back. These baskets are generally made in three sizes: that used by the women measures about 60 cm. in diameter at the mouth, and 45 cm. in height; a smaller size used by half-grown girls is about 50 cm. by 45 cm.; that of small girls about 35 cm. by 32 cm.

Trays are used to hold seeds, meal, fruit, mush, and a host of other foodstuffs (Fig. 8). Twined trays are roughly of two sizes, although the variation is considerable; 40 cm. in diameter by 9 cm. in depth, and a smaller size 30 cm. by 6 cm. Occasionally these are quite conical. Fewer coiled trays are made: these are about the same size. They are somewhat flatter on the bottom than the twined ware. Parching trays are simply old twined trays, as their name implies, which are given a protective facing. Only the larger size of tray is used for this purpose.

Stone-boiling disappeared years ago so that descriptions of the baskets used for this process are somewhat vague. Apparently they were the same size as trays but quite deep, really bowls. One basket said to resemble them is 38 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep, quite globular, with a mouth slightly smaller than the body (Fig. 9). Smaller coiled bowls, such as those now sold to tourists, may have been used for stone-boiling. Cushing figures a coiled boiling basket, bottle-shaped, with rounded base and wide mouth.[1]

[1] (b), Fig. 333. This shows the bundle foundation which my informants denied was ever used.

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285 415 Water bottles are biconic with gentle reversed curves giving a nipple effect to the pointed base and narrow mouth (Fig. 10). These are about 35 cm. in diameter and 25 cm. in height. Two thongs are inserted just above the maximum diameter to take the burden band. Bottles (*sdwɔgalagólíxá*) are also made without the lower cone, that is, with a flat or rounded base.[1] Occasionally this flat base is pushed inward. A third type was used when traveling afoot. It has an hourglass shape, with a flat bottom, and the upper part brought to a narrow mouth. This was

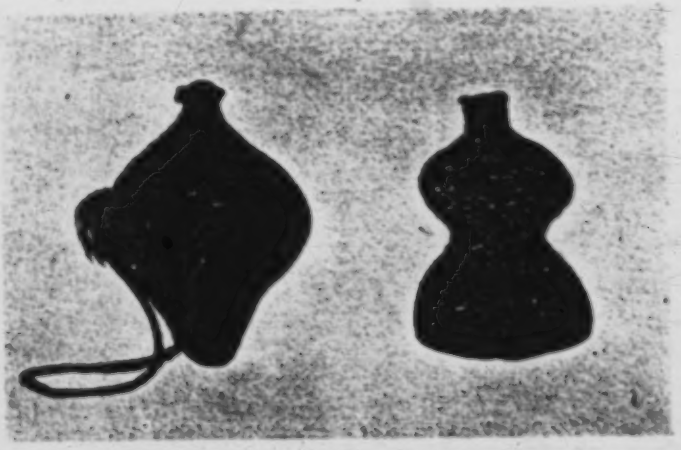

Fig. 10 (50.2-1237, 1645). Two Types of Basketry Water Bottle.

carried at the small of the back by a thong encircling both the wearer's waist and the constricted part of the bottle.[2] A bottle is stoppered with leaves or a corncob.

285 The best material for twined baskets is acacia twigs (*kd'djd'sd*, *Acacia greggii* Gray) which are gathered when green. If picked dry, or if dried in storage, they are soaked two or three nights before using. Cottonwood and willow twigs are inferior. These, too, are gathered green. They may be used for either warp or weft, or in combination with acacia. Mesquite is never used.

[171]

[1] Two figured by Mason, O. T., as Havasupai have the coil technique and shape of neck of Navaho specimens, (6), Plate 22, Figs. 4 and 5, see p. 230.]

[2] Similar bottles occur among the Cuchan Apache (50-8722) and Pueblo (Peabody Museum, Salem). The Zuñi are also accustomed to carry small objects at the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist. The Huichol have a similar double water gourd (Lumholtz, (c), II, 230).

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The acacia twigs are stripped of leaves by drawing them through the hand protected by a cloth. They are roughly sorted and the butt ends trimmed off giving two sizes, sixty cm. and one meter long. The butts of those in the short bundle are mashed soft between two stones. The long twigs are split in three beginning at the tip, using the teeth and each hand (Fig. 11). Only the outside strips are used, the inside third being discarded. These strips are scraped to a uniform thickness by drawing them a few times across a knife held in the hand. To start

Fig. 11. Splitting Basketry Twigs in Three.

weaving, two pairs of long twigs are held so that they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound twice across the junction and the ends then woven alternately over and under the ribs (Fig. 12–14a). The direction of weaving is clockwise with the face or inside of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around these four ribs, another rib (*sidjó'k'id*) is inserted, being caught into the twine stitch (*kʼipdwá*, twine or coil stitch). The mashed end of this short twig is first softened still further in the mouth, permitting it to be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt end protrudes on the under side of the basket

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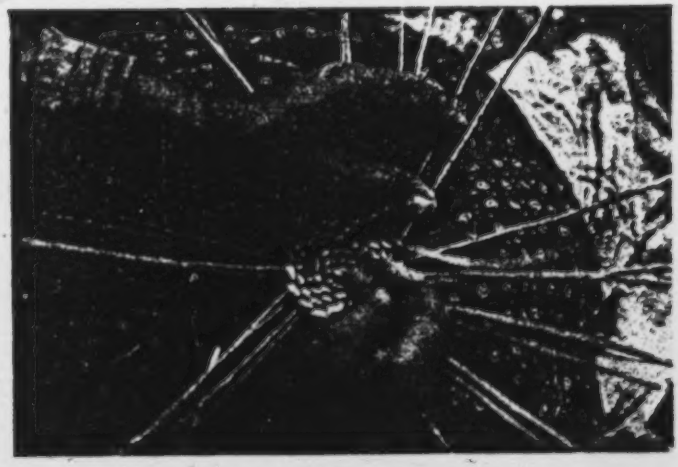

Fig. 12. Beginning of Twined Tray and Burden Basket Weave.

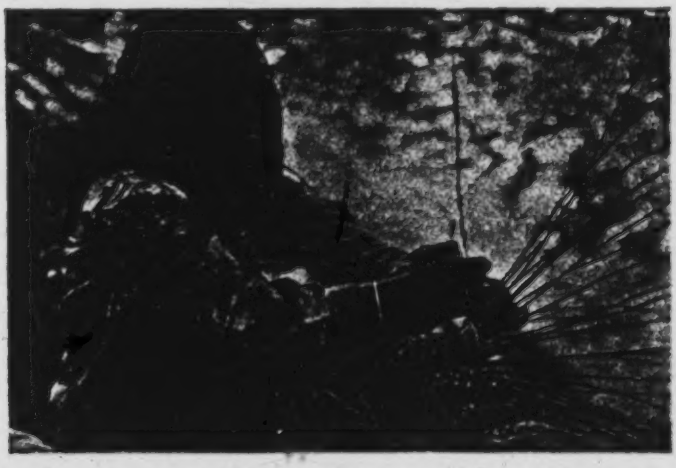

Fig. 13. Weaving the Burden Basket or Water Bottle.

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beyond the stitch by which it is held. New warps are successively inserted in this manner, care being taken to keep them regularly spaced. The wefts are constantly wetted so that they will remain pliable. Most baskets begin with diagonal twining (*gwigi*), the weft crossing two warps at a time. A few begin with simple twining (*gwiwigi*), weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. In fact, one of the most characteristic decorative effects is due to frequent change from simple to diagonal weaves on the same basket. Diagonal twining is, of course, more rapid. In all cases the warps are inserted one at a time. While weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly. The butt of the new strip is inserted between the old weft and the rib, and is caught tight by the next stitch formed by the opposite element. The white, inner side of the weft strip is on the face of the basket, i.e., the inside of a tray or the outside of the burden basket. The warps of trays are invariably pulled backward in weaving, i.e., to the weaver's left. 285

The burden basket or water bottle is begun in the manner described for the twined tray. When the woven area is about five cm. in diameter the warps are sprung up from a flat plane to a conical position. The tension of the weaving makes this very easy. The basket is now held apex down in front of the weaver, who continues twining from left to right on the near side of the basket (Fig. 13) From the weaver's point of view this is weaving as before, right hand in front of left, but if the basket is viewed from the top or inside, the direction of weaving will be seen to have changed from clockwise to anti-clockwise. After the ribs are sprung up, the warps are turned back on themselves to twine in the opposite direction. At the time they are reversed so that the white inside of the weft strip will be on the outside or finished face of the basket. New wefts and warps are inserted in the same way as in the trays: rows of warps are added at regular intervals. A tray is forced down between the warps to hold them in a conical position. The apex of many burden baskets and most water bottles protrudes in a nipple effect, that is, the sides have a reverse curve near the bottom. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the pressure of the tray causes the loose warps to flare out in trumpet shape: later the warps are drawn together near their upper extremities to counteract this flare. Hence the sides first curve out and then in. While the shape clearly results from the technique, there can be no doubt that the effect is at the same time intentional, for it is an almost invariable feature in water bottles. The warps of the water bottle are bent inward to the neck without other guide. This portion is given a reverse curve to match the bottom. As the diameter lessens

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285 some warps become superfluous: these are cut off short. A cap of rawhide, soaked in water and stretched into shape before it sets, is sewed on the apex of the burden basket with a through and through stitch

285 Three strand twining[1] is commonly introduced on all types of baskets for decorative purposes. The strand usually crosses two warps, giving 531 a much closer stitch than diagonal twine. Three strands crossing three and sometimes four warps are also used decoratively. There is no great regularity in inserting these stitches; crossing threes often lapsing into crossing fours, and vice versa. The majority of water bottles are made in three strand twine over two warps; the beginning seems to be always diagonal twine. Why water bottles are usually decorated with contrast twine stitches is a mystery, because the surface cannot be seen under the liberal coating of pitch! The last row in both trays and burden baskets is almost invariably three strand twining; this often extends to the last two rows, and occasionally to the last three or four rows of trays alone (possibly because their peripheries are much less than those of burden baskets).

285 To finish the edge of the water bottle, burden basket or tray, the ends of the warps protruding beyond the woven fabric are first thinned by splitting, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a coil stitch running around the rim. Split acacia or mesquite is used for this. The free ends of the two weft elements are included in this bundle of warps. A hoop of hard *amárd'd* wood (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) about one cm. in diameter is bound on top of this rim in trays and burden basket with a coil stitch. Occasionally this extra hoop is omitted. Gaps are left in the binding of this hoop in some baskets: this has a certain degree of decorative effect.

Two loops to which the burden band is fastened are inserted in the burden basket and bottle. Each loop is fashioned of a thong which passes through the basket three, four, or five times. The loops on bottles are invariably horsehair, braided of two strands or bunches; those on baskets are said to have formerly been of the same material. The burden band was formerly made of soapweed. The longest leaves of this plant were dried until yellow, mashed between rocks, and soaked in water to remove the connective tissue. Three of these were braided into a band.

Trays intended to hold very fine seeds and parching trays are coated on the interior with the sticky connective tissue of mescal (or soapweed?) leaves. The leaves are crushed in the hands and rubbed over the basket.

[1] Some of this may be three strand braiding.

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Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*ðnaiá*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2–1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gúðaiⁿk* (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pima.[4] When desired for use they are soaked in water. All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[5] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*djlmlá*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285 [171]

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (a), 550. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake is natural since the ball of mineral tissue which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai case, has been widely quoted, (b), 484–493. [114]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Kissell, Fig. 45.

[5] Bundle, single, or two-rod foundations are never used.

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285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (30.2-1663, 1664). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. *a*, Beginning of twine stitch; *b*, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made 285 531 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's claw (*hald'k*^{a}). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long, [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her elder sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[114] [1] Mason misinterprets his Plate 200, (k), also 487: the unfinished face is not the interior.

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are ripe in October. It is not necessary to pick them before the first frost.[1] Unlike the Pima and Papago only the hook-like appendages of the pod are used: these are broken off before the black fiber is split from them. When dry they may be soaked in hot water. Two strips of the black coat are split off with the teeth, beginning at the tip; the remaining interior third is discarded. To reduce the strips to a uniform width, they are held between teeth and hand while a knife is scraped along their edges.

In decorating twined baskets the black strip is substituted for one or both white wefts, the latter being cut off short. One end of the black

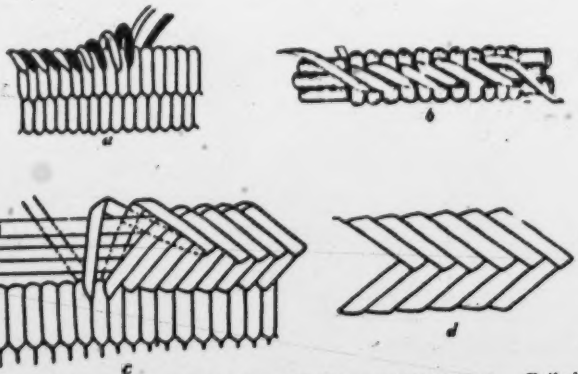

Fig. 15 *a* (50.1-4231, *b* (50.2-1242), *c-d* (50.1-4224). Coiled Basketry Edges. *a*, Two-strand edge of coiled basket; *b*, Three-strand edge of coiled basket; *c-d*, Edge of a coiled basket having the appearance of braiding (*c*, side view; *d*, view of the rim from above).

strand is caught between the two lower foundation rods of the coiled basket, sewing then proceeding as with the white strand. The ends of the introduced strands protrude somewhat on the unfinished face in both types of basket.

The rim of the coiled basket is finished by cutting off the three rods successively so that the coil will taper to an end. The rim is usually left without any further finish, but in a few specimens borders in other styles are added. The simplest consists of a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands (Fig. 15a). Apparently the binding is from left to right, working from the outside of the basket; that is, contrary to the

[1] Pima and Papago pick the pods before the frost turns them gray (Russell, 282).

[171]

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direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c–d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direction of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes. These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[1] This stitch is used as a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one from the Aztec ruin and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, (l), T., (b), 276, Fig. 87. Compare Matthews, (b), 203.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Wissler, (c), 494–501; Kroeber, (g), 49–51.

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plain twining alternate with wider bands of diagonal twining. Contrast is also obtained on the same baskets with three strand twining, since rows of this stitching are raised above the surface of the basket. The bands of three strand twine are uniformly very narrow; usually only one or two rows. Water bottles are commonly decorated in contrast twining, although they are subsequently pitch-coated to an extent which obliterates the decoration. I can see no other reason for this display of unfruitful energy than exuberant interest in utilizing a controlled technique and producing a pleasing effect for the moment. Only a very few are ever kept or traded without the pitch coating.

285 ● 531

Designs (*tĕnyúʰlgâ*, a so tattoo marks, face painting) are woven in twine and coil baskets with black martynia. These do not represent objects, and in fact, the women repudiated the idea that any meaning might be read into them.[1] There are no recognized design units nor design names: the women did not seem inclined to speculate about them. All the designs are extremely simple.

Twine trays are decorated with a single circular line, one row wide, or with the same line with short spurs, usually oblique, either on the inside or outside, resembling a cog-wheel with oblique teeth. The same series of teeth are used without the base line. Other decorations are a central circular area, filled solid; a horizontal zigzag line; or simple combinations of any of these. Burden baskets have one to three decorative bands around the upper third; using the same units (except the solid circle) and in addition a band of equilateral triangles, usually filled solid, and with basal angles in contact, or with bases or vertices touching a narrow line running around the basket. A band of two opposed dentate lines is frequent. Water bottles do not have design decorations.

One curious feature is a disinclination to decorate that part of the burden basket which will rest against the back and so will not be seen. The first, i.e., the lowest, band is usually carried around this portion as well, but subsequent bands are progressively executed with increasing carelessness or omitted entirely at this point. (Fig. 7.) This, of course, is contrary to the spirit which accounts for the decoration of water bottles in contrast twining.

A few baskets have the spurs of the dentate bands vertical, that is, following the warps. In all other cases observed, with one exception, the spur lies obliquely in the direction of twining, that is, with its lower end nearer the weaver's left hand and inclining upward to the right. Nearly all such designs are in diagonal twine. I think we have here a clear case of the influence of technique on design. In the first place, the

[1] This does not prevent them from providing interpretations for the tourist trade.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 415 [177] [178] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdt*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See (a), T. Mason's diagrams, (b), Figs. 19 and 20.
[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate,
324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with
412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĕkedlakwi'vd*) are made of strips of cedar or
285 juniper bark (*tcĕkedld*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These
[422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used.
283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers. 411

The best quiver (*n$_y$dpâwd*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hides of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 26. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the 281 411 [556]

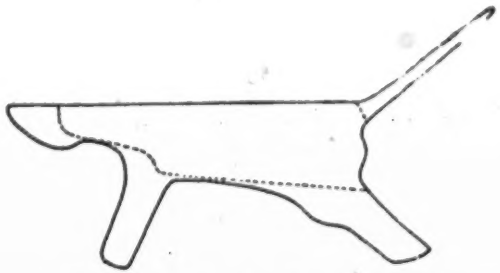

Fig. 26 (50.2-1601). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 23.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle. 171 285

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is in demand for quivers (Bourke, (e), 436.)

[2] An identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, (e) T. (6), 19 LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal. [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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among the Klamath, Modoc, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Maidu, Pomo, Lassik, and Chemehuevi.[1] Kroeber states that the Yumans of the lower Colorado do not make basketry and his paper on Mission basket decoration does not figure conical carrying baskets.[2] Furthermore, we know

Fig. 27. Distribution of Basket Types. Triangle, denotes conical burden basket; square, rectangular burden basket; circle, biconate water bottle.

that the carrying net is used in southern California;[3] hence, we should presumably exclude all groups south of the Chemehuevi. Eastward this type is in use among the Paviotso, Ute, Kaibab, Shivwits, Moapa, and Panamint, and in Arizona among the Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, and San Carlos Apache.[4] East of this the carrying basket is different.

[1] Barrett, (a), 256; Dixon, (c), 214; (a), 180; Mason, O. T., (g), 437–439; Kroeber, (g), 43.
[2] Kroeber, (g), 54; (m).
[3] Spier, (c), 343.
[4] Lowie, (i), 232–237; Powell, 129; Dutcher, 379; Curtis, II, 93; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 196; Carbuncler, 225; Hrdlička, (d), 484–486.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

The Hopi, Zuñi, and Navaho are credited with a type that is square, flat-bottomed, and built up on a framework of two bent sticks. The Western Apache have an analogous form, but without the sticks. The Pima and Papago have an unusual carrying device of netting on a frame.[1] Its conical form suggests the conical basket under consideration; its general structure the carrying net of southern California. North of California the burden baskets are not conical, I believe. The data cited above suggest a continuous area of distribution of this type. There are obvious local differences, however. For example, open twined weaving is not used in this connection in Arizona though it occurs in the Great Basin and perhaps in California.

The water jug is commonly biconate and with a small mouth like that of the Havasupai. It is in all cases, except the Washo, coated with pitch and provided with two loops of hair on the sides to take the carrying band. This type of basket is in use among the Northern Shoshoni, Gosiute, Southern Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Kaibab, Kawaiisu, Chumash, Mission, Cahuilla, Walapai, Havasupai, Tonto, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Mescalero, Pima, Hopi, and Navaho.[2] It does not occur on the lower Colorado River, among the Salinan,[3] nor, I think, elsewhere in southern California. Hough reports that the Hopi obtain these baskets from the Apache, Ute, and Havasupai; Hrdlička that the Navaho get theirs from the Ute. There is some question whether the Cahuilla make such baskets. For the Gosiute and Washo these are seed baskets.

There are local differences in the technique and the shape of the neck and base. Southern Ute, Navaho (?), Hopi, and some Moapa specimens are in coil technique; Paviotso, Washo, Moapa, Cahuilla, Walapai (?), and Havasupai are in twine. The twined vessels have conical bases, as a rule, even with the reverse curve which produces a nipple-shaped point, so that this feature seems really to be a function of manufacture by twining. Some vessels have funnel-shaped necks with wider mouths (Northern Shoshoni, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache). The Ute and Navaho examples are coiled, which is also the case with the Moapa pieces of this shape.

The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite re-

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 462-465; Franciscan Fathers, 263; Kissell, 228f.
[2] Lowie, (a), 179; Chamberlin, (b), 341, 345, 374; Lowie, (i), 237, 241. Washo, Kawaiisu, Chumash, and Mission specimens in Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Kroeber, (g), 45; Smart, 419; Curtis, I, 21; Dodge, 103; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 41, 1905; Hough, (e), 203, 206; Mason O. T., (g), 463; (i), 114; Hrdlička, (a), 342; Stanley and Weston, 32.
[3] Mason, J. A., (a), 146.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 semblances to those of the Havasupai. Martynia as a decorative material
285 is used by the Pima, Papago, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yuma Apache,[1] Yavapai, Havasupai, and Shivwits.

Pottery has an extensive distribution among the historic peoples of
171 the Southwest. It extends throughout southern California and through
323 the center of the Great Basin as far as the Salmon River in Idaho. In addition to the Pueblos, it has been found among the Northern Shoshoni, Uintah and Southern Ute, Navaho, Jicarilla, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Pima, Maricopa, Kwohatk, Papago, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chemehuevi,[2] Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, and the southern Sierra Yokuts and Mono.[3] Whether it was manufactured by the Serrano and Salinan is doubtful. There is positive evidence that within this area it was not made by the Wind River Shoshoni on the one hand and the Paviotso on the west, nor by the Tonto Apache, Gabrielino, and Chumash.[4]

The pottery of this whole group is scanty and crude in comparison to that of the Pueblos. It is generally a rough brown unslipped ware, commonly undecorated. The Mohave and Pima form an exception, for they have the ware not only in quantity, but with considerable finish.[5] In general the pottery of the lower Colorado tribes and those adjacent on the Gila and in southern California is a somewhat specialized product. The body color is reddish, decorated with darker red, black, or yellow lines. Pima and Maricopa ware is cream colored, but in general of the same sort. Ornamentation is by angular figures, parallel lines, triangles, etc., always in the same general style. This is common to the Mohave, Cahuilla, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Papago, and probably some of their neighbors. Pima decoration is sometimes more involved, being in part in imitation of the prehistoric wares of the Gila Valley. But the character of line at least is quite like that of their western neighbors. Navaho pottery is decorated by incising and painting; the style is unknown to me.

The shape of the larger vessels is much the same among all the rancheria groups; globular ollas with either slightly restricted mouths or with wide necks tapering directly up from the greatest diameter of the

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[1] Gomez, (c), 183.

[2] Kroeber, (g), 641. Yet in another place it is implied that the Chemehuevi did not make pottery [Kroeber, (i), 242].

[3] Lowie, (a), 177; (b), 228 f; Stephen, 388; Franciscan Fathers, 218, 286, 295; Curtis, I, 20, 34, 99; Hrdlička, (d), 487; Carbonell, 334; Hrdlička, (e), 43–44; Russell, (c), 124–131; Gaillard, 294; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 198; Bandelier, (a), 230, 242, 257; McGee, 182; Hopa, (c), 222; Pattie, 196; Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 575–577; Kroeber, (a), 277; Spier, (a), 348; Sparkman, 202.

[4] Kroeber, (g), 60, 84; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Smart, 419.

[5] Their pottery may be slipped like that of the Pueblos, but I can find no reference to this in the literature and doubt it.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 372 Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their New Fire ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2-1224) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

285 171 Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

171 411 237 As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

[1]Hough, (e), 345; Fewkes, (d), pl. 3; Lowie, (i), 222; (a), 189; (h), 214; Hough, (a), 536-543; Barrett, (a), 257; Hasberlin und Günther, 15. Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1920.
[2]Franciscan Fathers, 65.
[3]Hough, (e), Pl. 26; Lowie, (i), 223; (a), 190; Chamberlin, (a), 33; Barrett, (a), 257; Teit, (a), 297; Hasberlin und Günther, 15.
[4]Franciscan Fathers, 467.
[5]Russell, (d), 134; Sparkman, 219; Dixon, (a), 143; Lowie, (a), 184.
[6]Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (a), 159.
[7]Pattie, 164; Goddard, (b), 201; Hough, (e), 287; Letherman, 263; Mason, O. T., (f), 640, 668, Pl. 78, Fig. 3; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 180; Bourke, (b), 57.

[Text continues on p. 160]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up.

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face.

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes.

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story.

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted.

[1] [i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

Sulliff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *tobolwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

252
415
285
531

Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

252
362
291
516
531

A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Tribes NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

[Facing p. 210]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

515 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say,
136 I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in
[462] my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows
[137] suitable for this work.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A, Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C, Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

854 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, con-
285 sists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the
283 backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper
[314] bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood.
[237] A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-
[177] crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand
854 smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both
854 of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

291 ship period.
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[114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[285] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

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Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putesoy, Lina Iditicava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back, Spier (1928, 127) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs. 285 531

Spier (1928, 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai." [171]

Spier (1928, 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here. [114]

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her. 285

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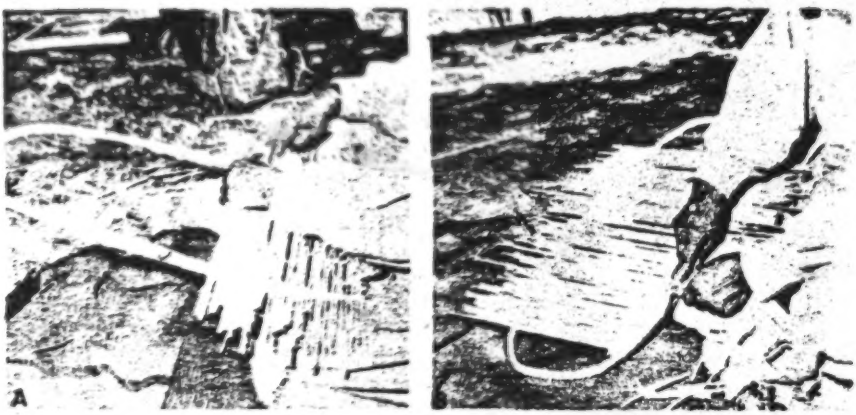

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Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lina Iditicawe displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 64) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[132] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[352] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[285] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano)* held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 242 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

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415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
531 then with piñon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[207] The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carrying straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

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Though many Havasupai women use modern metal corn grinders, some still prefer the metate and mano.

Lina Iditicava is one of the oldest as well as one of the best Havasupai basket-makers.

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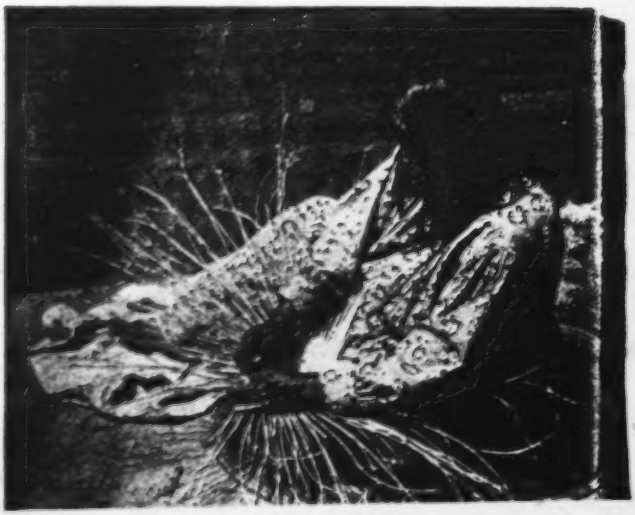

such items as Lucky Strikes, Carnation Milk and Tide washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati. 177 443 655

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year. 177 485 655

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings. 177 648

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy. 443 177 [285]

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not. 177 648

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 175 114

Capt. John G. Bourke, in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [342]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [33] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poskai Anki'a*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 993

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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AN HAVESU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hua-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556 B]

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

● 285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*makŭápéva*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*dgdl mŭkŭl*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven.
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 187]

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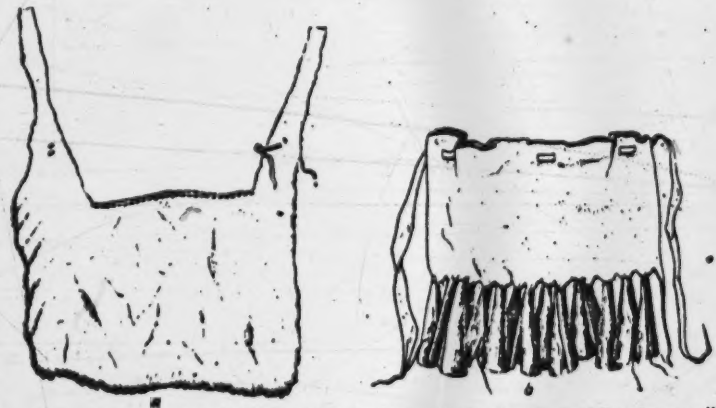
291 (almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

291 237 301 Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

291 The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes



[237] [301]

Fig. 40 a (50.2-1562), b (50.2-1563). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

[294] through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).

281 286 [291] Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*dgúld*) and cotton-tail (*hdld'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together [283] on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[1] Clothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins

[Text continues on p. 181]

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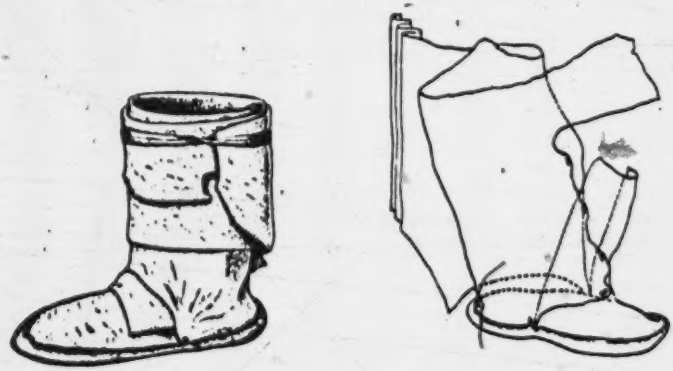
this warp at intervals of 5 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; specimens measuring 75 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls, at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women, with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin



a b

Fig. 43 *a* (50.2-1276*a*), *b* (50.2-1277*a*). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*mahănyó°*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of four bandannas sewed together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An underskirt is universally worn.

[2] Neither one-piece moccasins, sandals, nor basketry shoes are made.

[3] This is the type shown by Wissler, (a), Fig. 97, for the Zuñi.

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171 291 These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently [53] colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south[1] through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[2]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Pecos, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the puttee-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[3]

171 281 286 291 Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus, and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[4]

[1] E. g., Huichol (Lumholtz, (a), Pt. I, II.)
Spier, (e), 344 f; Kroeber, (l), 61; Mason, O. T., (g), 362; Trippel, 365; Barrett, (a), 235; Chittenden, 204.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 47, 308; Stephen, (a); 133; Mason, O. T., (g), 408.

[3] The weaving of a rabbitskin blanket is illustrated by James, (d), Fig. 3, but according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Paiute and Walapai, (k), 377.

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 370; Hough, (d), 262; Franciscan Fathers, 141; Curtis, II, 93; Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (e), 346; Sparkman, 230; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127; Powers, 308, 351; Faye, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (i), 106, 210, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 336; Lowie, (a), 178.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art, or with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai [462]

[3] Stephen, 355; Franciscan Fathers, 404; Hough, (e), 245; Gushing, (c), 2nd ed., 8.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 279); Bourke, (d), 114

[5] Gathered "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 33).

[6] Spier, (e), 340.

[7] Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 505; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Bandelier, (a), 253. Bartlett, I, 483, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 33. The Quarrar, a tribe found in Chiate at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Bandelier, (a), 111). Mollen, 227, see also Lumholtz, (a), 6; Curtis, II, 93.

[8] Smart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 480.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

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281 The hide is hung over a smooth pole, 5 cm. diameter, which rests slanting against a tree. The hide is caught between pole and tree. The hair and pigmented layer are removed with the beaming tool grasped in both hands and drawn down the pole toward the body. The hair is frequently left on the legs, though it is just as convenient to dehair them or cut them off at once. Loose tissue is also removed from the flesh side. The [412] beaming tool is a deer cannon-bone or hip-bone broken lengthwise and sharpened. Now a horse rib, naturally sharp on its concave edge, is

[417] [291]

Fig. 17. Wringing a Deer Hide.

substituted. Dehairing takes about two hours. The hide is hung on a pole to dry in the sun for a day or so.

When ready for tanning, the stiff skin is soaked in the creek over night, but no longer. It is then rubbed thoroughly pliable in the hands, wetting it with warm water. Folded lengthwise flesh side out, the neck is looped about a post, the legs around a stick, and both are folded back inside the skin. Twisting the stick wrings the skin dry. (Fig. 17.) It is now stretched by pulling at the edges and rubbing it together everywhere [412] until entirely freed of wrinkles. A skewer threaded in little slits which

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343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[343] [291]

Fig. 36. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointesa[u], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 30). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as breastworks by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives. 291

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the hands of the men. 294 281 462

The man's shirt (*nĭgwaid*) seems to have been based on the poncho type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was 291 294 [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1]Coues, 435.
[2]Compare the Western Apache (Bourke, (d), 132).
[3]Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 185]

291
177

Fig. 87 (50.2-1267). A European Variation of the Plains Type of Man's Shirt. (The neck flap is lifted to show its decoration).

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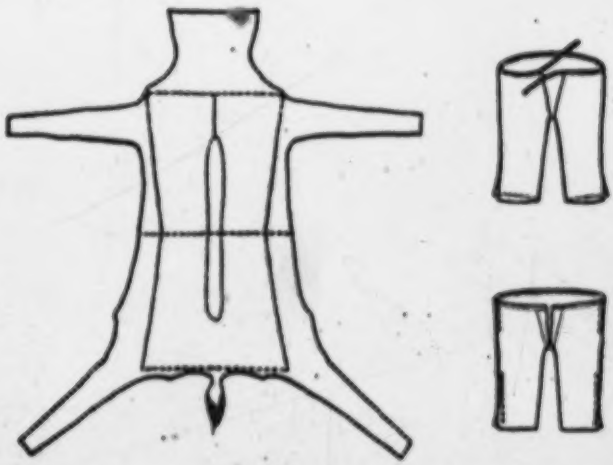

Fig. 88. Diagram illustrating the Cutting and Construction of a Man's Trousers.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*makhápéu*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*dgdl mkíál*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven.
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 187]

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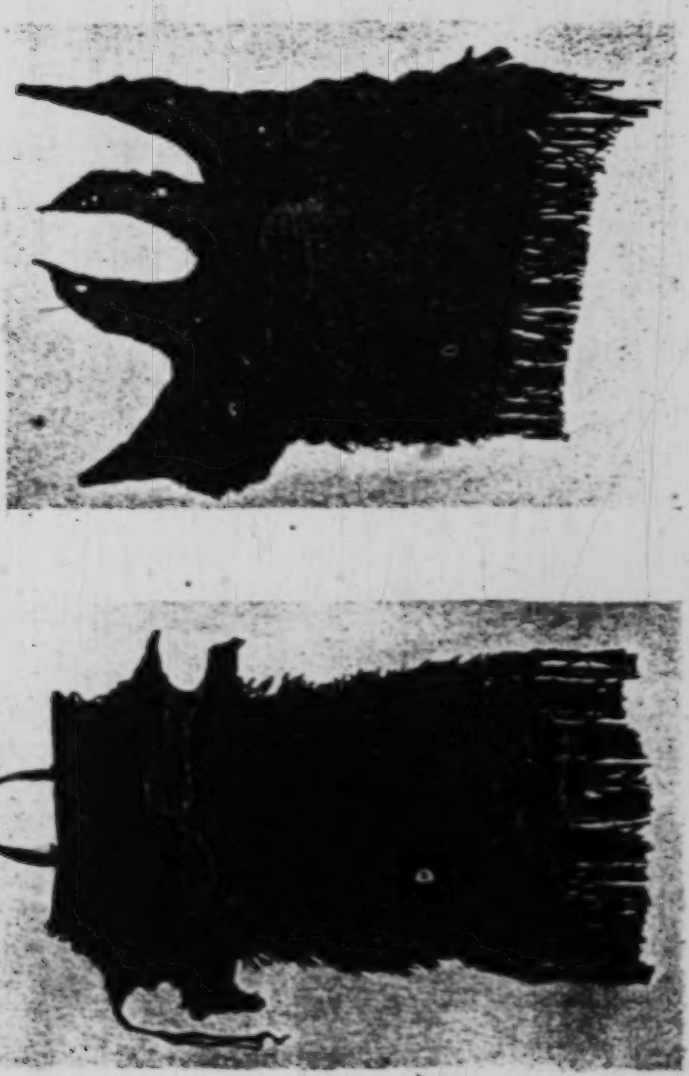

Fig. 39 (80.2-1200ab). A Woman's Dress of Buckskin. a, The front apron; b, The back apron.

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing those for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or dewclaws are hung as rattles (*sdwół*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The scored line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the forelegs of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 531 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A buckskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294 291

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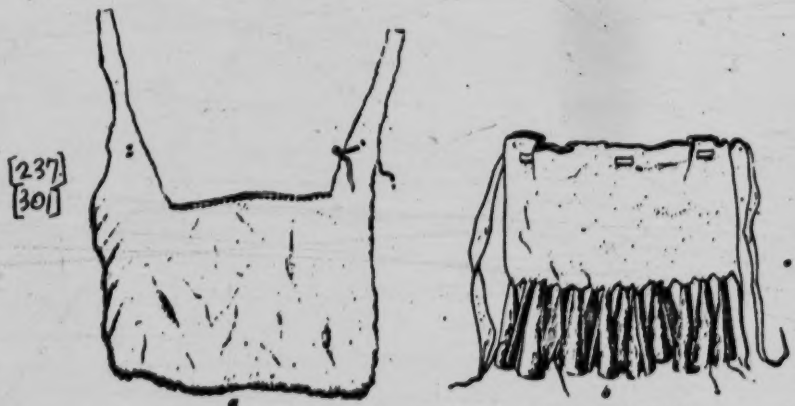
291 (almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

291 237 301 Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

291 The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes



[237] [301]

Fig. 40 *a* (50.2-1563), *b* (50.2-1563). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

[294] through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).

281 286 [291] Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*dgûld*) and cotton-tail (*hâlô'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together [283] on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[1] Clothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins

[Text continues on p. 181]

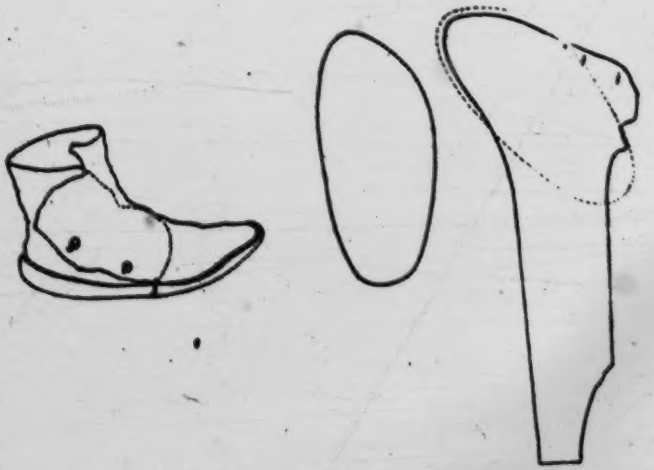


Fig. 41 (50.2-1565a). A Man's Hard-Soled Moccasin with Upper and a Diagram showing the Method of Construction.

Fig. 42 (50.2-1276). A Man's Moccasin with Single Piece Upper cut to Form a Short Tongue.

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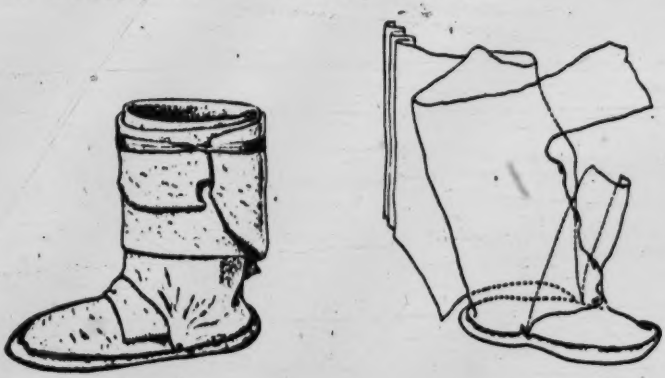
281 this warp at intervals of 5 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; speci-
286 mens measuring 75 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls, [291] at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as [171] at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes
291 wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women,
294 with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin



a b

Fig. 43 *a* (50.2-1276*a*), *b* (50.2-1277*a*). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*mahányó°*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho [439] silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of four handannas sewed together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An underskirt is universally worn.

[2] Neither one-piece moccasins, sandals, nor basketry shoes are made.

[3] This is the type shown by Wissler, (a), Fig. 97, for the Zuñi.

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woman's moccasin. This differs from the woman's type only in that the ankle piece is short. Two sets of tie strings are furnished in the older style of fastening as shown in Fig. 42; a short thong ties into a corresponding hole, a long thong is wrapped several times around the ankle before tying. The tops of moccasins were sometimes turned down inside to present a finished edge. Porcupine quill decoration (*gwawa tapĕ'*) was then added in a band encircling the top about 1 cm. from the edge. The band was 1 to 2 cms. wide, the quills standing vertical, black, red, and green alternating. The quill (*gatŏlĕnyamĭd: gatŏta*, porcupine) was

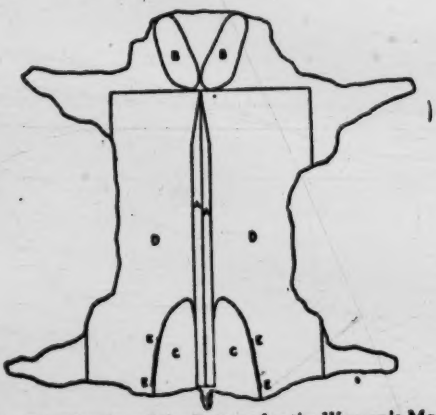

Fig. 44. Distribution of the Pattern for the Woman's Moccasin.

flattened before it was applied.[1] Men's moccasins were usually painted red, but there was no other decoration, appendages, etc.

The woman's moccasin (*pak'emahănyŏ'*) has a two piece upper, a toe piece and tongue in one, and a long ankle flap.[2] This flap is worn wound around the ankle, not the calf as Pueblo women wear it. The single tie-string is wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. The pattern is distributed as shown in Fig. 44. The deer hide is folded lengthwise and split from tail to neck. Tie-strings (A), 2 to 3 cm. wide, are cut. The contour of the sole (B) is marked on the folded, thick neck skin but each sole is cut out separately. The toe and tongue piece (C) are marked on the next thickest part of the skin, the withers, using an old upper as a pattern. A leaf of narrow-leaf yucca is chewed into the edge of the sole,

[1] The method of coloring them is forgotten.
[2] This is in general the Hopi pattern described by Wissler, (a), 146.

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so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reënforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

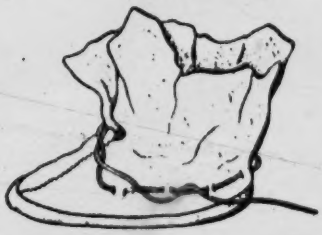

Fig. 45 (50.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*mahanyákwáva*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 45) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which stand about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gŭdakóva*) is bound around with a fiber,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Netted snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 848.

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialidólivd*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dĕnyúdlgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

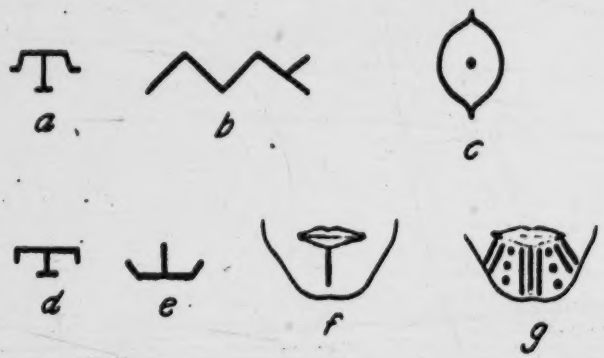

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-c*, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'nyildi* means both photograph and camera (*apá*, man).

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by the Pueblo and Navaho, suggest a fascinating problem which ought to be open to analysis, but will not be attempted here.

We are dealing here with an area in which two styles of clothing prevail. For men, these are either sandals, kilt or apron, and cloth poncho, or else moccasins, leggings, breechclout, and the Plains shirt, which is essentially a skin poncho. For women, the types that correspond are sandals with either aprons or the dress of the Pueblo women, an uncut square of cloth, or again moccasins and the Plains woman's dress.

The characteristic Californian man's garment is the apron of fiber or skin. For example, on the borders of our area the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño men wear a single apron in front and never affect the breechcloth. The Mohave use either breechclout or apron. The apron is presumably related to the traditional garment of the Pueblo, a woven kilt, persisting today only in ceremonial dress. The Navaho make use of a broad fringed belt which to the Franciscan Fathers suggests a kilt.[1]

All the other Southwestern tribes and their neighbors wear breechclouts. This is recorded for the Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Pima, Navaho, and the Pueblos of Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. It is implied in the Plains dress of the Northern Shoshoni and Jicarilla, and undoubtedly was used by Mescalero and Western Apache and by the Paiute.[2] Even where trousers of Spanish or later patterns have displaced the Pueblo kilt, the breechclout is worn, as at Zuñi, beneath the trousers.

The breechclout is then characteristic of the whole area westward to the Californian border, excepting only the Pueblo of the prehistoric period. There is some variation even in this simple garment. The typical Plains form having long flaps pendent front and back is that of the northern Pueblos, Taos, Picuris, and Pecos. Other Pueblos and the Havasupai, Maricopa, and Cocopa wear it with short flaps. On the other hand that of the Mohave is long again, while that of the adjacent Yavapai has a long flap in the rear.

The Pueblo trousers are ultimately derived from Spanish sources; short-waisted, knee length, and open at the knee. The Havasupai form with the outer seams open at intervals is identical with the Navaho, from which it is probably derived. Kaibab Paiute are also shown in one

[1] Dixon, (c), 209–210; Spier, (c), 340; Whipple, 114; Franciscan Fathers, 450.

[2] Lowie, (i), 210f; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 53; Corbusier, 281–282; Smart, 419; Trippel, 365; Heintzelman, 48; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 319–320; Bartlett, II, 180, 229; Russell, (d), 157; Letherman, 280; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 82, 161; Lowie, (a), 180–181.

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of Powell's illustrations wearing trousers, or perhaps only long fringed leggings. One curious feature about the Havasupai and Zuñi garments is that they are made from two straight pieces which fail to meet at the belt in front, leaving a space to be covered by the breechclout. This suggests an origin of the pattern in two long leggings attached to the belt, but the case is inconclusive.[1]

The Plains man's shirt is found throughout this area, though it is probably not so commonly worn as on the Plains. It is essentially a poncho of skin, as Wissler has demonstrated, yet always with a well-defined pattern. It is precisely the Plains form which we encounter everywhere. It is recorded for the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Western Apache, Taos, Picuris, Pecos, other Rio Grande Pueblos, Zuñi, Hopi,[2] Pima, Mohave,[3] Yavapai,[4] Havasupai, Paiute,[5] Uintah Ute, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Klamath.

Wissler has made a case for the origin of the Plains shirt pattern in the cloth poncho.[6] The older Havasupai type and that of the Yavapai lend corroboration; both are folded skins slit to pass over the head. The woven poncho is at least characteristic of the Pueblos in our area, as well as in use throughout Mexico and the cordilleran region to the south. The Navaho also have the typical form; a blanket so woven that a slit remains in the fabric. The Southern Diegueño prepare a rabbitskin blanket similarly. Yet, both the Hopi and Navaho[7] make a cloth poncho which, by the addition of short lengths of cloth to cover the arms, approximates the Plains type of shirt. It is more likely that this is in imitation of the Plains garment, which was patterned on the original simple cloth poncho, than the reverse.

The triangular flaps attached front and back to the Plains shirt at the neck hole have been tentatively explained by Wissler as possibly originating in a knife sheath hung in front of the throat.[8] It is difficult to account for two appendages in this manner. I think rather we have here confirmation of his general theory, for the Mexican ponchos in the collection of the American Museum are decorated with large lozenges woven at their centers, so arranged that when the cloth is folded, a triangular area extends downward from the neck hole in front and in back.

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 430; Powell, Fig. 45; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 369.
[2] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 31; Hough, (e), 242–245.
[3] "A kind of tunic made of a buckskin fringe hanging over the shoulders" (Whipple, 114).
[4] A deerskin folded crosswise, slit for the head, and tied at the sides (Corbusier, 282).
[5] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 180, ill.
[6] Wissler, (d).
[7] James, (d), Fig. 140; Franciscan Fathers, 247, 457, 458.
[8] Wissler, (a), 103.

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Women's dresses present an even more interesting case of merging of patterns. East of our area the Plains women's dress is a long garment reaching to the shins, comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulders and with the upper part turned down to form decorative flaps over the chest and shoulder blades. To the west women wear a short apron or skirt of cords, etc., pendent from the belt or made of skins. Among the Havasupai, Yavapai, Navaho, and possibly the Kaibab, these patterns coalesce but in different ways.

The Plains dress is used within this area by the Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Paviotso, Jicarilla[1] and probably Mimbreños[2] Apache, Navaho at times, Kaibab Paiute and possibly others near them, although Paiute women had scanty attire as a rule.[3]

On the other hand the Achomawi and Atsugewi, like typical Californians, wear a fringe or apron of deerskin or a deerskin skirt, the Southern Diegueño two aprons of pendent twigs, the Pericues a skirt or long girdle of fiber or deerskins, and other Lower Californians two aprons, usually of reeds strung together,[4] the Chemehuevi a bark petticoat, the Cocopa an apron of cords, the Yuma two aprons of willow (that in front reaching to the knee and the other made like a bustle and extending to the bottom of the calf), the Mohave a fore skirt of cords and a back skirt of strips of the inner bark of the cottonwood, the Apache-Yuma sometimes a kilt of strips of bark hung over the belt,[5] the Maricopa and Pima skirts of cotton cloth, buckskin, or willow bark.[6] The Mescalero and Western Apache garment, a skirt from waist to knees and "generously provided with fringes of buckskin," is presumably the same as these.[7]

The Havasupai woman's dress is clearly a modification of the two-apron type in the direction of the Plains dress. The front apron has been lengthened to hang from breast to shins and the upper part turned back to form a flap in the manner of the Plains yoke. There is a distinction however in that the neck part of the skin is at the top, not at the bottom as in the Plains dress. That it is hung by a band around the neck is unessential, for unless there is a corresponding back part to which it might be sewed it must be hung in some such fashion. No such change has occurred in the back apron; I do not fathom the reason for the horn-shaped additions. One curious feature is that an abbreviated

[1] Lowie, (i), 217; (a), 180f; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 151.
[2] Jackets or tunics of deerskin (Bartlett, II, 229).
[3] Pattie, 166; Powell, 115, Fig. 44; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 187, ill.
[4] North, 238; Bancroft, 301.
[5] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33, 51; Corbusier, 282.
[6] Hamilelier, (a), 113.
[7] Goddard, (c).

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apron is always worn under the long garment. It seems probable that this is the original form of front apron perpetuated by the strong force of habit after the longer form was evolved. And it may be that the long garment was only infrequently worn, perhaps only in cold weather. An ornamental fringe worn in front as a belt looks like a further repetition of the apron idea.

Yavapai dress is identical. Two aprons are worn; a buckskin hung in front of the belt and another behind, and in winter

> a third one suspended from the neck by strings, and bound at the waist by a belt to protect the chest.

Even the decorations are alike; in both jinglers are put on the fringes, including bone tubes on the tabs of the neck straps.[1]

Powell illustrates a Kaibab woman's dress which is of the Plains variety, a long skin affair with a fringed yoke. Yet there appears to be a short fringed apron over this.[2]

The older Navaho dress is a more direct imitation of Plains costume in cloth. Two blankets, which hang well below the knees, are sewed together over the shoulders, sewn from the bottom to the waist, and belted with a woven girdle.[3] This may be taken to be an adaptation of the Pueblo woman's cloth dress to the Plains pattern.

The Mescalero and Western Apache women are credited with an upper garment which may be an approximation to the Plains dress or perhaps to the man's shirt. It "had an opening for the head and two large square portions which fell in front and behind to the hips." This may also be true of the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño, who wear a poncho garment like that of the men; the first two a skin slit for the head and sewn under the arms, the last a rabbitskin blanket.[4] The Klamath have both the long dress and the skirt of bark strings.

In addition to these two general types, there is the dress of the Pueblo women. This is a garment formed of a square of cloth folded lengthwise and sewed into a tube. This hangs under the left arm with two corners fastened over the right shoulder.[5]

A woven belt similar to that worn by Pueblo women is used by the Havasupai (who derive them from the Hopi) and by the Navaho, Pima, and Mohave.

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[1] Corbusier, 282.
[2] Powell, Fig. 44.
[3] Stephen, (b), 355f; Letherman, 209; illustrated by Matthews, (a), Pl 34 and 36; Lippe, facing p. 45; James, (d), Fig. 130.
[4] Goddard, (e), 2nd ed., 181; Dixon, (e), 209-210; Spier, (e), 340.
[5] Hough, (e), 247.

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Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apache and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

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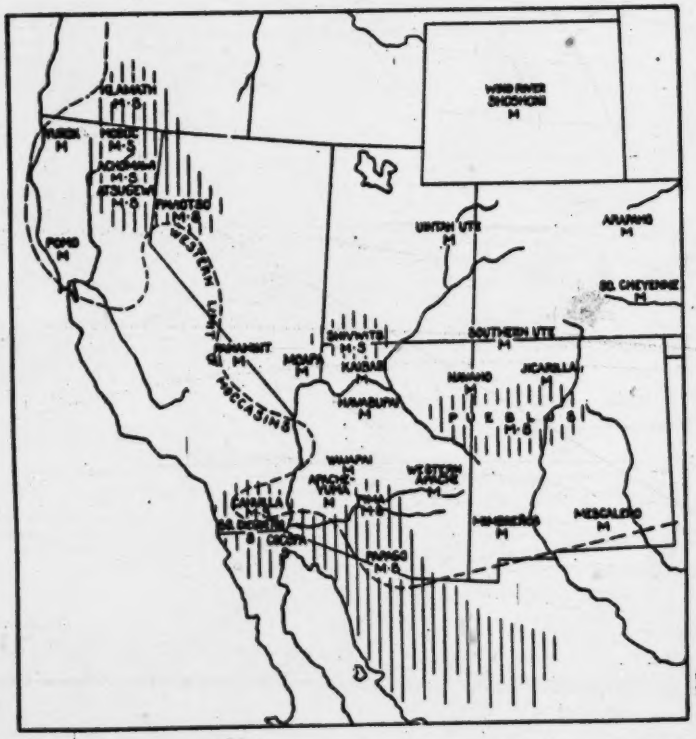

Fig. 49. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and Californian Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

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[175]

The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, (b), 140; St. Clair and Lowie, 279.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

(said to have formerly had the one-piece type, the hard-soled affair being introduced from the Arapaho), Uintah and Southern Ute, the Jicarilla (by implication), Mescalero, Mimbreños, the Pueblos, Navaho, Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai, Apache-Yuma, Pima, Papago, Cahuilla, Kaibab, Shivwits, and Moapa Paiute (used by the rich among the last), Panamint, Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi,[1] Yurok, and Modoc. Yurok, Klamath, and Pomo have a one-piece moccasin, with a seam up the toe, which has a considerable distribution in California. It is not clear that moccasins are usually men's footgear alone. On the contrary, the implication is frequently that they were used by both sexes. But there is usually some difference in pattern. Pueblo women customarily go barefoot, in which the Havasupai women resemble them. Moccasins are for them articles of gala dress or for journeys.[2] This is also true of the usual Papago and Pima usage, and indeed may be general in the Basin.

It is difficult to make comparisons with neither specimens nor specific descriptions at hand. Yet there seem to be two prevailing general types; low moccasins covering the ankles and high forms in which the upper is wrapped around the calf. The latter is generally confined to women. The low types are used by Havasupai, Zuñi, Hopi, Cochiti, Navaho, Apache-Yuma, and Cahuilla, and usually by men. Boot-like affairs are also ascribed to the Tonto (men), Mimbreños (men), and Pueblos. The wrapped-around type is used by Yavapai of both sexes and by women among Havasupai, Navaho, and the Pueblos.

Wissler's pattern Number[3]	*Havasupai*	*Navaho*	*Hopi*	*Zuñi*	*Cochiti*
17—First Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women		?	×	
——Second Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women				
14—(but with short upper)	Men	Men	×		×
14—Third Havasupai type	Women	Women			
15			×		
18			×		

[1] Lowie, (i), 218; Pattie, 164; Bartlett, I, 327-329; Hough, (e), 251; Dumarest, 146; Smart, 419; Corbusier, 282; Whipple, 98; Goddard, (e), 2nd ed., 127; Krueber, (z), 61; Dutcher 378; Barrett, (a), 255.

[2] Hopi women wear the wrapped moccasin only at marriage ceremonies (Hough, (d) 72).

[3] Wissler, (a), 146-151. See also especially Stephen, (a), 131, 133; Mason, (J. T., (g), 303; Dumarest, Fig. 19.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have
291 one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently
[53] colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south[1] through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[2]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Pecos, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the puttee-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[3]

171 Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus,
281 and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the
286 continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the
291 distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[4]

[1] E. g., Huichol (Lumholtz, (a), Pl. I, II.)
Spier, (c), 344 f; Kroeber, (l), 61; Mason, O. T., (g), 302; Trippel, 365; Barrett, (a), 255; Chittenden, 204.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 47, 388; Stephen, (a); 133; Mason, O. T., (g), 408.
[3] The weaving of a rabbitskin blanket is illustrated by James, (d), Fig. 3, but according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Paiute and Walapai, (k), 277.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1]Stevenson, M. C., (b), 370; Hough, (d), 262; Franciscan Fathers, 141. Curtis, II, 93. Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (e), 340; Sparkman, 200; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127. Powers, 338, 351. Faye, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (i), 106, 216, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 330. Lowie, (a), 178.

[2]Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art as with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai. [462]

[3]Stephen, 355; Franciscan Fathers, 404; Hough, (e), 245; Goddard, 2nd ed., 85.

[4]"Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 270); Bourke, (d), 114.

[5]Gathered "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33).

[6]Spier, (e), 340.

[7]Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 505; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Bandelier, (a), 253. Bartlett, I, 432, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33. The Quarrar, a tribe found on Ojuate at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Bandelier, (a), 111). Mohave, 227, see also Lambolta, (a), 6; Curtis, II, 93.

[8]Smart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 480.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed 251
them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served [252]
as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw 887
a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave 291
me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the 576
rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat 522
bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so 114
focused my camera. The women threw their *sutams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Manakadja, late chief of the Havasupai, father of the present chief

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

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Old Ute, a Havasupai, blind in one eye, guided us over trailless country to the junction of the Havasu and Colorado Rivers

[p. 116E]

2-Iliff T-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumacu NT14
Havasupai

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Winter scene showing our stone cottage, later washed away in a flood. To the far right is the outdoor toilet. From the high wall on the right came the boulders and trees that crashed down on us during an earlier flood

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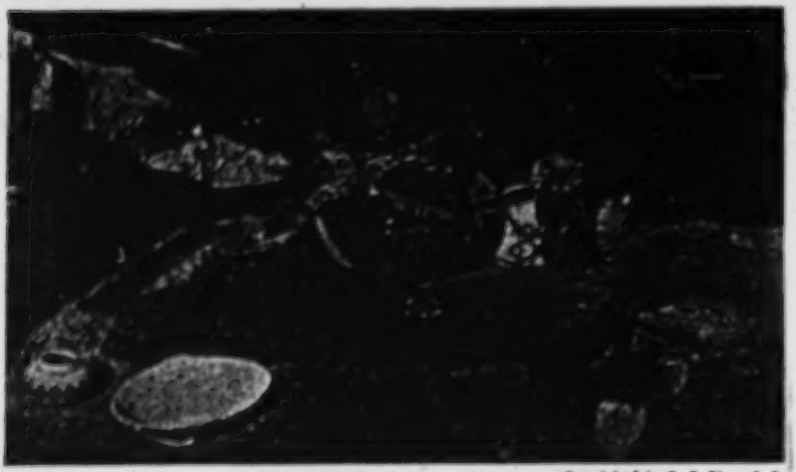

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Havasupai woman, wearing *sataw* about her shoulders, preparing to bake thin, crisp sheets of bread on her baking stone

[p.116F]

2-Cliff 7-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

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Policeman Vesnor, whose somber eyes reflect the iron will and fearlessness of primitive tribal life, had been healed by the Great Healer. Later, when a very old man, he was converted to the Christian religion.

[p. 116J]

Griffiss T-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumucumaque NT14
Hixkaryana

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Some Hixkaryana children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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The old basket weaver's home, built of poles, bark, brush and discarded clothing

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Mother carrying her baby in a burden basket. Her home is typical of the Havasupai house of a generation ago

[p. 116 N]

2:Cliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Pick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

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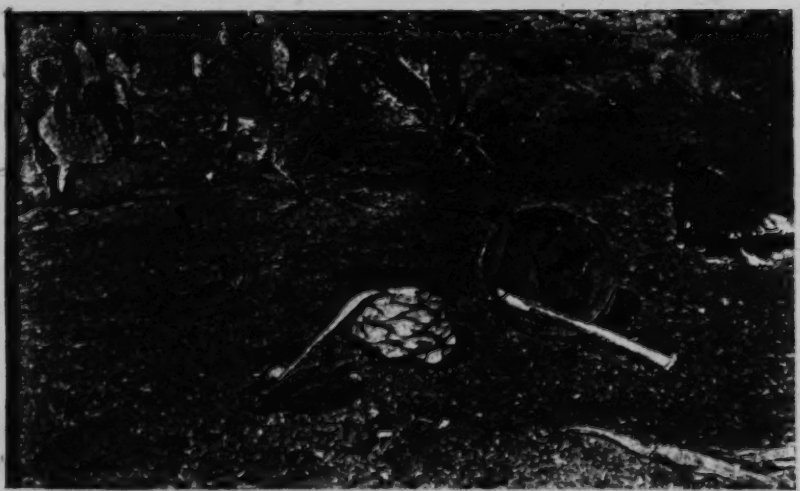

American Museum of Natural History

[p.1160]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

133 241 311 [487] [312]

342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again [291]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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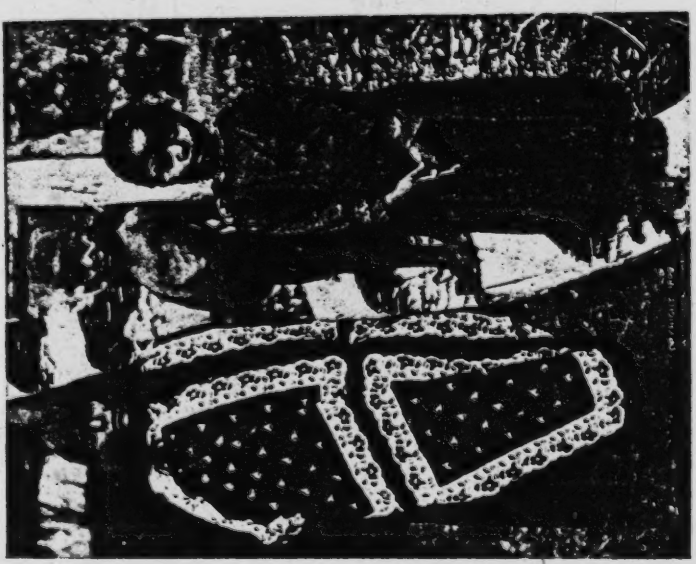

A Family Group of Havasupais.

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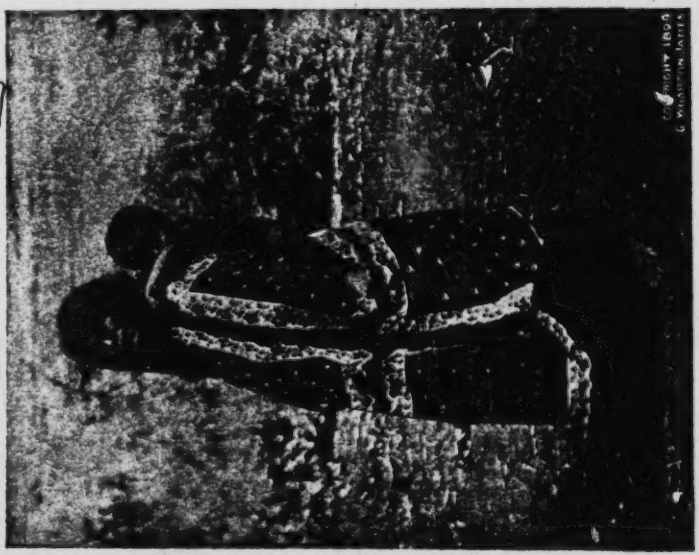

Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

541 525 is not so much difference after all in human nature, when one penetrates below the surface. The reserved Englishman, the excitable Italian, the vivacious Frenchman, and the so-called stupid and stolid native aboriginal American exhibit exactly the same traits of character under the excitement of a horserace. But in Havasu Canyon the conditions are quite different from Ascot, Doncaster, or Newmarket. Here are bucks dressed in the breech-clout and excitement, and women [291] gesticulating and waving their si-dram'-as (our large flaming red or other "loud" colored bandannas, fastened over the shoulders and across the breast). [152] Some suppress their excitement, others jabber like monkeys, and as the horses come to the starting-point there is just as much talking and din as after the start is made. One distinct feature is that many horses are raced without riders. They seem to understand, and when the signal to "let go" is given they dart off at full speed, just as if riders were on their backs urging them forward. Compared with our finely bred, beautifully chiselled horses, such as one sees, or used to see, in Lucky Baldwin's or the late Senator Stanford's stables, what ragged, scrawny, wretched creatures these are; and yet when they run how they surprise you, how those ugly limbs seem to limber up, and those sleepy eyes gain fire!

Gambling at these races is carried to an extraordinary extent. Men, women, and children alike gamble all they possess, or even hope to possess. This gambling spirit has grown wonderfully in the past few years, for, during the Kohot Navaho's lifetime he constantly used his powerful influence to discourage it.

Gambling, unfortunately, is not confined merely to

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

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LANOMAN'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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[Facing p. 230]

WALUTHANCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH ESUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

English of a number of words, and all during the day I heard him repeating them over to himself, and seldom would he need correction. 192 153

The dress commonly worn by the women consists of a short skirt and waist, made of colored calico, and a *si-dram'-a*, which may be described as a rude shawl, two corners of which are tied obliquely across the chest. When at work this is often slung over one side of the body so that one arm is free. Among the Havasupais the si-dram-a that is most desired and sought after is one made of four large bandana handkerchiefs, with red as the choice of colors. 241

The men, when I first visited them, seldom wore anything more than the breech-clout except in cold weather, but as school influences began to permeate the village, blue overalls and the cast-off trousers and other clothing of the white man were donned, until now it is a rare sight to see a man clothed in any other than the ordinary fashion, though the influence of the outside Indians is seen in the Spanish "cut" of all home-made garments. Moccasins are the common foot-gear, though occasionally a man or woman may be found wearing "civilized" shoes. [177] [197]

Fish, pork, chicken, all kinds of birds and eggs, are tabooed as food by the Havasupais, but they eat rats, deer, antelope, rabbit, prairie dog, and mountain sheep. They are especially fond of beef, and horse and mule meat, no matter how the animals come to their death, are esteemed luxuries. They will even eat lizards and lice. 262

The prickly pear and the fruit of the amole, or hoshkon, are much favored when ripe. The latter is roasted in the coals until the outside is completely blackened. [252]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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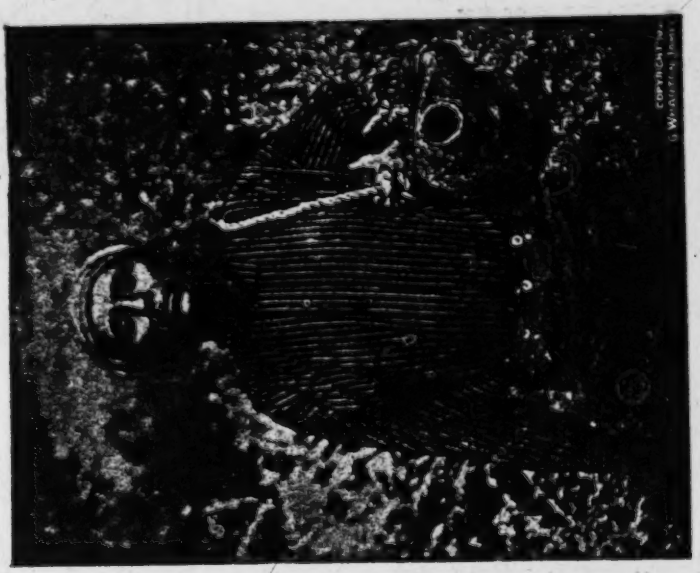

SINYELA, WITH EHUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

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ROCK JONES, LEADING MEDICINE MAN OF HAVASUPAIS.

[FACING p. 256]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Canyon to A, Topocoba Hilltop, where B, it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C, the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A, Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C, Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "He walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up [illegible] 652 146 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 163 514 [516]

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [897]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The [848] bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

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Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

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In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

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Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

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Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

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Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

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Fig. 18. Old age. A, Supai Shorty Montoya, about 74. B, Allen Akaba, about 74. C, Spoonhead, age 86. D, Supai Mary Wescogame, age 88. Both Spoonhead and Supai Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official adviser to the youthful head chief.

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Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putesoy, Lina Iditicava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

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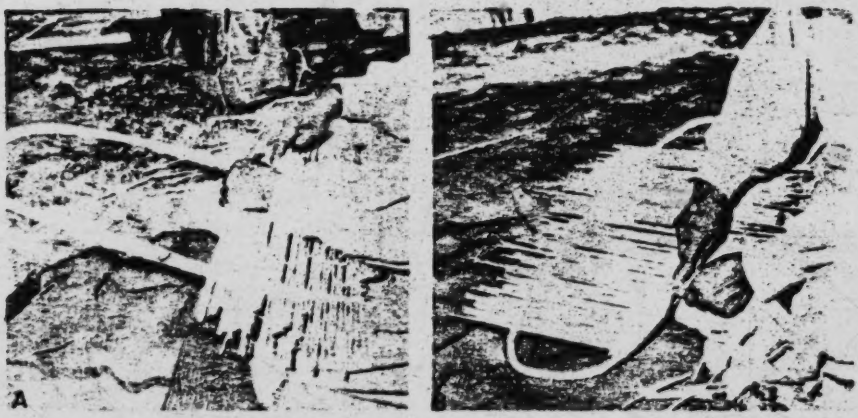

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Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lisa Iditicava displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[132] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[347] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[285] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano)* held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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The published account of Havasupai ethnography contains a large number of distribution studies covering as many items as comparative material made possible. These distributions spread in all directions from our center. The significance of this is contained in our often repeated assertion that a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture. In the case of the Havasupai we may go so far as to deny them any originality, for there is perhaps not a single trait for which analogues may not be found somewhere in the vicinity. Yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits.

A specific example of this is to be found in women's dress. This is comprised of two aprons; the one in front long, from breast to ankles, and hung about the neck like a butcher's apron, that behind hanging from waist to ankles. The front apron is a deer hide retaining its natural contours, with the neck skin turned down in front to form a yoke. With these a brief apron is worn under the long front piece. The peculiar form of this front apron becomes intelligible only when we consider the distribution of other types of garments in adjoining areas. To the east we have, apart from Pueblo women's dress, the long dress of the Plains tribes comprised of two skins forming a straight line at the shoulder and with the upper part (here the tail skin) turned down to form decorative flaps or yokes front and back. This dress in orthodox form is distributed as far west as Navaho, Jicarilla, Mimbreños Apache, and Kaibab Paiute. To the west and north women wear a short apron or two of skin or cords pendent from the belt. This fashion prevails as far east as Apache-Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and possibly the Western Apache and Mescalero. It appears to me that the ancient western style known to Havasupai, two short aprons, has been influenced by the Plains form. The front apron has in effect been lengthened and the upper part turned down to form a decorative yoke. It is immaterial that this is hung by a band around the neck, for unless the back apron had been similarly lengthened some such device was necessary. This,

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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Mamie Chickapaniga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the lush reward for much tender care.

133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of three magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

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Read Watahomigie was once the only Indian postmaster in the United States. His gentle smile is typical of most of the Havasupai.

[P 41 B]

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

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Havasupai ('blue or green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in n.

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302]

HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 82, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Coeninos" roamed from the

[P. 537 B]
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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close [291] head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a [133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses, [241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed [312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed [342] in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows [361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party." 114 175

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that [756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a [515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great [231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, [64] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

An Montezuma Castle in Southern Arizona.

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The Nation of the Willows.
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24 we rode along the river trail. These
311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
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123 When we again caught sight of our
601 Kohol, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[P.394A]
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343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[329] the Ha-va-su-pai build far and wide, dur-
[321] ing their wintry hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
pai have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
241 which is worn to a considerable extent
by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-pai man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned together
behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around
[P 548A]

291 the neck — to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows, — which, even when natural, are not pronounced, — and almost always

[P 548 B]

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

● 241 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

If one violated this prescription
343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure.
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, [334]
the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the
same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 137° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mütebíiyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

765 Around 5:00 o'clock when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 535 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The 765 152 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

965 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

● [291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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(said to have formerly had the one-piece type, the hard-soled affair being introduced from the Arapaho), Uintah and Southern Ute, the Jicarilla (by implication), Mescalero, Mimbreños, the Pueblos, Navaho, Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai, Apache-Yuma, Pima, Papago, Cahuilla, Kaibab, Shivwits, and Moapa Paiute (used by the rich among the last), Panamint, Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi,[1] Yurok, and Modoc. Yurok, Klamath, and Pomo have a one-piece moccasin, with a seam up the toe, which has a considerable distribution in California. It is not clear that moccasins are usually men's footgear alone. On the contrary, the implication is frequently that they were used by both sexes. But there is usually some difference in pattern. Pueblo women customarily go barefoot, in which the Havasupai women resemble them. Moccasins are for them articles of gala dress or for journeys.[2] This is also true of the usual Papago and Pima usage, and indeed may be general in the Basin.

It is difficult to make comparisons with neither specimens nor specific descriptions at hand. Yet there seem to be two prevailing general types; low moccasins covering the ankles and high forms in which the upper is wrapped around the calf. The latter is generally confined to women. The low types are used by Havasupai, Zuñi, Hopi, Cochiti, Navaho, Apache-Yuma, and Cahuilla, and usually by men. Boot-like affairs are also ascribed to the Tonto (men), Mimbreños (men), and Pueblos. The wrapped-around type is used by Yavapai of both sexes and by women among Havasupai, Navaho, and the Pueblos.

Winter's pattern Number	*Havasupai*	*Navaho*	*Hopi*	*Zuñi*	*Cochiti*
17—First Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women		?	×	
——Second Havasupai type	Men; sometimes women				
16—(but with short upper)	Men	Men	×		×
16—Third Havasupai type	Women	Women			
18			×		
18			×		

[1] Curtis, II, 218; Pettis, 194; Bartlett, I, 317–320; Hough, (cf. 231); Dunmore, 140; Russell, 419; Cushman, 332; Whipple, 99; Goddard, (cf. 2nd ed., 127); Kroeber, (cf. 61; Dorsey, 479; Barrett, (cf. 233).

[2] Only women wear the wrapped moccasin—only at marriage ceremonies (Hough, cf. 73).

[3] Under (cf. 146–151). See also especially Hopkins, (cf. 135, 139); Mason, (cf. T., 9, 362; Dunmore, Fig. 38.

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔáhu ʔ tíga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔáhuʔt' and red as ʔahuʔ'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
362 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1953, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
● 292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while ordinary men had no such role.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [514] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 556 [177] In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

532
535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[302]

[292]

535
796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields), but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

[44]

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539] Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name) he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wîa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171] [1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 806).

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MEASUREMENTS, TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND COLORS

A number of measurements are in use. These have no names. The finger span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, and the hand length, from the tip of the middle finger along the palm to the wrist, are used in measuring arrow foreshafts, for example. Finger width, that is of the first two fingers, gives the width of a bow. The arm length, from the tip of the middle finger along the inside of the arm to the shoulder joint, gives that of the arrowshaft. The span of the arms, i.e., between the outstretched hands, is used to measure bark-skins, the curves being measured in finger spans. The half arm span, from the sternum to the finger tips, is half the length of a bow. Steps are used in measuring houses, etc. Formerly the foot length was not in use. The Hopi use [171] the forearm to measure the length of ears of corn when trading, but the Havasupai make no use of this measurement. 804

By way of a device for laying out lines, for example, in making a woman's dress, the bow is used: the bark furnishes curved lines, the string straight ones. [294]

I have not observed that the fingers or other objects are used in counting. Of course counters are used in certain games, but not because they cannot reckon without them. Beside the numerals given below,[1] fractions (at least a half) are named. 802

1 hl'tá
2 xuwígà
3 hũmógà
4 hop'á
5 ßtt'ãpà
6 tacpê'
7 xuwagacpê'k
8 humugºepê'k
9 halßßdia
10 viwa"avà
20 wavàhuágà or xuágivuwígà

[1] See also Harrington, (a), 894.

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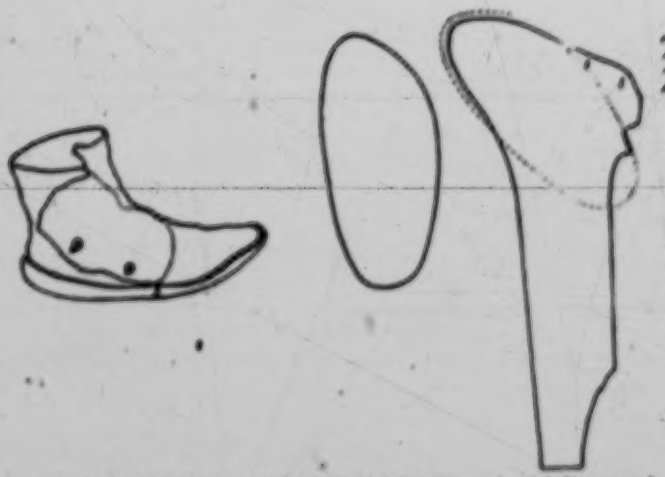

Fig. 41 (80.9-1866a). A Man's Hard-Soled Moccasin with Upper and a Diagram showing the Method of Construction.

Fig. 42 (80.9-1776). A Man's Moccasin with Single Piece Upper cut to Form a Short Tongue.

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck 291
in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives.

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from 294
flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the 281
hands of the men. 462

The man's shirt (*sîguatá*) seems to have been based on the poncho 291
type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are 294
now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1] Coues, 435.
[2] Compare the Western Apache (Basehart, 48, 122). [Text continues on p. 185]
[3] Cushing, 341, 344.

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291
177

Fig. 87 (80.3-1267). A European Variation of the Plains Type of Man's Shirt. (The neck flap is lifted to show its decoration).

294

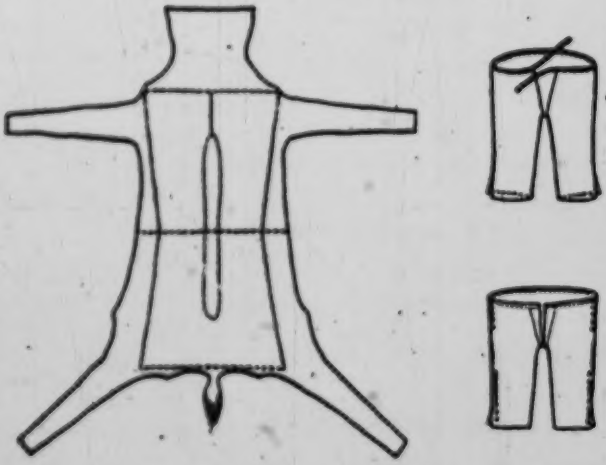

Fig. 88. Diagram illustrating the Cutting and Construction of a Man's Trousers.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All 291
seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent 294
parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces
to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve.
The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*mukhiipʌva*, collar
tail). Some of these are beaded (*supoóla*, beads), the design having no [531]
significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted
around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even
more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the
head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and
worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from
the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the [439]
belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts
are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*hpil mikiól*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately [177]
on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the
knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the
duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The
seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered
somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment
hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short
distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet
at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A
second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then
split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and
silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with 177
woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded 291
wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and 301
Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching 291
from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are 294
belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's [439]
apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong
holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[1]Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven. [286]
[2]The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3]Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 187]

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing these for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or dewclaws are hung as rattles (*atsuk*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The scored line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the borders of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 531 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A buckskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294

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(almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes

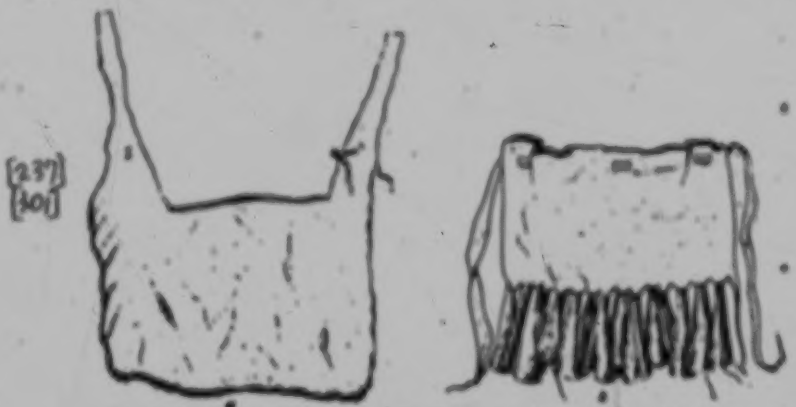

Fig. 40 a (30.2-1862), b (30.2-1862). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).[a]

Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*dpâld*) and cotton-tail (*Adlô'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together on the thigh into a cord. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[a] Nothing is never fashioned of rabbitskins

[Text continues on p. 181]

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this warp at intervals of 5 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; specimens measuring 78 by 125 cm.; 128 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls, at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women, with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin

a b

Fig. 42 a (30.2-1276a), b (30.2-1277a). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*mahdupd'*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of four handkerchiefs sewed together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An undershirt is universally worn.

[2] Neither sandals nor moccasins, nor basketry shoes are made.

[3] This is the type shown by Winslow, (a), Fig. 97, for the Zuñi.

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woman's moccasin. This differs from the woman's type only in that the ankle piece is short. Two sets of tie strings are furnished in the older style of fastening as shown in Fig. 42; a short thong ties into a corresponding hole, a long thong is wrapped several times around the ankle before tying. The tops of moccasins were sometimes turned down inside to prevent a finished edge. Porcupine quill decoration (*gawan tep*[1]) was then added in a band encircling the top about 1 cm. from the edge. The band was 1 to 2 cms. wide, the quills standing vertical, black, red, and green alternating. The quill (*gitthtgatsit gitthe*, porcupine) was

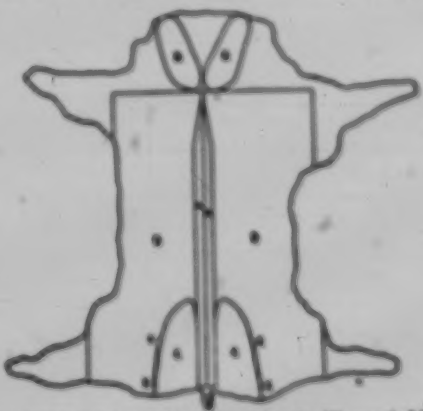

Fig. 44. Distribution of the Pattern for the Woman's Moccasin.

flattened before it was applied.[2] Men's moccasins were usually painted red, but there was no other decoration, appendages, etc.

The woman's moccasin (*gat'cimkhagd'*) has a two piece upper, a toe piece and tongue in one, and a long ankle flap.[3] This flap is worn wound around the ankle, not the calf as Pueblo women wear it. The single tie-string is wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. The pattern is distributed as shown in Fig. 44. The deer hide is folded lengthwise and split from tail to neck. Tie-strings (A), 2 to 3 cm. wide, are cut. The contour of the sole (B) is marked on the folded, thick neck skin but each sole is cut out separately. The toe and tongue piece (C) are marked on the next thickest part of the skin, the withers, using an old upper as a pattern. A leaf of narrow-leaf yucca is chewed into the edge of the sole.

[1] The method of coloring these is forgotten.
[2] This is in general the Hopi pattern described by Winslow, (a), 100.

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291 294 so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the level between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reinforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated; this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

Fig. 43 (30.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*nakaspákudeé*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 43) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which fold about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

302 Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gúdakdeé*) is bound around with [439] a fillet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of [301] buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Netted snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[478] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men
as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to
make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[821] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai
obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types
and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me
not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it
might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was
made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However,
an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a
couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women
braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand
in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow
match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light.
Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced
these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every
baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman
may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sonyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweathouse, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736] [603]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [971]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweathouse and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on ability, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burns, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy [redacted] the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard.

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133

Fig. 19. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All 291
seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent 294
parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces
to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve.
The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*mukhipéva*, collar-
tail). Some of these are beaded (*aqoóla*, beads), the design having no [531]
significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted
around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even
more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the
head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit shows the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and
worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from [439]
the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the
belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts
are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang *inside*.

Trousers (*ágdil mkádi*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately [177]
on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the
knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the
duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The
seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered
somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment
hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short
distance along the leg.[3] The trousers are open in front, failing to meet
at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A
second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then
split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and
silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with 177
woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded 291
wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and 301
Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching 291
from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are 294
belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's [439]
apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong
holding it about the waist[4] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[286]

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are [illegible]
[2] The Havasupai state that the Hualapai use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 868.

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing these for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or dewclaws are hung as rattles (*sisuk*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The scored line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the forelegs of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 331 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A buckskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294

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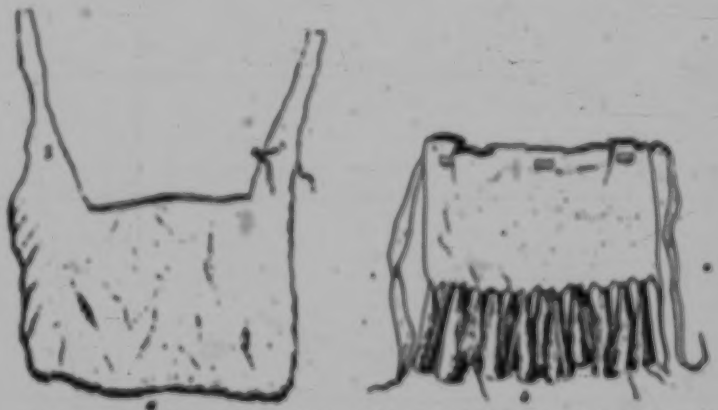
291 (almost an additional apron), is arranged to hang in front. A Hopi woven belt is then added as a girdle.

291 237 301 Strings of rattles are tied at various points along the woman's belt. These are small deer or mountain sheep hoofs, or sometimes tubes cut from the leg bones of jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, and wildcats, and in recent times metal jinglers. They are strung on the fringes of a doubled length of skin (Fig. 40b).

291 The underskirt is a short, somewhat crescentic apron which hangs in front to just above the knees. Like the back apron, it has two extensions for tie-strings. The actual tie is made with a thong which passes



[237] [301]

Fig. 40 a (30.2-1862), b (30.2-1863). A Woman's Underskirt and Rattles usually tied to a Woman's Belt.

[294] through both strings. The waist line is hemmed (sewed with a narrow thong in a running stitch), the sides and bottom fringed, and the tie-strings serrated (Fig. 40a).

281 281a [291] Small blankets woven of rabbitskins are worn as robes by the women. On occasion a man would wrap a blanket about his body, passing it over the right shoulder and under the left arm.[1] These also furnish bedding. Jack-rabbit (*dgâld*) and cotton-tail (*kdld'o*) skins are cut round and round into long strips. Two of these are rolled together

[283] on the thigh into a rope. This is wound to and fro between two parallel rows of pegs, and strings, obtained from the Hopi, are twined through

[1] Nothing is ever fashioned of rabbitskins. [Text continues on p. 181]

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291 294 so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reinforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

Fig. 43 (30.2-1290a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (mahengaiwaka) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 45) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which fold about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

302 Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (gûdakded) is bound around with [439] a fillet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of [301] buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Varied snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 502.

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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2-126) is made of a strip of deer hide-skin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2-1028) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2-1041). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (ñt' 't, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is renewed by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache. Cushing, loc. cit.

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302 [515] rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

[825] According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

301 [439] [751] [171] [439] Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2-1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

304 [751] When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants

301 [439] are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

[304] Huge earrings of silver or braided cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

301 306 Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sălĭtĕrĭtăkŏ*; *săl*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

302 While face painting (*djĭdĭvĭgă*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 288).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

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apron is always worn under the long garment. It seems probable that this is the original form of front apron perpetuated by the strong force of habit after the longer form was evolved. And it may be that the long garment was only infrequently worn, perhaps only in cold weather. An ornamental fringe worn in front as a belt looks like a further repetition of the apron idea. [71] [291]

Yavapai dress is identical. Two aprons are worn; a buckskin hung in front of the belt and another behind, and in winter

> a third one suspended from the neck by strings, and bound at the waist by a belt to protect the chest.

Even the decorations are alike; in both jinglers are put on the fringes, including bone tubes on the tabs of the neck straps.[1] [301] [591]

Powell illustrates a Kaibab woman's dress which is of the Plains variety, a long skin affair with a fringed yoke. Yet there appears to be a short fringed apron over this.[2]

The older Navaho dress is a more direct imitation of Plains costume in cloth. Two blankets, which hang well below the knees, are sewed together over the shoulders, sewn from the bottom to the waist, and belted with a woven girdle.[3] This may be taken to be an adaptation of the Pueblo woman's cloth dress to the Plains pattern.

The Mescalero and Western Apache women are credited with an upper garment which may be an approximation to the Plains dress or perhaps to the man's shirt. It "had an opening for the head and two large square portions which fell in front and behind to the hips." This may also be true of the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño, who wear a poncho garment like that of the men; the first two a skin slit for the head and sewn under the arms, the last a rabbitskin blanket.[4] The Klamath have both the long dress and the skirt of bark strings.

In addition to these two general types, there is the dress of the Pueblo women. This is a garment formed of a square of cloth folded lengthwise and sewed into a tube. This hangs under the left arm with two corners fastened over the right shoulder.[5]

A woven belt similar to that worn by Pueblo women is used by the Havasupai (who derive them from the Hopi) and by the Navaho, Pima, and Mohave.

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[1] Curtis, [illegible].
[2] Powell, Fig. 44.
[3] Stephen, (b), 244; Letherman, 209; illustrated by Matthews, (a), Pl 34 and 36; Lippe, facing p. 48; James, (d), Fig. 139.
[4] Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 181; Dixon, (c), 209-210; Spier, (c), 340.
[5] Hough, (c), 247.

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171 291 301 Strings of jinglers or rattlers are hung from the belts of White Mountain Apache and Havasupai women. They are also referred to in myths of the Shivwits Paiute, Wind River Shoshoni, and Comanche.[1]

102 171 291

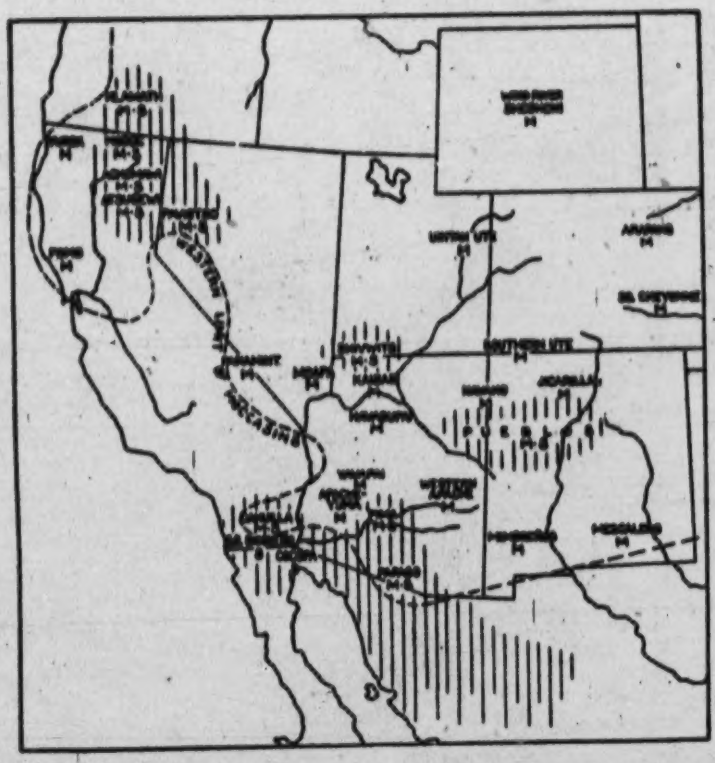

Fig. 49. The Distribution of Moccasins and Sandals in the Southwest, Basin, and Californian Areas. Shaded areas denote sandals.

171 291 D75 The moccasin is widely used in the Southwest but there is reason to believe that, like the Plains shirt and woman's dress, it is of recent introduction. At least the Pueblos, like the Pima and Papago, used sandals at the Spanish advent.

Moccasins are everywhere of the hard sole, two-piece variety. In the area at large they have been noted for the Wind River Shoshoni

[1] Lowie, (h), 140; St. Clair and Lowie, 279.

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171 302 Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in these pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Achomawi and Atsugewi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

171 [301] A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

[412] A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

[301] Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Fattie, 164; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 94; Lowie, (i), 216, 217; (n), 122; Franciscan Fathers, 89. For a western group see Dixon, (c), 240.
[2] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 809; Bartlett, II, 228.
[3] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 229, 930; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371.
[4] Corbusier, 360.
[5] Russell, (d), 116; Kissell, 145; Lumholtz, (c), II, 288.
[6] Corbusier, 360, 368.

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Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*djĭkădjĭ'kĭpĕ*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdjĭ'nă*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1918, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "Adaly" ("good") after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [527] [535] [533] [548] [537] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 207). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panámánta (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

A performance of masked dancers (*gidjí'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 991.
[2] *Ibid*, 811, 813.
[3] James, (b), 238.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 535 Uintah Ute, to the Wind River,[1] Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni,[2] Crow,[3] and probably the Yakima, but not the Wishram. The Crow Owl dance differs in that the performers have their arms about each others' waists; the Uintah Squaw dance in that men and women are not interspersed and the step is different. The Pima also have a dance which may be related.[4] In this the dancers stand in a circle with arms across their neighbors' shoulders, stamping their feet and bending their bodies.

Several of the details have parallels among other tribes. The central pole is recorded from the Kaibab, in the Wind River *Naroya* dance, and in the Ghost dances[5] among the Karok, Klamath, and the Plains tribes. Its use in the Ghost dance when men climbed to the feathers tied at the top suggests the *Notish* mourning ceremony of the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, where rivalry is shown in climbing a painted pole to which crow feathers and baskets are attached.[6] But there is a more suggestive relation in the tale of the Gabrielino which describes a visit to the land of the dead by a man who in a test is made to climb a tall pole to bring down a feather tied to the top.[7] At Taos clowns climb a pole for food, but I do not know that there is here any association with the dead.[8] The very characteristic way in which the dancers stand singing softly, then circle about to stand again, between songs, has been noted for the Gosiute by Reagan, the Kaibab, the Walapai, and in the Ghost dance by Mooney.[9] Lowie has also observed the curious reluctance of the Lemhi dancers to begin, and the whipping of Crow Owl dancers and those of the Moapa and Southern Ute who are slow to join the Bear dance.[10] The dropping out of women partners from the circle between dances is the custom in the Lemhi *Nuakin* and the Gosiute round dance. They are paid by the men and sometimes reciprocate in the Cree dance of the Lemhi and presumably the Fort Hall Shoshoni, in the Wind River Women's dance,[11] and in the Navaho war dance.[12] The foxskin worn [301] pendent from the back of the shaman's belt in the 1918 dance has its analog in the costume of the masked dancers among the Pueblos, as at Zuñi, and among the Navaho.[13] It is not clear how frequently other

[1] Lowie, (f), 822, 817, 820.
[2] Lowie, (a), 217–232.
[3] Lowie, (d), 309.
[4] Russell, (d), 170, 220.
[5] Mooney, (b), 909, 921; Powers, 42
[6] De Baie, (c), 103, 148.
[7] Reid, 24. (Reid's account, published in 1852, is earlier than the period at which the ghost dance reached the Havasupai).
[8] Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 103.
[9] Mooney, (b), 920; Dellenbaugh, 179; Ghost Dance in Arizona, 98.
[10] Lowie, (i), 301; (f), 828.
[11] Lowie, (f), 822.
[12] Parsons, (b), 467; Franciscan Fathers, 270.
[13] Tozzer, (a), 150; Franciscan Fathers, 277.

[Text continues on p. 272]

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of the chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301] [304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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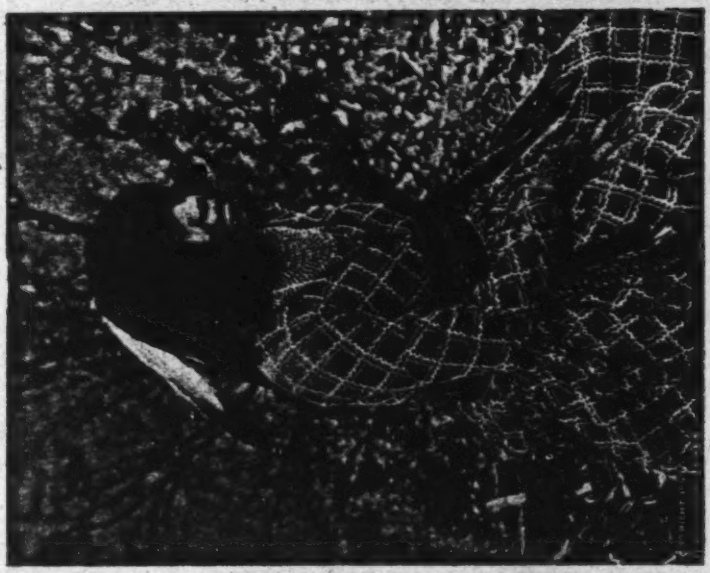

LAHOMAN'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHANCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EBUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later [386] period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual [301] matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

291 ship period.

302 832 [114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 [301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237] [285] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another [415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins [177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, [301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their [302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and [768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding [177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [324]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

291 the neck — to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va- ● 301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of [304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell [556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows, — which, even when natural, are not pronounced, — and almost always

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurtenances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only during the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was considered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans, including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and, according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician. Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. However, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, however. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911, 265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily traveled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

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so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reënforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

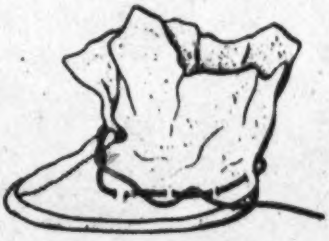

Fig. 45 (50.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*mahanyákwóva*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 45) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which stand about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gúdakóva*) is bound around with a fibet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Netted snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall.[2] Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1328) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[3]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1894). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcī''ī*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with pinon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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302 [515] rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

[825] According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

301 [439] Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the [751] neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in [171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such [439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

304 When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and with- [751] out esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants 301 are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads [439] hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

[304] Huge earrings of silver or braided cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

301 306 Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and fore- finger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sĕlĕrĭlŭkŏ*; *sĕl*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

302 While face painting (*djidlelgd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] Not not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 268).
[2] Cushing, (a), 644.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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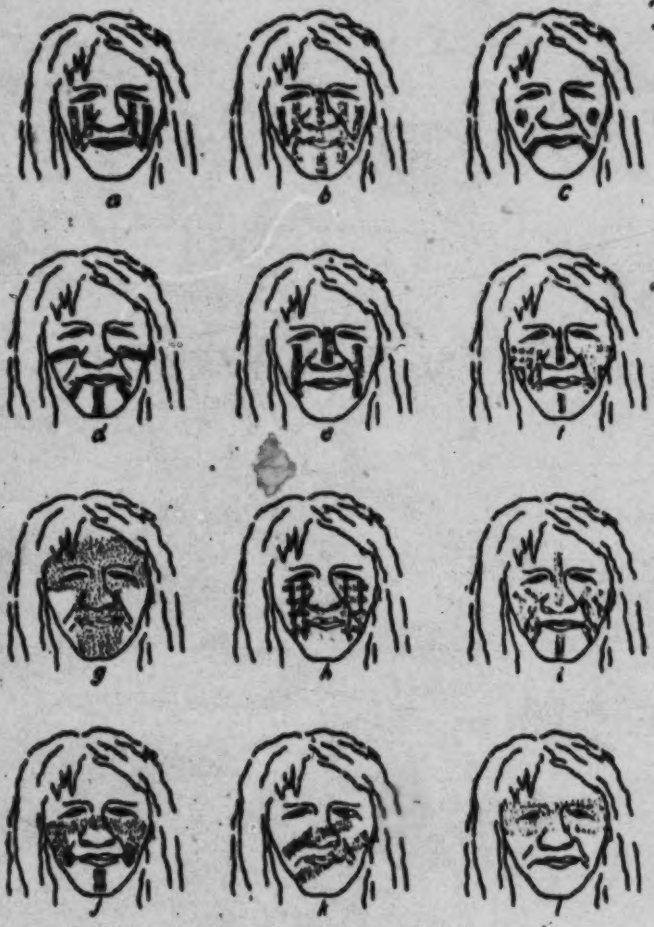

Fig. 47. Styles of Facial Painting.

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302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *k*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

386 317 Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*matknyddjĕ*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 386 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the [302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matkhé'e*

[171] [1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their faces black in this manner instead of red.

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtdélled*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 108). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dĭnyădĭgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

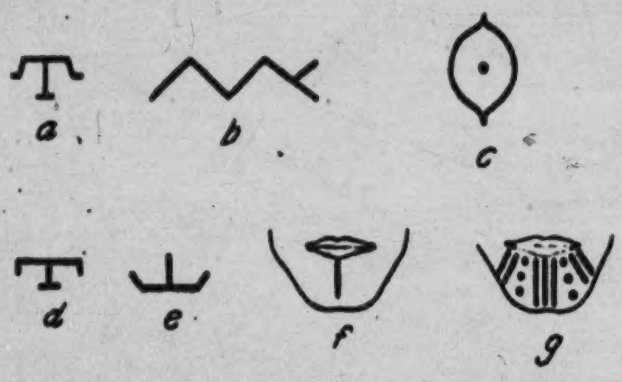

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-c*, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'ăgădĭ* means both photograph and camera (*apá*, mine).

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 370; Hough, (d), 262; Franciscan Fathers, 141; Curtis, II, 93; Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (e), 346; Sparkman, 260; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127; Powers, 338, 351; Faye, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (j), 196, 216, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 330; Lowie, (a), 178.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art as with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai. [462]

[3] Stephen, 355; Franciscan Fathers, 404; Hough, (e), 245; Gabbard, (c), Zuñi, 80.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 279); Bourke, (d), 444.

[5] Clathored "by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33).

[6] Spier, (e), 346.

[7] Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 505; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Bandelier, (a), 253. Bartlett, I, 432, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33. The Quarrar, a tribe found by Oñate at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Bandelier, (a), 111). Mota, 227, see also Lumholtz, (a), 6; Curtis, II, 93.

[8] Smart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 480.

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171 302 Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in those pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Achomawi and Atsugewi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

171 [301] A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

[412] A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

[301] Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Pattie, 164; Goddard, (r), 2nd ed., 84; Lowie, (i), 216, 217; (a), 182; Franciscan Fathers, 80. For a western group see Dixon, (e), 210.
[2] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 806; Bartlett, II, 223.
[3] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 220, 930; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371.
[4] Corbusier, 380.
[5] Russell, (d), 116; Kissell, 145; Lumholtz, (e), II, 223.
[6] Corbusier, 380, 382.

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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1] 171 302

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 361) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1860 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Moapa state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Similarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7] 171 304

[1] Corbusier, 281.
[2] Lowie, (i), 297. But all the Maricopa painted red in token of amity, according to Patte (132).
[3] Powers, 42, 381, 397. Powers assumes a war-like implication for red paint, but Miss Gayton tells me that this was an error of the local whites, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (i), 311; Kroeber, (g), 63; Russell, (d), 101; Spier, (e), 341; Mason, J. A., (a), 129.
[4] Kroeber, (a), 284; Whipple, 114; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Stratton, 74; Trappel, 565 f; Heintzelman, 48; Spier, (e), 342; Bartlett, II, 228; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Russell, (d), 102; Corbusier, 280 f.
[5] Dorsey, G. A., (b), 185.
[6] Lowie, (a), 182. For Zuñi see Sinclair, 280; Franciscan Fathers, 74, 806.
[7] According to Hrdlička (d), 490 the older San Carlos are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. [527] [535] Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his eyes. [301] [302] Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*djĭkddjĭ'kĭgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

[533] [533]

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdjĭ'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

[302]

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1918, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "Ahaʼle", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamita, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaiya, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief ashlewood the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

> As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Hckdyágdllga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*Ti'igdgwaáwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígdlyúg sadá'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montandon for an account of these.

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MALES (Continued)

551 | *Approximate Age* | *Name* | *Explanation* | *Derivation*

44	nádá hualkámpú'dá, wooden legs.	Used crutches when he broke his leg a few years ago.	hual, pine tree; mábada legs.
	pan,ágwaiá. shabby man. n,maigámánya, soft breasts.	Usual name; always wears old clothes. Before his first marriage he felt the girl's breasts and told some other boy they were soft.	ápa, man; nigwaiá, shabby. n,ámaiá, breasts; mánya, soft.
	pagátaiá, old man. djinyáhó, head hanger.	Usual name. When he was a small boy, he went about with hanging head.	djinyahágá, to hang one's head; hu", head.
	mátdyá		ámát, dirt; tdyá, nothing.
44	suwí'mim	Boyhood name; perhaps given by a foreign Indian.	
	smadigádá'toá, deaf.	Usual name; he is hard of hearing.	smádigá, ears; dátoá, not to hear well.
45	wavaskwimá, house-standing.		háwa, house; skwimá, (a living thing) standing up.
47	payá, man's mouth.		ápa, man; ya, mouth.
48	pasmádigá, man's ears. támóevá, to slide over the edge of a bank.	Usual name.	ápa, man; smádigá, ears.
49	pagatáe, short man. tiláwiná, knob on the end of a stick.		tegtiluidigá, knob on end of a stick.
	wódo wákágámá, creaking house.		háwa, house; kágamá, creaking noise.
84 [302]	gúdékóvá, knot of back hair.	He was the only man to retain this when the agent induced them to cut their hair short.	káváwa, hair.
	apdyukáinya, blind man. wasko'goma	Usual name; went blind recently.	ápá, man; yu, eyes; inyág, black. háwá, house; skág, to force the beans out of green pods.

2:1iff T-S (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tassum NT14
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Policeman Vesnor, whose somber eyes reflect the iron will and fearlessness of primitive tribal life, had been healed by the Great Healer. Later, when a very old man, he was converted to the Christian religion

[p. 116J]

2-Iliff T-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

3:James T-5 (ca.1908) 1903

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3-James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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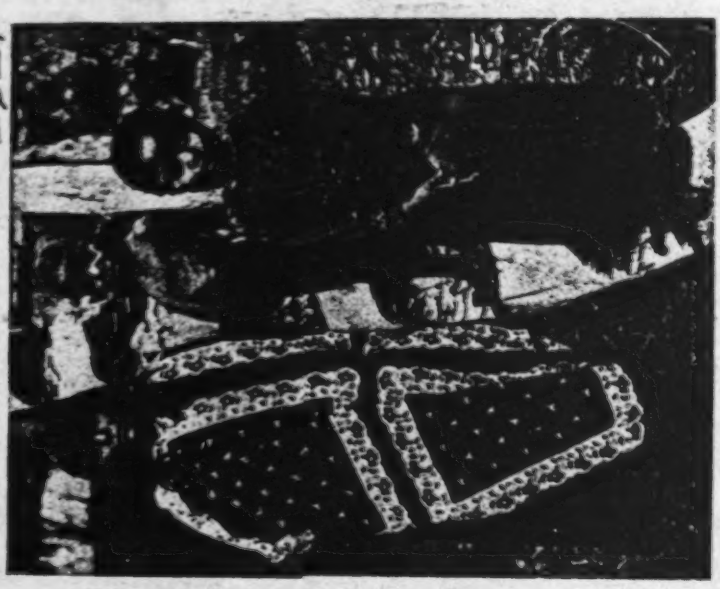

A Family Group of Havasupais.

[482
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Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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LAHOMAH'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHANGA'S DAUGHTER, WITH ESUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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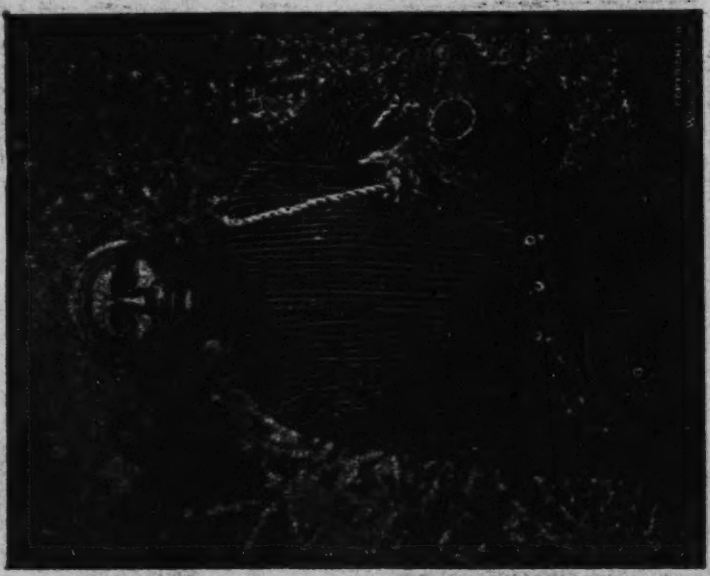

Bintela, with Ezuwa, going for Water.

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Rock John, Leading Medicine Man of Havasupais.

[Facing p. 256]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

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Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
[834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained,
[177] an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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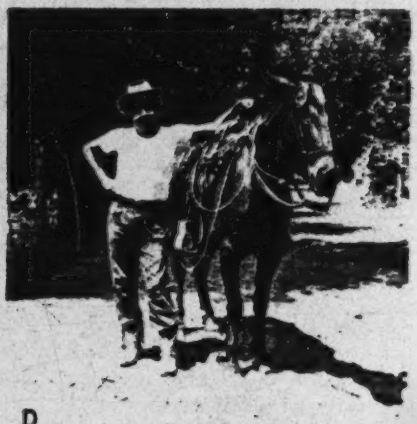

D

Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
415 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[114] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained
[822] from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

291 ship period.

302 832 [114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 [301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[237] [285] [415] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

[177] [301] [302] Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

[768] [177] Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302● 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
● [302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumuna NT14
Ikwerogwai

Fig. 18. Old age. A, Sapsi Shorty Mentoya, about 74. B, Allen Akuku, about 74. C, Spoonhead, age 86. D, Sapsi Mary Wesonguma, age 86. Both Spoonhead and Sapsi Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official advisor to the youthful head chief.

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Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Petaoy, Lina Idlicava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

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Havasupai ('blue or green water people'). A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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HAVASUPAI MAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in x.

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HAVASUPAI WOMAN. (AM. MUS. NAT. HIST.)

w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. 1, 82, 1856) was informed in 1850 that the "Cosnince" roamed from the

[P. 537 B]
[P. 537 A not processed]

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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AN HAVESU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

[p. 390 - B]

142 small, though admirably formed, with noticeably large knee-joints, which, being more developed inside than out, almost touch in walking. The feet are small and well-shaped, but are very large-jointed in the old. Hair is permitted to grow, as with white people, about the chest and armpits, and sometimes a slight mustache is cultivated by the young, while a considerable tendency to beard is frequent with old men. The eyebrows are not marked; but the hair of the head is long, soft, abundant, and a beautiful glossy raven or brown-black. With boys it is kept closely cut, with the exception of a very small tuft at the crown, five to seven inches in length, looking not unlike the plume of the California quail, which I believe it imitates. Their features correspond so nearly to those of the Pueblo Indians, especially the Zuñi, as to make the resemblance in some cases personal, the greatest variety of expression being seen. The heads are short and round, or brachycephalic; foreheads very low and sloping, the supraorbital arch being notably prominent; faces broad at cheek-bones, which, though really quite flat, appear prominent. A rather constant type of face among them is, in common with the Amazonian, decidedly Mongolian. Their noses are straight or slightly aquiline, rather broad, with somewhat heavy nostrils; their eyes small, bright when good, and very prominent in the sockets. They are not, however, generally as good as those of the plains Indians, cases of partial and total blindness being common, due, probably, to the glaring rock-walls and whitish sandy bottom of their cañon. The ears are well shaped and small; the mouths are large, with only moderately thin lips, the upper generally slightly overhanging the lower. The chin recedes slightly, and the face is well marked with deep wrinkles, especially between the eyebrows and around the eyes; deep lines extend from the nostrils to the corners of the

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291 the neck — to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows, — which, even when natural, are not pronounced, — and almost always

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549A]

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

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755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

212 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [171] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[302]

[292]

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai,

[114]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sŏltŏrĭtăkŏ*; *sŏl*, finger, hand; *dădă*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidŭbĭgă*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 238).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (*vialtâ̈lîva*, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva.

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dënyûdîgd*[1]) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other

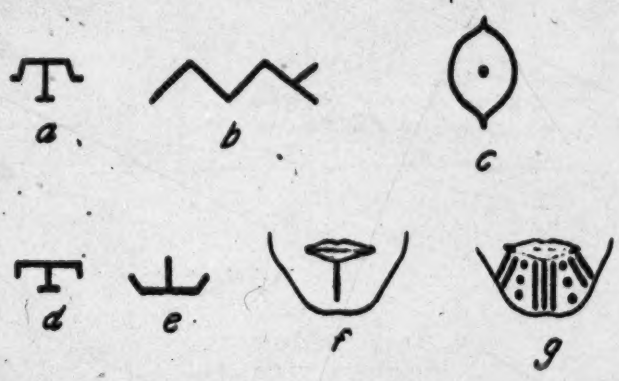

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. *a-e*, Center of man's forehead; *f*, *g*, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally

[1] Also signifying writing: *pad'nyûdî* means both photograph and camera (*apâ*, man).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The Yavapai resemble the Havasupai in their preference for red paint and in their use of the juice of burnt mescal.[1] 171 302

In this connection it is interesting to note that red paint is associated with war by some of these tribes and further that its use may have spread westward in recent times. The Wind River Shoshoni and Klamath use it in war.[2] I have recorded an incident (p. 361) in which a Paiute who has killed a Mormon is painted red. Powers noted that red paint, having a war-like significance, was introduced among the Yokuts from the Mono about 1860 and among the Karok with the Ghost dance of 1870. Miss A. H. Gayton also found that the ghost dance of 1870 brought red and black face paint into more general use among the Foothill Yokuts. At the same time the Moapa state that their red paint is derived from Shivwits territory, the Cahuilla that theirs is from Arizona, and the Mohave derive at least the best of theirs, like the Havasupai, from the Walapai. The Pima formerly obtained the paint from the Mohave, but in recent years from the Yuma. Finally a Southern Diegueño stated that it was brought from the Mohave country about 1875. On the other hand, the Salinan made red pigment of cinnabar, mined in that region.[3]

Tattooing is a practice which in the Southwest is almost entirely confined to the lower Colorado tribes and their neighbors. Mohave, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai women only are usually tattooed; the decoration is restricted to the chin, usually in the form of a few lines drawn downward from the corners of the mouth or under the lower lip.[4] In addition the lower eyelid of Pima men and women is tattooed and men have marks on the temples and forehead. Sirhilarly, both sexes among the Havasupai, Walapai (?), and White Mountain Apache[5] are tattooed, but only in the simplest fashion with small marks. Tattooing sometimes occurs among the Pueblos and the Northern Shoshoni, but it is no more than this. On the other hand, the Navaho do not tattoo,[6] and it may be suspected that this was formerly true of the Pueblos and White Mountain Apache.[7] 171 304

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[1]Corbusier, 281.

[2]Lowie, (i), 207. But all the Maricopa painted red in token of amity, according to Patte (1932).

[3]Powers, 42, 281, 307. Powers assumes a war-like implication for red paint, but Miss Gayton tells me that this was an error of the local whites, while the ghost dance was entirely peaceful in Yokuts thought. Lowie, (i), 211; Kroeber, (g), 62; Russell, (d), 161; Spier, (e), 341; Mason, J. A., (a), 129.

[4]Kroeber, (a), 284; Whipple, 114; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33; Stratton, 74; Treppel, 855 f; Heintzelman, 48; Spier, (e), 342; Bartlett, II, 229; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Russell, (d), 162; Corbusier, 280 f.

[5]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 185.

[6]Lowie, (a), 182. For Zuñi see Hinsley, 388; Franciscan Fathers, 74, 306.

[7]According to Hrdlička [(d), 490] the older Han Carlos are not tattooed, the younger ones having recently learned the custom from the Mohave.

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304

Tattooing also occurs elsewhere in California. I do not know how closely this resembles the style of the lower Colorado tribes. But the Maidu women, who alone as a rule bear the decoration, have three to seven vertical lines on the chin. There are regional differences among these people. Among Achomawi and Atsugewi, who tattoo but little, the women also have three lines on chin or cheek, the men a line of dots on the temple. This is somewhat like the Klamath custom. Yokuts and Costanoan also tattooed.[1]

[1] Dixon, (a), 167; (d), 210; Merriam, J. A., (b), 139.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwdgídjd*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*plk'igídadádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkdl'ó'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:80.1 or 93.1 (Zelany, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (l), 298).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 63 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

578 When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and
857 said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pur-
865 sued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading
[114] this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he
[181] (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then
[304] parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
● [304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[CP:549A]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture

The Havasupai are largely agriculturalists. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields, and comparatively so little attention is given to wild products, that the loss of a crop may mean a famine year. In fact, although the quantity of wild seeds and plants that is gathered is considerable, it is used chiefly during the winter to eke out the field products. The Havasupai are inordinately proud of their abundant harvests and their superiority in this regard to the Walapai, Navaho, and Paiute. Harvest is a time for jollification, when their neighbors come to share their bounty. So great is their interest in their fields that even today, when remunerative employment is to be had on the plateau, so Mr. C. H. Gensler, the former agent, informs me, men will leave their work, with its ready money, to tend their crops. 241

The fields[1] about the village are as extensive as irrigation will permit, so that, depending on the location of the erratic creek, all of the one hundred tillable acres are farmed. A new field is cleared of brush by grubbing and burning it. Trees are felled by burning their bases; the charcoal is not chopped away, nor are trees ever girdled. The fields are fenced. [311]

At present there are two dams supplying water to the irrigating ditches; the first is located well above the village, whence the main ditch follows the east canyon wall as far as Camp 29 (see map, Fig. 50); The second is at the bend below Camp 26 whence its main ditch parallels the creek in the direction of Camp 51. The dam, which extends halfway across the shallow stream is built about a heavy log set well into the bank, where it is held in place by stakes driven on the down-stream side. The bank is roughly faced with stones to prevent the log washing out. A series of poles are driven obliquely along the upstream side, their upper ends resting on the log. Fascines of willows, about 1.5 m. long and containing stones, are laid end to end along the base of this slanting face, with a second set laid in front on the bed of the creek breaking joints with these. A second tier of fascines might be built above these. Willow brush, placed transverse to the stream, is then piled thickly on the face of the dam to the top. The rapidity of the stream is such as to drive considerable water behind this scoop into the main ditch. Changes of water level produced by every little storm necessitate frequent renewals of the dam. Constant attention is also necessary for the irriga- 312

[1] There seems to be no word for cornfield; one speaks of going to his corn, even if the field contains a mixed crop.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

591 583 551

51. Shorty lived with his mother, Ca¡t. Burro's sister, near her brother's house, 63. Teyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house, 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 23. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (29?); she died. Took Mecca from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 57?)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 423

Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated. With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the

311 133 423

chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared

311 423

lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation, when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desiring additional fields.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (b), 152] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 354].

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of 133 241 the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through [487] the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are [312] also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

342 The peaceful *hawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small [291] groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 2. Havasupai fields and orchards in Cataract Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wealeva at left. The summit of the Redwall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as center and right horizon. The Whitewall rises above the Esplanade at left. Caves or rock shelters formerly used by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located at top of steep talus at the base of the Redwall.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below.

133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers.

221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasuapi in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation.

241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usuage among residents of the area.

[103]

[Text continues on page 10]

193 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled
731 melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a
[648] series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually
311 divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft.
731 fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation
648 boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were jointly owned.

311 were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing
[231] frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside
[131] for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls.
[135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure
[657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [637]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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428 than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible 208 that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, 423 intervades itself most closely and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided 311 among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, 423 there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

428 In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, 968 perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai *say* that newlyweds should be given land 423 by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of the Willows.

I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched
133 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as
241 we rode along the river trail. These
● 311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
342, Here and there were little cabins, or
361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our
609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[P. 394 A]

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture

The Havasupai are largely agriculturalists. Their interest centers so 241
firmly in their fields, and comparatively so little attention is given to wild products, that the loss of a crop may mean a famine year. In fact, although the quantity of wild seeds and plants that is gathered is considerable, it is used chiefly during the winter to eke out the field products. The Havasupai are inordinately proud of their abundant harvests and their superiority in this regard to the Walapai, Navaho, and Paiute. Harvest is a time for jollification, when their neighbors come to share their bounty. So great is their interest in their fields that even today, when remunerative employment is to be had on the plateau, so Mr. C. H. Gensler, the former agent, informs me, men will leave their work, with its ready money, to tend their crops.

The fields[1] about the village are as extensive as irrigation will permit, [311]
so that, depending on the location of the erratic creek, all of the one hundred tillable acres are farmed. A new field is cleared of brush by grubbing and burning it. Trees are felled by burning their bases; the charcoal is not chopped away, nor are trees ever girdled. The fields are fenced.

At present there are two dams supplying water to the irrigating 312
ditches; the first is located well above the village, whence the main ditch follows the east canyon wall as far as Camp 29 (see map, Fig. 50); The second is at the bend below Camp 26 whence its main ditch parallels the creek in the direction of Camp 51. The dam, which extends halfway across the shallow stream is built about a heavy log set well into the bank, where it is held in place by stakes driven on the down-stream side. The bank is roughly faced with stones to prevent the log washing out. A series of poles are driven obliquely along the upstream side, their upper ends resting on the log. Fascines of willows, about 1.5 m. long and containing stones, are laid end to end along the base of this slanting face, with a second set laid in front on the bed of the creek breaking joints with these. A second tier of fascines might be built above these. Willow brush, placed transverse to the stream, is then piled thickly on the face of the dam to the top. The rapidity of the stream is such as to drive considerable water behind this scoop into the main ditch. Changes of water level produced by every little storm necessitate frequent renewals of the dam. Constant attention is also necessary for the irriga-

[1] There seems to be no word for cornfield; one speaks of going to his corn, even if the field contains a mixed crop.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241/592 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

> I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlia*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]	mĕdjpăk	teyădjmehăna	owi
	growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows t toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

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[114] [1]Coues, 345. A later statement (435), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.

[2]Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[171] [3]The Zuñi also pray at the first planting [Cushing, (d), 178–179].

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

774 camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

343 Families who owned large plots of ground had several store-
423 houses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had
427 been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

000 It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

241 Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never [312] troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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it useless. The rocks were scorching hot, the canyon terrifyingly deep; I became so dizzy that I crawled back to the rim with great difficulty.

After lunch we started home. The heat increased; we suffered with thirst, for both canteens were empty. After several miles, Ute led us to a "rain tank" in a side gulch, to which we could not take the horses. We lay flat on the ground and drank our fill of the stagnant rain water that had collected in the concave surface of a layer of stone. Then we noticed a half-dozen lizards, white stomachs turned to the sky, floating on its surface. Within a few minutes I developed a blinding headache and could not sit in the saddle. I lay in the shade of a mesquite while Frances bathed my face with some of the water which we had reluctantly poured into the canteens, and massaged the tight cords in the back of my neck until I was able to ride again. This was as near sunstroke as I ever wish to be.

Late that afternoon we returned to the pool where we had watered the horses the previous day. They were wild for water. Ute's horse reached it first, and drank until he began to bloat and groan in agony; so Frances and I took ours away before they could satisfy their thirst. We urged the horses on, conscious of that long detour around Beaver Canyon. Finally we arrived at our quarters, tired, hungry and dirty, but filled with a vision that time cannot erase of angry waters fighting their way through stone walls.

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

133 241 311 [487] [312]

342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again [291]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below.

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The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers.

221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasuapi in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation.

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In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usuage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

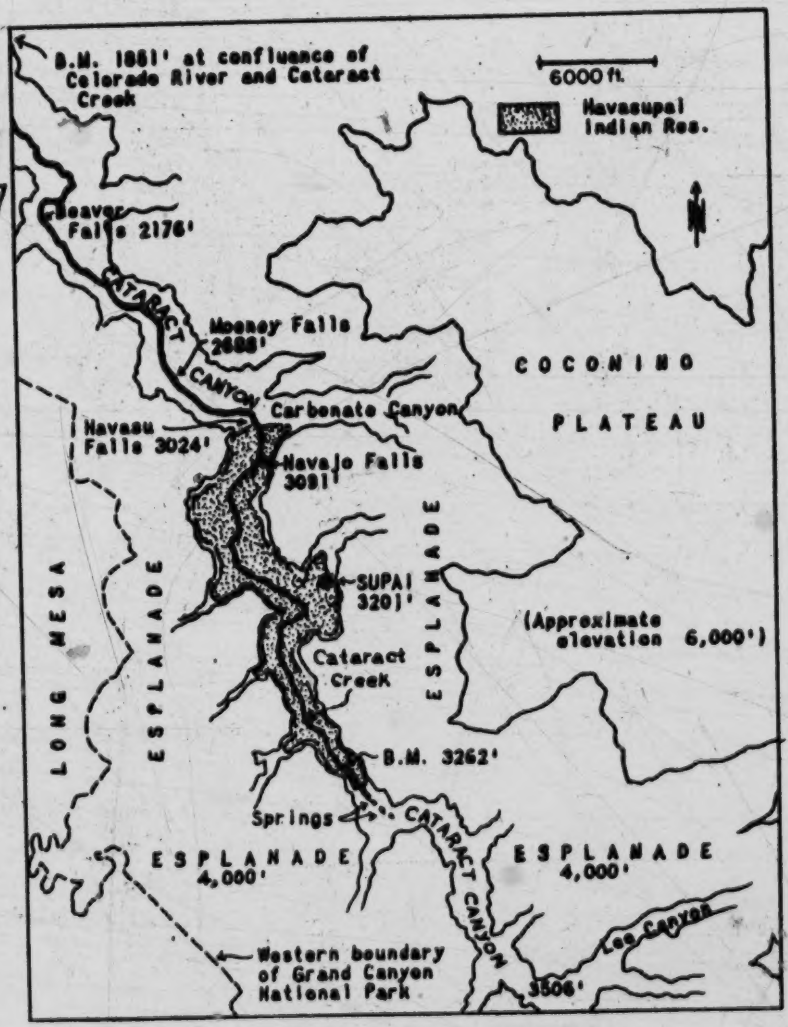

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 6. Fields in Cataract Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

133 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau, are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
●312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs.

THE HAVASUPAI

sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his 422
possessions independently.

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually 492
has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips.

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with 241
stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running [213]
from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land.

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the [140]
Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot 241
and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with 412
a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a [237]
horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds.

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; 241
even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted.

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six [137]
inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the 251
roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use.

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

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Mamie Chickapaniga has a right to be proud of her corn field for it is the lush reward for much tender care.

133 Perhaps a mile downstream from the point at which the canyon spreads out to make room for the village, it quickly narrows once more. It is here that the first of three magnificent waterfalls may be seen. By this time Cataract Creek is the size of a small river and has become brilliantly blue. Carbonates of lime, which become more concentrated as the stream flows along, give it this color. The breath-taking, snowy-white falls plunging as far as 220 feet over vermilion cliffs into turquoise pools is a sight which no one who has seen it will ever forget. Though these falls are only a mile or so below the village, it is strange but true that several of the women who are middle-aged or older and have lived here all their lives, have never taken the trouble to see them.

● 312 Cataract Creek beautifies this canyon to be sure, but probably the most vital use to which the water is put is that of irrigation. Above the village two log and brush diversion dams scoop water from both sides of the

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [413] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[24] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[23] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware,
[246] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

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The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

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101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohónina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

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197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-

144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

854 285 203 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 26 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [344] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumana NT14
Havasupai

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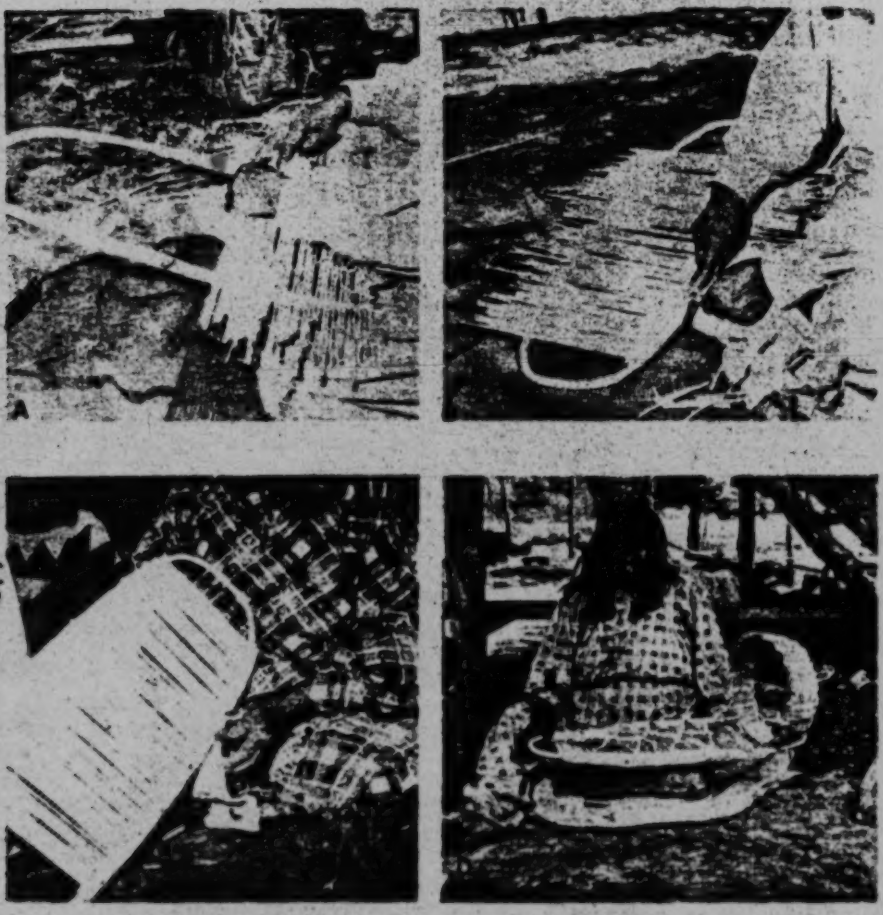

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Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lisa Iditicawa displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14 · Havasupai

would comb the desert for the pifion nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

285 412 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the green twigs dried.

222 252 Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 3 (30.2-1378). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (186) is collected from a cave in the [917] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 [262] Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

Cosos, Ind.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

323 Pots are made by women alone. The best clay, the color of adobe,
●317 occurs in a deposit located at Pine Spring west of Cataract Canyon.
[462] As this is very hard, chunks must be pried off with a deer antler pick,
and are then reduced to a powder by crushing between two stones. Fine
stones, procured from an ant hill, are added, the whole being kneaded
with water into a stiff dough. Cylinders, 2 cm. in diameter, are rolled
323 out between the palms and coiled in a clockwise direction on a tray
basket, patted on top the while with a small, flat, smooth stick to make

[415]

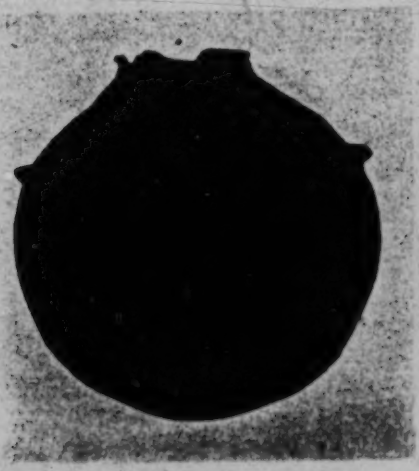

Fig. 16 (50.2-1668). A Coarse Undecorated Vessel of Clay.

them adhere. Both basket and stick are kept wet with a concoction of boiled antler, weed roots, and other ingredients. When the flat coil reaches a diameter of 20 cm. the sides are built up by coiling in the same manner; the potter supporting them with a smooth, round pebble inside while the exterior is paddled. When the vessel is complete, this same pebble is used to smear the concoction over the inner and outer surfaces, rubbing vigorously, in order to render the clay hard and prevent cracking. The vessel walls are of a uniform thickness, 0.7 to 1 cm.; the lip is no thinner. The completed vessel is set in the sun for two days or until it has thoroughly dried. A pile of dry wood of any sort, 70 cm. or more in height, is prepared and set alight early in the morning. After it

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *k*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a 386 mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a 317 small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*matlagddjš*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 396 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the [302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers.[1] Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matlhá'a*

[171]

[1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their cheek black in this manner instead of red.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[H87] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

● [317]

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*mukwe-vilt*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*mukwa'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

Fig. 20 *a* (50.2-1585), *b* (50.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*á'ndle*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, (a), 880.
Such ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (a), 276); Paiute examples in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (b), 89). [171]
[2] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimen in Museum of Anthropology, University of California).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

411 other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is
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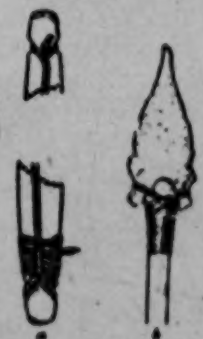

Fig. 24 (89.5-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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[1] A group one hundred miles below the mouth of the Gila and below the Cocopa (Pattie, 201).

[2] Dixon, (a), 322; Mason, J. A., (a), 162; Fourbo, (b), 57; Whipple, Eubank, and Turner, 30; Russell, (d), 98; Kroeber, (g), 86; Sparkman, 206; Spier, (c), 330; Chittenden, 204; Bancroft, 362; North, 238.

[3] Pope, 234, Pl. 46, Fig. 2; 237, Pl. 47, Fig. 7; Spier, (c), 330.

[4] Corbusier, 292; Bourke, 418; Shufeldt, (a), 734; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (a), 240, 295; Whipple, 134; Russell, (d), 100; Spier, (d), 352; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 192.

[5] Franciscan Fathers, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 660; Grinnell, (b), I, 179.

[6] Hough, (a), 276.

[7] Whipple, 96; Bourke, 418; Russell, (d), 98; Heintzelman, 43; Pattie, 201; McGee, 197, Bancroft, 362; North, 238.

[8] Franciscan Fathers, 182, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 639, 661; Pattie, 164; Trippel, 376; Kroeber, (d), 86; Coville, 269; Sparkman, 206, 208; Spier, (d), 351; Dixon, (a), 322.

[9] Lowie, (i), 245.

Hilliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

/100 cont./ LIKE THE PIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*kûpâ'*) is called *kûp'âylma'a*, or *kûp'â*, or *puima'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anômala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Mooney, 148–150.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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322 411 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The [412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 322 237 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mɔ́ɔwd*", sinewed?): it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally, [412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly [439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back [531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The 411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by 237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 34 (89.9-1231, 1232). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

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NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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[3] Pope, 354, Pl. 46, Fig. 2; 357, Pl. 47, Fig. 7; Spier, (c), 350.

[4] Corbusier, 260; Smart, 419; Shufeldt, (a), 784; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (a), 246, 288; Whipple, 114; Russell, (d), 163; Spier, (d), 353; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 182.

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[9] Lowie, (i), 246.

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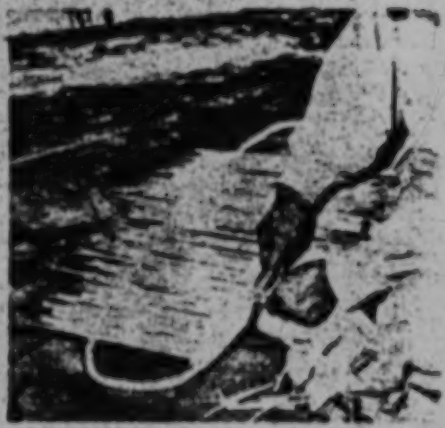

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Fig. 19. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A. Binding willow slats to oval frame. B. Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C. Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D. Lisa Iditionen displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine ware, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

● 323 415 [177] [170] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdi*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*pa'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See H. T. Mason's diagrams, (b), Plate 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Laguna north of Flow Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

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323 317 [462] Pots are made by women alone. The best clay, the color of adobe, occurs in a deposit located at Pine Spring west of Cataract Canyon. As this is very hard, chunks must be pried off with a deer antler pick, and are then reduced to a powder by crushing between two stones. Fine stones, procured from an ant hill, are added, the whole being kneaded with water into a stiff dough. Cylinders, 2 cm. in diameter, are rolled 323 out between the palms and coiled in a clockwise direction on a tray basket, matted on top the while with a small, flat, smooth stick to make

[415]

Fig. 16 (30.3-1868). A Coarse Undecorated Vessel of Clay.

them adhere. Both basket and stick are kept wet with a concoction of boiled antler, weed roots, and other ingredients. When the flat coil reaches a diameter of 20 cm. the sides are built up by coiling in the same manner; the potter supporting them with a smooth, round pebble inside while the exterior is paddled. When the vessel is complete, this same pebble is used to smear the concoction over the inner and outer surfaces, rubbing vigorously, in order to render the clay hard and prevent cracking. The vessel walls are of a uniform thickness, 0.7 to 1 cm.; the lip is no thinner. The completed vessel is set in the sun for two days or until it has thoroughly dried. A pile of dry wood of any sort, 70 cm. or more in height, is prepared and set alight early in the morning. After it

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*dmál'hâ'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdiamákwt'dîgd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] [439] A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[114] [2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins (*(a)*, 333). I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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171 285 semblances to those of the Havasupai. Martynia as a decorative material is used by the Pima, Papago, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yuma Apache,[1] Yavapai, Havasupai, and Shivwits.

171 323 Pottery has an extensive distribution among the historic peoples of the Southwest. It extends throughout southern California and through the center of the Great Basin as far as the Salmon River in Idaho. In addition to the Pueblos, it has been found among the Northern Shoshoni, Uintah and Southern Ute, Navaho, Jicarilla, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Pima, Maricopa, Kwohatk, Papago, Opata, Seri, Yaqui, Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Cahuilla, Chemehuevi,[2] Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, and the southern Sierra Yokuts and Mono.[3] Whether it was manufactured by the Serrano and Salinan is doubtful. There is positive evidence that within this area it was not made by the Wind River Shoshoni on the one hand and the Paviotso on the west, nor by the Tonto Apache, Gabrielino, and Chumash.[4]

The pottery of this whole group is scanty and crude in comparison to that of the Pueblos. It is generally a rough brown unslipped ware, commonly undecorated. The Mohave and Pima form an exception, for they have the ware not only in quantity, but with considerable finish.[5] In general the pottery of the lower Colorado tribes and those adjacent on the Gila and in southern California is a somewhat specialized product. The body color is reddish, decorated with darker red, black, or yellow lines. Pima and Maricopa ware is cream colored, but in general of the same sort. Ornamentation is by angular figures, parallel lines, triangles, etc., always in the same general style. This is common to the Mohave, Cahuilla, Yuma, Southern Diegueño, Papago, and probably some of their neighbors. Pima decoration is sometimes more involved, being in part in imitation of the prehistoric wares of the Gila Valley. But the character of line at least is quite like that of their western neighbors. Navaho pottery is decorated by incising and painting; the style is unknown to me.

The shape of the larger vessels is much the same among all the rancheria groups; globular ollas with either slightly restricted mouths or with wide necks tapering directly up from the greatest diameter of the

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[1] Yuman, (a), 183.

[2] Kroeber, (g), 562. Yet in another place it is implied that the Chemehuevi did not make pottery (Kroeber, (i), 249).

[3] Lowie, (a), 177; (b), 238 f; Stephen, 368; Franciscan Fathers, 216, 295, 298; Curtis, I, 90, 94, 99; Hodge, (a), 667; Carbonell, 334; Hrdlička, (c), 43–44; Russell, (c), 124–131; Gabrielino, 204; Henshaw, (a), 1, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Smart, 410.

[4] Kroeber, (g), 48, 54; Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Smart, 410.

[5] Their pottery may be slipped like that of the Pueblos, but I can find no reference to this in the literature and doubt it.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom.

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking cornmeal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*.

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4]

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Mohpa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains.

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes.

[1] Field notes of R. H. Lowie.
[2] Spier, (a), 348; Hoyo, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 20.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 287, 305; Matthews, (f), 314; Whipple, Kutzsch, and Turner, 47; Russell, (a), 207; Spackman, 202, 210; Washo data from Dorter H. H. Lowie, 1926. Thom, (c) 214. J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yocolanchi used reeds, not clay or stone, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipe" (a), 142, 148).
[4] Grinnell, (b), I, 208.
[5] Schebit, (b); Lowie, (l), 226ff; Mason, O. T., (c), 373.
[6] Curtoudor, 288; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371; Dumarest, 148; Hough, (d), 70, 72.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

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224 animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1]
[232] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwaddid*, labia minora (a male dog),
gi'n,ikdwaid, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *idôa*,
552 painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *ast'*, *admigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than
252 they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are
4/12 ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but
[324] nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of
252 the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depres-
4/12 sion and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long, bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*[3]wigwetu'tid*; *[3]wi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to
[252] pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[231] [1]Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of to-day, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?
[2]Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 109.

1/A [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

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415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate,
● 324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with
412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĕkedlákwi'vd*) are made of strips of cedar or
285 juniper bark (*tcĕkedld*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These
[422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used.
283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamdlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaûigd*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdcd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vltal'dja*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the series of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
[177] brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also. Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
[821] man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

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221 silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bar-
439 tered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

312
331 The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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491 Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above; others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oya''d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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574 262 long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

343 251 When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone [333] walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

423 343 251 The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

251 Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

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in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172. 161 174

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll. 163

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6] 144 [141] [142]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May. 221 [342]

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from [512]

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 101; 1902, 103; 1903, 326; 1905, I, 164; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child-bearing years (see p. 208). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their death.)
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 346; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

HOUSES

Most Havasupai families have two residences (*hdwa"a*); the group of structures in the canyon occupied during the summer, and a house on the plateau for winter living. The winter house is located in a clearing, just big enough for the house alone, in the midst of a dense cedar or piñon thicket, because these are warmest. The site should be a sandy, gently sloping hillside with a southern exposure. The typical year-round house is a dome-shaped affair, thatched and, depending on the season, dirt-covered. This serves against the rain during the summer. The second type in the summer camp is rectangular, with dirt-covered roof and thatched sides. Besides these the summer camp contains shade structures in a great variety of forms. Two other types are used, both in the canyon and on the plateau, which are considered of foreign origin: a gable roof structure and a polygonal log house built in imitation of the Navaho.

The dome-shaped house may be circular or somewhat elliptical in plan. (Fig. 31 ab.) It is quite conical, for, though the main posts are somewhat crooked, they are not sufficiently so to produce a hemispherical structure like that of the White Mountain Apache. The house is built on a four post foundation: two heavy posts (about 25 cm. in diameter) are set into the ground on opposite sides with their forks interlocking: two lighter posts are set four-square with these with their forks locking into those of the first pair. The space between these primary posts is filled in with an indefinite number of poles, leaving a gap for the entrance. These secondary poles are set in the ground separately,[1] with their upper extremities locked into the forks. Those which do not stand solid are tied at the apex. Flexible poles are tied horizontally around the framework with soapweed leaves, spaced 15 to 30 cm. apart near the bottom and somewhat closer at the top. These ribs do not cross the entrance, which is left free to about the height of a man. In the tightest winter houses, additional short poles are set upright close together all around the circumference, being tied to the horizontal ribs. The frame is now ready for the thatch, which is about 10 cm. thick. Brush of any kind may be used, but in the canyon "white" willow (*dmatama'*) is the best, and next in preference a long-leaved weed growing by the creek (*hdmaadva*). The first tier of thatch is tied on with the butts of the bundles resting on the ground; subsequent overlapping tiers are placed butt end up. The space above the entrance is often left open for a smoke-vent, but it

[1]The White Mountain Apache dig a trench in which to stand them and to receive the first row of thatch.

[Text continues on p. 176]

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a

b

Fig. 31. Typical Dome-Shaped Houses. a, With dirt cover; b, Without dirt cover.

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Fig. 32. A Gable-Roofed House of the Mohave Type.

Fig. 33. A Log House of the Navaho Type with a Shade constructed in Front.

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342 is sometimes thatched as well and no orifice is left. (Most cooking is done out-of-doors, however.) Flexible poles are tied over the thatch to hold it in place. Dirt is heaped up around the circumference to a height of about 60 cm. Some houses have an entrance-way added. Two stout posts, about two meters tall, are set up at the toe of the two slanting poles which form the entrance. A lintel is set across the posts, and corresponding beams tied to the slanting poles at the same height. Sticks are laid longitudinally between these, and covered with brush and dirt. Sticks are also tied horizontally between the upright posts and the slanting poles so as to form the sides of the entry: long brush is stood against these, and dirt heaped against the base. The door in all types of house is a blanket (never a buckskin) hanging loose from the top of the opening but devoid of a stiffening stick in the bottom. The house is usually heaped over with dirt, especially that for winter living, but the summer rains wash this cover from the steep pitched roof so easily that frequent renewal is necessary. Usually the apex was so poorly protected that smoke had no difficulty in finding its way out. Neither the groundplan nor height of these structures are laid out by measurement (one typical fair sized house measures 4.6 m. by 4 m. in plan and 3 m. to the apex). The summer house is placed with its entrance facing in any convenient direction: the winter house faces somewhat south of east, i.e., where the sun rises.

[177] The ridged house resembles a gable set on the ground. This is thought of as a foreign type. It is nearly square in groundplan, with the corners somewhat rounded (Fig. 32). Two heavy posts are set upright (in one house 3.75 m. apart), supporting a heavy ridge pole in their forks at a man's height from the ground. Poles are laid slanting against the ridge from both sides, leaving a space for the entrance, if that is to be on the side. Others are similarly laid slanting at each end, with the line of their bases 50 cm. from the base of the main post and their upper ends resting in its fork. Slanting poles also fill in the corners, the lower ends arranged around a quarter circle. Slender poles are tied horizontally around the structure about 30 cm. apart. The frame is thatched and covered with dirt in the same manner as the dome-shaped house. A stick is fastened part way up the slanting entrance poles to which a blanket is hung for a door. The space above the door is open for a smoke hole. Some of these houses have the entrance in the gable end, and the summer house even stands with one or both ends open as Shufeldt's and James's photographs show. The whole structure has usually such a low pitch and is so sand-drifted and brush-covered as to be amorphous. A typical house measures 4.5 m. square and 2 m. to the ridge pole.

[Text continues on p. 178]

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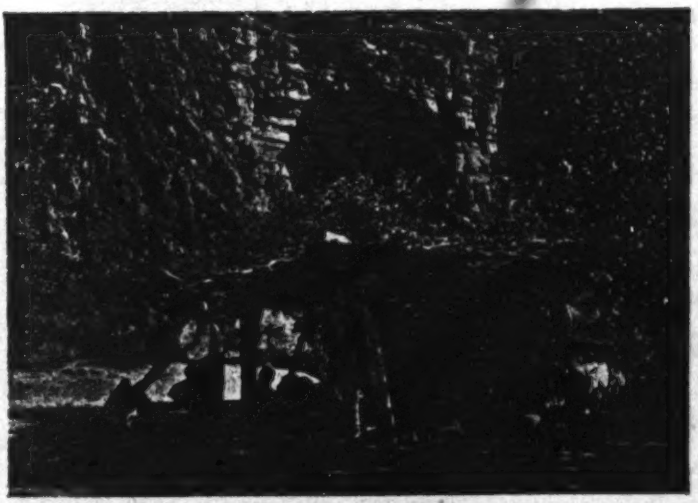

Fig. 34. A Shade or Open-Sided House.

[231]
[492]

Fig. 35. A Rectangular Shade House.

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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horisontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the mid-points of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horisontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

[462] Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

354 The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otúwa*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel.
352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedarbark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed.
513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyd''d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-
171 covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[313]
[291]

Fig. 86. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointeaa", Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 80). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as breastworks by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

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Ute, and it was found by Stansbury west of Great Salt Lake.[1] The Yuma use it for their summer residence. The Navaho hogan is the same structure, perhaps a little more substantially built, but bark roofed like the Southern Ute house and dirt covered like the Havasupai. This brush lodge is used by the Mescalero and Jicarilla, but both groups prefer the tipi. The Lipan do not build this form at all. The San Carlos Apache house is hemispherical, but the poles are arched rather than looked together. To the south the Seri construct a rough elongated hemisphere of a series of arches, brush covered. This is a tiny affair more like the Havasupai sweatlodge than the dwelling, but inasmuch as it is dome-shaped and the other tribes of northern Mexico make use of rectangular structures of another sort, it may questionably be included with our group above. The Luiseño house, conical and brush covered, should probably be included as well, but Sparkman's description leaves room for doubt. The Pima and Maricopa have a composite type: a thatched and dirt covered hemisphere of arched poles is raised over a rectangular foundation.[2]

The covered entrance-way of the Havasupai is also found in the Navaho hogan.

This form of lodge is typical then of an area principally west of the Pueblos and in the Basin. It has marked analogies in the north in the mat-covered, hemispherical lodges sometimes used by the Wishram, Wasco, Nez Percé, Klamath, and some of the interior Salish, and in the Plains tipi to the east. Some of the eastern Basin peoples, in fact (Northern and Wind River Shoshoni, and Ouray Ute) build tipis which are covered with brush or grass in place of skins.[3] It has been conjectured that the tipi of the Plains and the wickiup to the west in the Basin are related forms. But it is not clear whether these Shoshonean structures are to be regarded as adaptations of the Plains tipi or whether the latter is a specialised form of an earlier type represented by these and the bark covered tipi of Canada. The relations with Californian types are not clear.[4]

One further comparative point should be observed here. The Havasupai erect the lodge on a four-pole foundation. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and it is true of the tipis of the same people and

[1] Dorsey, (b), 196, 199, 203; Corbusier, 253; Gubbard, (c), 2nd ed., 144; Gaillard, 283; Bartlett, I, 323; Powell, Fig. 43; Dellenbaugh, 1777; Lowie, (i), 218–230; Barrett, (b), 10; Mooney, (b), 1096; (c), 2nd ed., 132; Curtis, I, 84; Hrdlička, (d), 4'29; McGee, 221; Bandelier, (a), 55, 58, 80, 252; Lummis, (b), 6; Sparkman, 213; Bartlett, II, 238; Russell, (d), 154; Hrdlička, (e), 41, 42; Whittemore, 58.

[2] Lowie, (a), 123; (i), 221.

[3] See especially Mooney, J. A., (a), 123, 126; Kroeber, (g), 84, Plate 14; Diam, (c), 210, 211; Spier, (c), 239.

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171 the Wind River. Lowie has pointed out their resemblance in this regard
342 to the Blackfoot and Crow, and, to complete the list from Wissler's notes, the Sarsi, Hidatsa, Salteaux, Comanche, and possibly the Kiowa Apache.[1] It is important to know the foundation pattern for the other tribes of this area. For if they all use four poles then Lowie's suggestion might be reversed; the four-pole tipi of the Blackfoot, Crow, and others being derived from the Basin peoples. The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analogous to the usual Plains tipi. We should know what the Jicarilla and Mescalero use to solve this puzzle.

The gable house is typical of the Mohave, but is used by the Havasupai and White Mountain Apache. It is characteristic of this form that the walls closing the gable ends slant as well as the sides and that the corners are rounded. The Southern Diegueño house is presumably a related type, although it lacks these features. We should probably look to other southern and central Californian tribes for similar forms.[2]

The Navaho log cabin of polygonal groundplan is copied by the Havasupai. It has been suggested that this structure is related to the log roofing of some prehistoric subterranean kivas.

The flat-roofed, rectangular shade is very widely used but it is not
171 usually walled in. When three or four sides are closed it forms a definite
343 type of house, which furthermore seems to have only a local distribution. This includes the Havasupai, Moapa and Tointesa[a] Paiute, and Mohave. These Paiute houses are said to have sloping roofs, but I take this to be only a minor difference. The rectangular, gable-roofed house of the Cahuilla and of the modern Southern Diegueño may belong to the same type. The walled-in shade seems to be related to a type of structure used to the south by the Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and Yuma; that is, a similar rectangular house of which the walls are vertical poles wattled with brush and mud. This in turn bears resemblance to the houses of the Opata and Jumanos in northern Mexico.[3]

The matter of house types is further complicated by the reports of communal dwellings in southern California. We know little about these.

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[1] Wissler, (a), 110.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 277. Goddard, (a), 2nd ed., 145. The Moapa house referred to by Lowie [(b), 219, Fig. 7a] as of Mohave type is not characteristic of that tribe, although it is used by them (see *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 921).
[3] Bandelier, (a), 88, 89.

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [769] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 287 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 351.

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872 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [516] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [342] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

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176 823 ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

631 311 Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

342 The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

Cliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Their garden was lush with corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and sunflowers that grew large seed heads. Purple figs and red-cheeked peaches grew at one end of the plot.

Chickapanyegi worked unhurriedly, pushing the dirt aside with his bare toes to open the floodgates, letting the water gush through to fill the ditches that ran between his rows of vegetables. Toes did the work of fingers, opening ditches or packing the soil to close them, picking up sticks and stones and piling them ready to be removed. Here was a way of life new to me and very intriguing. The Walapai that I knew lived in idleness on bare sand, accepting government rations, a few working at odd jobs. These people produced and stored food, not only for the immediate future, but for years ahead. At one time, the Walapai, too, had been self-supporting and self-sufficient; then agents of the government had come, using rations as a buying power, and had established controls that crushed initiative.

The Havasupai had devised their own garden tools, even making a spade by fashioning the blade and handle from a long, flat piece of wood. They used the shoulder blades of horses or anything they could get that would loosen the soil or chop weeds. Obviously they were greatly handicapped by these primitive tools; sticks, bones and toes were poor substitutes for spades, hoes and rakes. The Indians themselves restricted production by refusing to till inherited land until it had lain fallow for a year or more. The spirit of the dead might at any time return to its former home, so they would not make immediate use of such land, partly through fear, but also to show respect to the former owner. Thus many acres of fertile soil lay fallow, necessitating more intensive cultivation of the land in use.

Tending their crops and preserving their food was the main object in life for the people of this village. Always the crop was divided into portions: some for eating, some held for an emergency, but the best kept for seed.

Chickapanyegi's rectangular house stood near his garden. The flat, brush-covered roof, topped with earth, and the sides, thatched

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

2:11ff 7-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tribes NT14
Havasupai

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The old basket weaver's home, built of poles, bark, brush and discarded clothing

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Mother carrying her baby in a burden basket. Her home is typical of the Havasupai house of a generation ago

[p. 116 N]

2-Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 MT14 Plateau Tonto MT14
Havasupai

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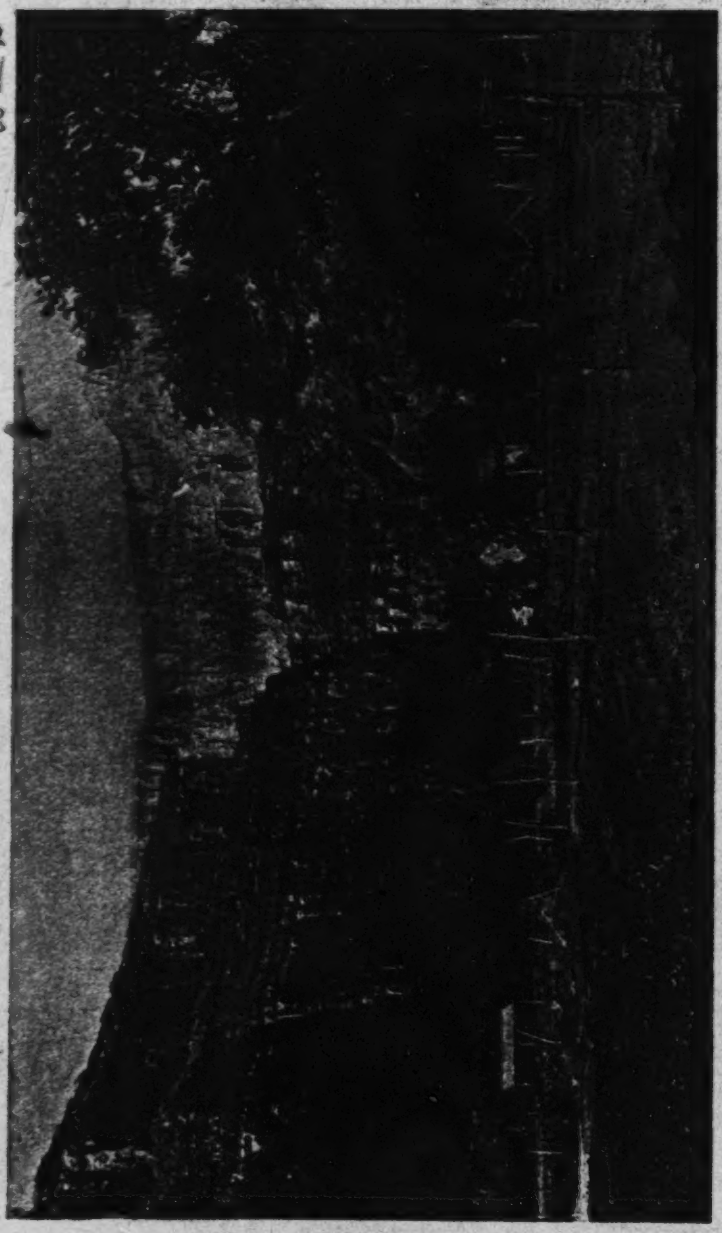

Al Schreiber

Havasupai homes of today with fenced plots for gardens or corrals. Note the limestone cliffs of the outer walls in the distance

[p.116P]

3:James T-5 (ca.1908) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

133 241 311 [487] [312]

● 342 The peaceful *kawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again [291]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the curling line of bluish smoke of the camp-fire reveals the hawa, and we gladly avail ourselves of one or the other of these marks of identification to make ourselves more familiar with the real home of the Havasupais. After investigation we find there are several distinct types of houses, all simple and primitive, and yet each different from the other.

Chickapanagie's summer home is a type of the simplest character. Two upright poles with forks at the top, standing about six feet high, are placed in line with each other fifteen feet apart. A cross-beam is placed on these uprights. Then a row of poles, about eight to nine feet in length, is sloped against the cross-beam. These are covered with willows, and there is the completed hawa.

What queer dwelling-places men have, and ever have had, and possibly ever will have. At the Paris Exposition of 1889 one whole street was devoted to a history of inhabited dwellings. At one end were the earliest "homes" of the paleolithic age, caves and huts, followed by the Lake Dwellings and the wickiups, tepees, or tents of the present-day Indian, the latter being the same primitive structures the aborigines have ever used. The other end of the street was devoted to the domestic architecture of our own day, and there, in a few hours, one could study almost every known form of home structure. But who could ever reproduce some of the homes these Havasupais live in? Wicker huts in the open, and caves in the faces of solid sandstone walls two thousand feet and more in height, these in turn surmounted by domes and obelisks and towers and cupolas that no modern architect dare attempt to rival.

These massive walls absorb the heat of the sun in

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and [137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep 132] the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of 491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer- 499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend 133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

dwelling style of homes. My friend Wa-lu-tha-ma is forsaking his wood and brush "hawas," and constructing a house under the cliffs, where, as he quaintly puts it, he can "keep dry when much rain comes."

It seems to me a reasonable supposition that it was from the frequency of the occurrence of these corn-houses in the walls of Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, with the occasional appearance of a few of the larger houses used as dwellings by the Havasupais, that the absurd and romantic yarns had their origin that fifteen, or less, years ago, were current in Arizona and elsewhere about this interesting people. The cowboys, miners, prospectors, and others, who accidentally stumbled upon the upper entrance to the Havasu Canyon, and wandered down its meandering course for ten or forty miles, even to the village of the simple Havasupais, returned to civilization and propagated and circulated stories that out-Munchausened Munchausen. They said these people were cliff-dwellers, living at the present day in the walls of the canyon; they were of powerful physical presence, and possessed great endurance. Their fields and gardens were wonderful, and their peach orchards surpassed those of most civilized cultivation, and they held in slavery a lesser people, dwarfs or pigmies, doubtless, who were cliff-dwellers like themselves, and whom they compelled by great cruelty to perform the most arduous labors.

Others, having heard these stories, but whose spirit of adventure took them no farther than the "rim" of the canyon, claimed to have looked into the village and side canyons, and there seen the truth of these stories demonstrated. They had seen the pigmies and the gigantic Havasupais, had heard the harsh yells of the

latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [857]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Ha'vasupai

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-se-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-so-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tŏd-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below. 133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers. 221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasuapi in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation. 241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house. 133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

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Fig. 8. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 9. Havasupai dwellings. A, Semi-subterranean, rectangular log house, now used mostly for storage. B, Old style thatched, conical lodge with gabled passage entrance. In front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most family activities in good weather. C, Two-room frame house donated by the Federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one-room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
461 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
177 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based
562 mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
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NT14 Plateau Tunnels NT14

Havasupai

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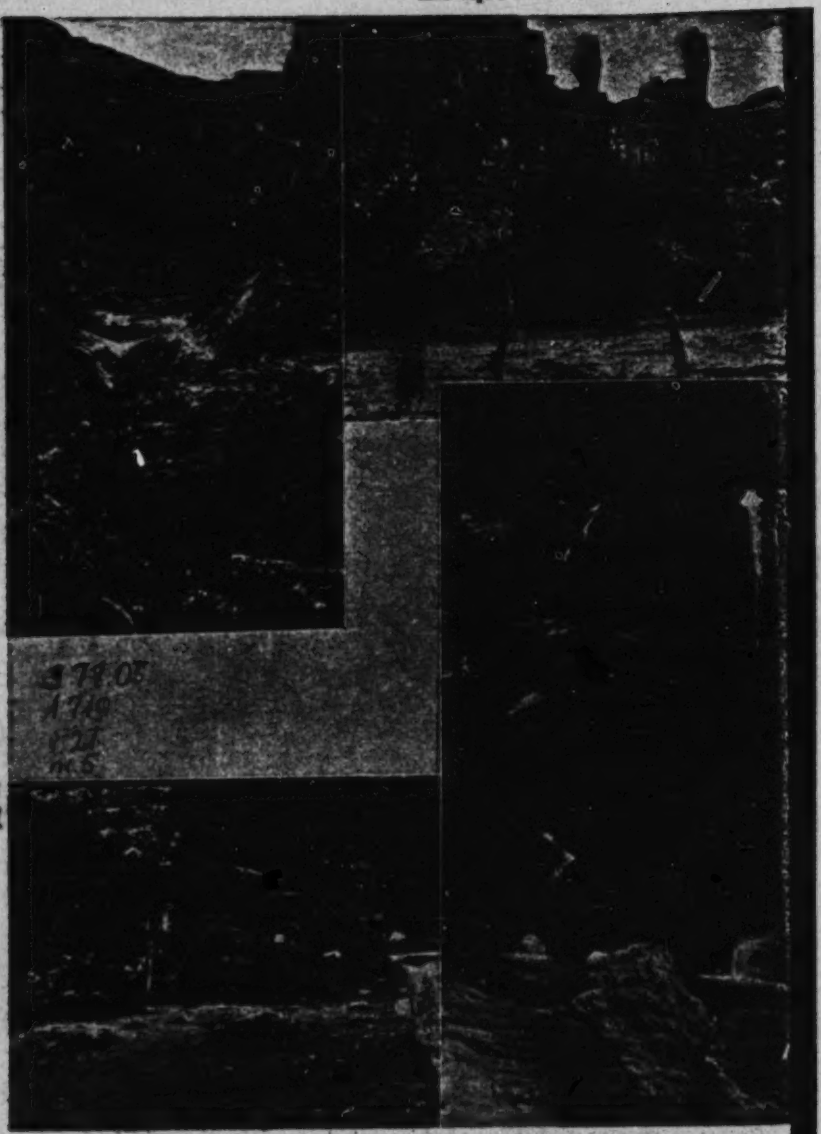

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Cremetery Gulch in the lower "haunted" section of the canyon, where the dead were once cremated in the caverns along the sides of the gulch. Top right shows the Twin Gods opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai hogan and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall below Mooney Falls.

[p. 2]

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THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [25]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow-leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horisontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[33] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[342] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[563] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[58] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come.

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown.

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians.

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for

342
252

An old-style conical house with a cooking shelter in front.

342 they are cooler in the summer and can be kept warmer during the cold weather. Many of these old-style houses are conical in shape but most of them are longer than they are wide and have sloping roofs of dirt which nearly reach the ground on either side. Very few of them are made of stone.

241 In passing through this wide part of the canyon one may see a great many small fields. Most of them are planted with corn but close examination shows that growing in the same fields between the corn plants are beans, squashes, pumpkins, sunflowers, watermelons, tomatoes and potatoes. Many of these plants were introduced after white contact, of course, and among them are the fruit trees which stand in orchards in some parts of the canyon and grow along the trails everywhere. Peaches, apricots, figs, pears, and apples are now part of the standard diet in Supai and even pecans, plums and pomegranates are grown.

[177]
[245]

[P. 538A]

101
131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito E. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther E., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on
[172] the upper Rio Verde, near the N. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present
361 village, composed of temporary cabins or
● 342 shelters of wattled canes and branches and earth in summer, and of the natural
131 caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. N. of Prescott and 7 m. S. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai
142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and
105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 175 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 175 101 [342]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 175 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [33] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poskai Auk'ia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 193

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

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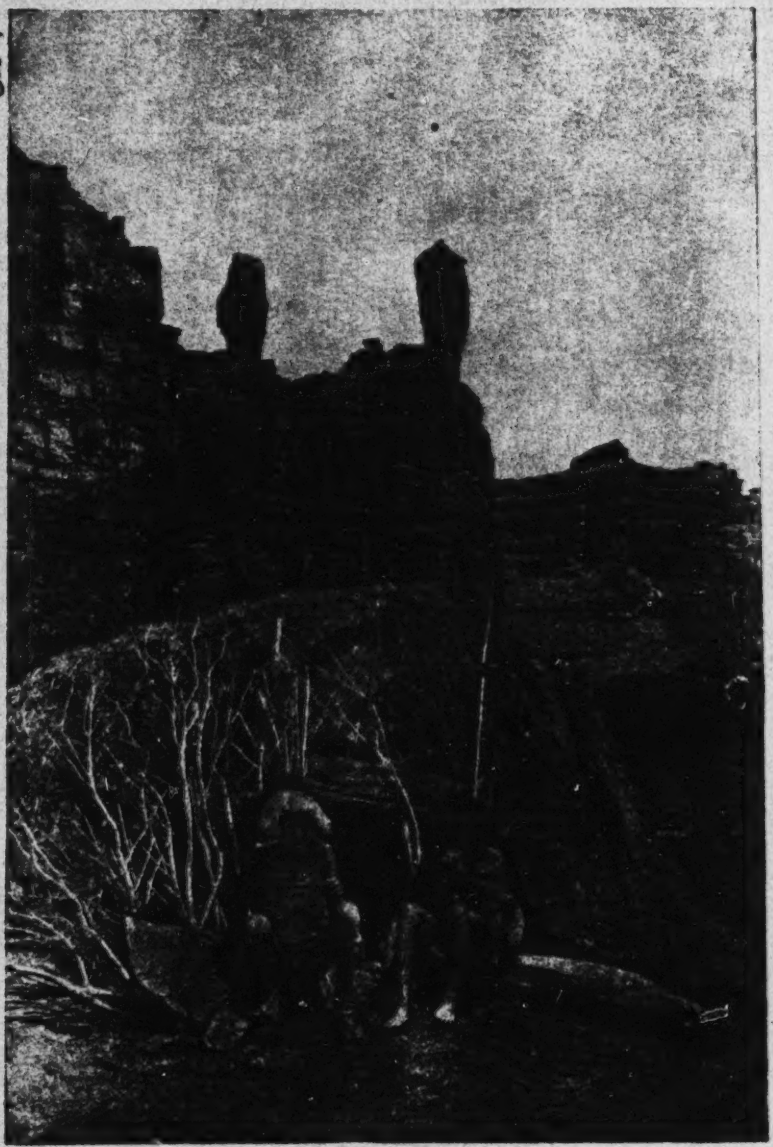

AN AGED PAIR OF HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

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AN HAVESU-PAI LODGE IN SU-PAI CAÑON, ARIZONA.

The Nation of the Willows.

I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched
133 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as
241 we rode along the river trail. These
311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
342 Here and there were little cabins, or
361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our
609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

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[previous portion of this article not processed]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

● 342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-paí build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
paí have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-paí man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned toget-
her behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 30). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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343 Storehouses resembling the dome-shaped domiciles are sometimes built in the camps to hold the green foodstuffs.[1]

Comparative Notes

342 171 The typical dwelling of the Havasupai, the dome-shaped, brush-covered structure, seems to be the prevalent type in a considerable area of Arizona and the Great Basin. It is true that most of the Arizona types are referred to as dome-shaped or hemispherical, while those of the Basin are described as conical. But we are dealing essentially with

[343] [291]

Fig. 36. Storehouses under the Cliffs of Cataract Canyon.

the same structure which seems to differ largely in the acuteness of its apex. As a matter of fact most of the dome shapes are sub-conical, and "conical" probably serves Lowie only for a descriptive epithet, for his few illustrations show sub-conical forms. The houses of the western Apache are perhaps the only truly hemispherical ones.

Taking these together we have this form among the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, White Mountain Apache, Papago, Kaibab, Moapa, and the neighboring Tointesa[a], Washo, Paviotso, Uintah and Southern

[172]

[1] A small stone ruin stands on a point of the cliff (at B, Fig. 30). Most of the walls have been roughly reconstructed as breastworks by the modern Indians. Sherds are plentiful: corrugated, black-on-white, black-on-red, and Havasupai pottery.

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171 342 the Wind River. Lowie has pointed out their resemblance in this regard to the Blackfoot and Crow, and, to complete the list from Wissler's notes, the Sarsi, Hidatsa, Salteaux, Comanche, and possibly the Kiowa Apache.[1] It is important to know the foundation pattern for the other tribes of this area. For if they all use four poles then Lowie's suggestion might be reversed; the four-pole tipi of the Blackfoot, Crow, and others being derived from the Basin peoples. The Navaho at least use a three-pole foundation for the hogan. This is analogous to the usual Plains tipi. We should know what the Jicarilla and Mescalero use to solve this puzzle.

The gable house is typical of the Mohave, but is used by the Havasupai and White Mountain Apache. It is characteristic of this form that the walls closing the gable ends slant as well as the sides and that the corners are rounded. The Southern Diegueño house is presumably a related type, although it lacks these features. We should probably look to other southern and central Californian tribes for similar forms.[2]

The Navaho log cabin of polygonal groundplan is copied by the Havasupai. It has been suggested that this structure is related to the log roofing of some prehistoric subterranean kivas.

171 343 The flat-roofed, rectangular shade is very widely used but it is not usually walled in. When three or four sides are closed it forms a definite type of house, which furthermore seems to have only a local distribution. This includes the Havasupai, Moapa and Tointesa[3] Paiute, and Mohave. These Paiute houses are said to have sloping roofs, but I take this to be only a minor difference. The rectangular, gable-roofed house of the Cahuilla and of the modern Southern Diegueño may belong to the same type. The walled-in shade seems to be related to a type of structure used to the south by the Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and Yuma; that is, a similar rectangular house of which the walls are vertical poles wattled with brush and mud. This in turn bears resemblance to the houses of the Opata and Jumanos in northern Mexico.[4]

The matter of house types is further complicated by the reports of communal dwellings in southern California. We know little about these.

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[1] Wissler, (a), 110.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 377. Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 143. The Moapa house referred to by Lowie [(b), 219, Fig. 7a] as of Mohave type is not characteristic of that tribe, although it is used by them (see *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 971).
[3] Hanshaw, (a), 88, 92.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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574 long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking
262 off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

343 When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving
251 to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone [333] walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

423 The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone,
343 sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identi-
251 fication had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

251 Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

2:Iliff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

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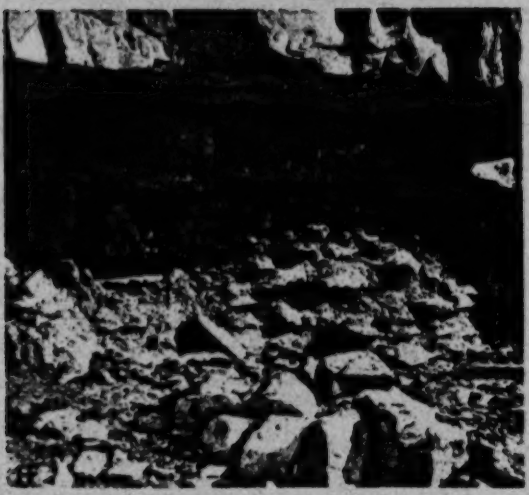

Fig. 8. Shelter and storage cist. A, Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied during gardening seasons before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon. B, Storage cist constructed of stones and formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

●343 517 571 562 759 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one inform-
[842] ant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[841] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 881

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinyon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinyon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinyon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinyon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it. 252 262

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance was squeezed out before use. 272 262

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Pit roasting was the favored method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as the rabbit were boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour. 252 262

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes. 251

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists located along the talus slope throughout the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope, in favorable locations, for drying fruit. [343]

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars. [177]

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 324

The Havasupai house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 123

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[53] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[347] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[355] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[363] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are flaked from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[385] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal [illegible] fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
[75] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[168] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[139] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[132] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
● 648 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
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Havasupai

The Nation of the Willows.
I

123 609 run forward and warn the tribe — whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, [574] a former host welcomed him and us with jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 374B]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
468 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in almost inaccessible places, everywhere occur in nooks and shelves throughout the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-paí build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the forest-covered plains of the desert above and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-paí have been in the habit of procuring, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-off soldier and other American clothing, which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, however, is not rare. It consists simply of a coat made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the centre serving as neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist. Add to this the breech-clout of soft, fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin, close-fitting leggins fringed down the front, — though quite as often the legs are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of buckskin, which reach above the ankles like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-va-su-paí man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an additional luxury, possession of which is indispensable to good standing in the tribe. The dress of the women is yet more simple. It consists of a long fringed apron of red buckskin, buttoned together behind, extending from the breast — where it is secured by a strap around

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating. (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

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Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Canyon to A, Topocoba Hilltop, where B, it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C, the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing. 158 1787 159

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweathouse. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi. 517 181 517

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breecheloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter. 515 517 575 345 517 515 575

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

345 The lodge (*há'dso*) is a dome-shaped structure, 2 m. in diameter and 1.3 m. high, set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep. The frame (Fig. 57) consists of light poles set into the ground at intervals of 30 cm., arched and bound with strips of bark. Two horisontal braces are bent around these, one near the bottom, the other halfway up the sides, but leaving a space for the entrance. The frame is completely covered with several layers of blankets and buffalo robes, furnishing an air and light-tight

Fig. 57. A Sweatlodge Frame.

structure.[1] The floor is freshly strewn with green twigs, save for the space immediately to the left of the door (for one entering) where the stones are always placed. These are heated on a slowly burning woodpile nearby, and carried in with green sticks.

515 It is customary for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon; on each occasion four men may enter, but this is not fixed—there is hardly room for more. It is considered advisable to bathe in the stream first, taking copious draughts. The bathers crouch side by side, with legs crossed before them. The leader or host sits at the extreme rear with a basin of water by his side. It is pitch-black; the heat

[1] Cushing, (a), mentions a covering of grasses and dirt. I have not seen this; perhaps it is used on the plateau.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*sahamł'dəldjá suəldjá*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvigá*, race by two; *tanomdgovigá*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1800 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

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[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 138° F. (outside 73°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. O. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140°" (d), 4n). [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tcqá'ł'á*) was a lump compounded of wool and pinon gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood (Hodge, (a), 44). [171]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Hayatla] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 380; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 380.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Naskapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

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[1] Kroeber, (a), 64; Du Bois, (c), 185; Mason, J. A., (a), 126; Gatschet, (b), 82; Barrett, (a), 345; Franciscan Fathers, 2d, 340–3; Matthews, (d), 237; Mindeleff, 480; Stephen, (b), 301; Letherman, 280; Faye, 52; Chamberlain, (a), 567; (b), 194; Bourke, (b), 61.
[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 48; Lowie, (a), 917; Hacberlin and Günther, 84; Culin, (b), 808.
[3] Culin, (b), 712 f; Lowie, (a), 199; Dorsey, G. A., (a).
[4] Dixon, (c), 218.
[5] Russell, (d), 179. Culin, (b), 396, 398.

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Pacific Stereoptican Co.

Framework of Havasupai sweat lodge, left foreground. Conical brush house, center, with brush-covered shelter where family activities are carried on

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Havasupai signs and symbols painted on a rock surface by Those of Old. Their meaning has long since been lost

[p. 116 G]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *tobolwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

757 Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two [782] men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

757 The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but
533 I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had inter-
755 preted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

757 I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of
755 this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

757 I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my
755 church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual
345 enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. [776] He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [535] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

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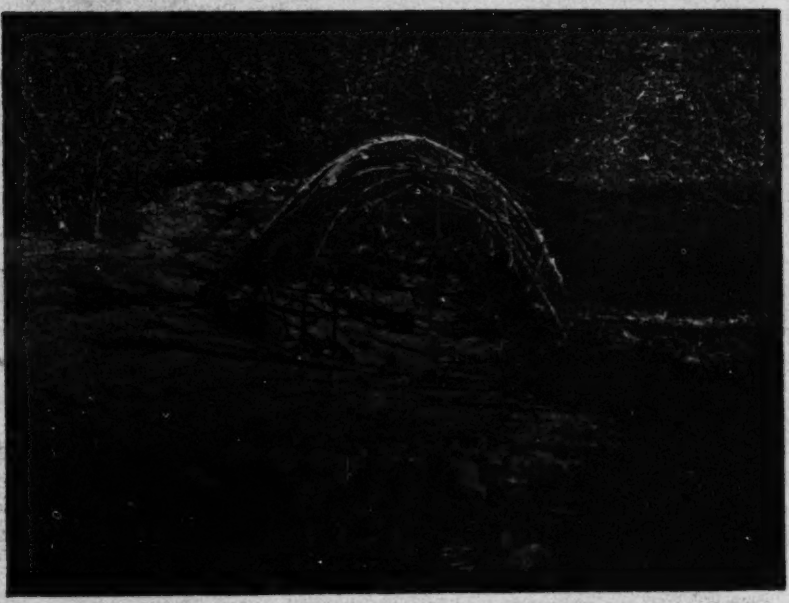

A sweathouse framework.

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A completed sweathouse showing the nearby pile of stones which are heated and carried inside to produce steam when they are sprinkled with water.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwetlk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwetlk̨ómidi'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'évahag'i'i	dúyIIniyúdjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

ahánigwayóhag'i'i	ma'évahag'i'i
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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HOUSES

Most Havasupai families have two residences (*hdwa"a*); the group of structures in the canyon occupied during the summer, and a house on the plateau for winter living. The winter house is located in a clearing, just big enough for the house alone, in the midst of a dense cedar or piñon thicket, because these are warmest. The site should be a sandy, gently sloping hillside with a southern exposure. The typical year-round house is a dome-shaped affair, thatched and, depending on the season, dirt-covered. This serves against the rain during the summer. The second type in the summer camp is rectangular, with dirt-covered roof and thatched sides. Besides these the summer camp contains shade structures in a great variety of forms. Two other types are used, both in the canyon and on the plateau, which are considered of foreign origin: a gable roof structure and a polygonal log house built in imitation of the Navaho.

The dome-shaped house may be circular or somewhat elliptical in plan. (Fig. 31 ah.) It is quite conical, for, though the main posts are somewhat crooked, they are not sufficiently so to produce a hemispherical structure like that of the White Mountain Apache. The house is built on a four post foundation: two heavy posts (about 25 cm. in diameter) are set into the ground on opposite sides with their forks interlocking: two lighter posts are set four-square with these with their forks locking into those of the first pair. The space between these primary posts is filled in with an indefinite number of poles, leaving a gap for the entrance. These secondary poles are set in the ground separately,[1] with their upper extremities locked into the forks. Those which do not stand solid are tied at the apex. Flexible poles are tied horizontally around the framework with soapweed leaves, spaced 15 to 30 cm. apart near the bottom and somewhat closer at the top. These ribs do not cross the entrance, which is left free to about the height of a man. In the tightest winter houses, additional short poles are set upright close together all around the circumference, being tied to the horizontal ribs. The frame is now ready for the thatch, which is about 10 cm. thick. Brush of any kind may be used, but in the canyon "white" willow (*dmatama"*) is the best, and next in preference a long-leaved weed growing by the creek (*hamaativa*). The first tier of thatch is tied on with the butts of the bundles resting on the ground; subsequent overlapping tiers are placed butt end up. The space above the entrance is often left open for a smoke-vent, but it

[1] The White Mountain Apache dig a trench in which to stand them and to receive the first row of thatch.

[Text continues on p. 176]

2:HHF Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964

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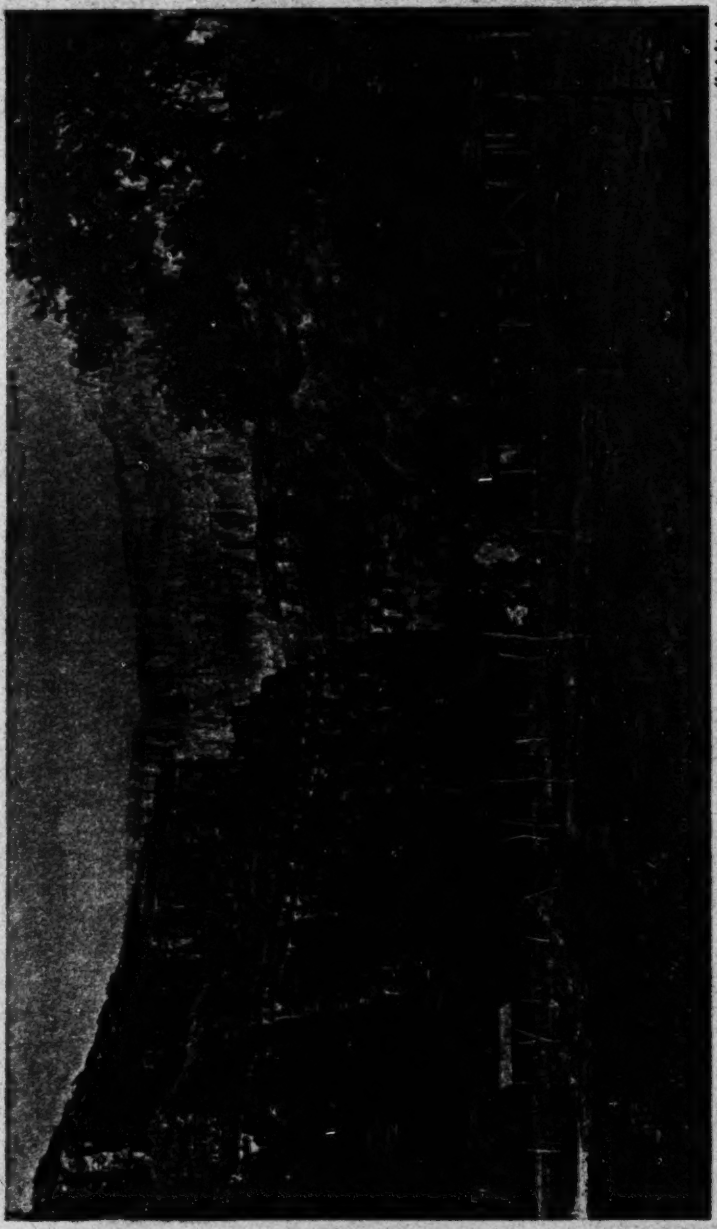

A. Ashmore

Havasupai homes of today with fenced plots for gardens at corrals. Note the limestone cliffs of the outer walls in the distance

[p. 116 P]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horizontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the midpoints of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horizontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

[462] Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

354 The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otáwa*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel.

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B. Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [25]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(Aawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 340 [354] [352] [364]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

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Fig. 13. Maturity. A, Lillian Faye, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 38). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

● [356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*dmdl'hâ'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamdkwl'dlpd*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2] [439]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified; the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[114] [2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins [(a), 553]. I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighbouring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

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1:Spier
102, 133, 361●

Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

[The map of the settlement has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

P. 392 C-1	P. 392 C-2
P. 392 C-3	P. 392 C-4

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

131 Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*kdöadëvhë'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâti'dâ, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pökâdespai'ivâ, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigivilë'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nallvahd*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakdad*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Moho Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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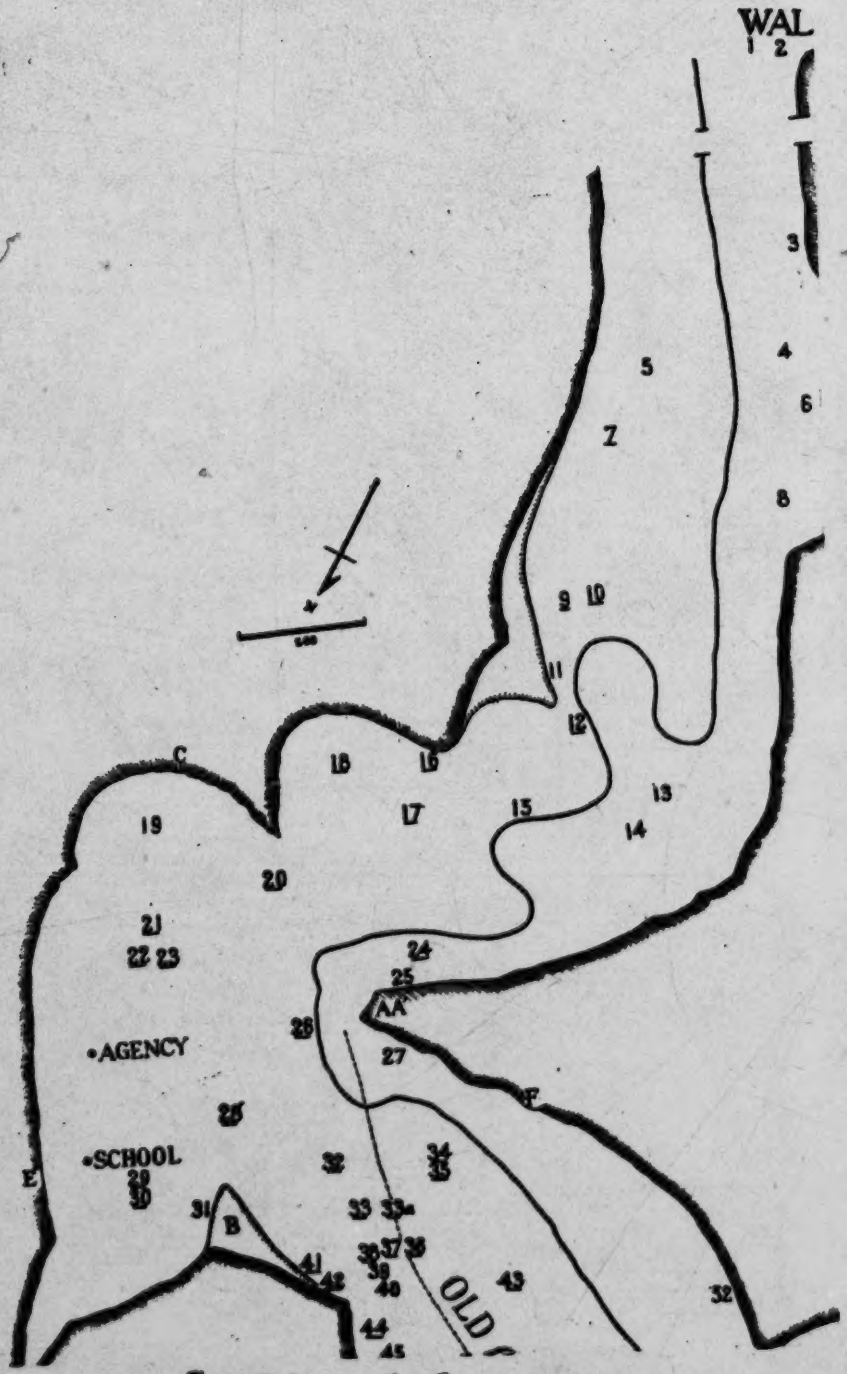

[p. 392 - C]

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Havasupai

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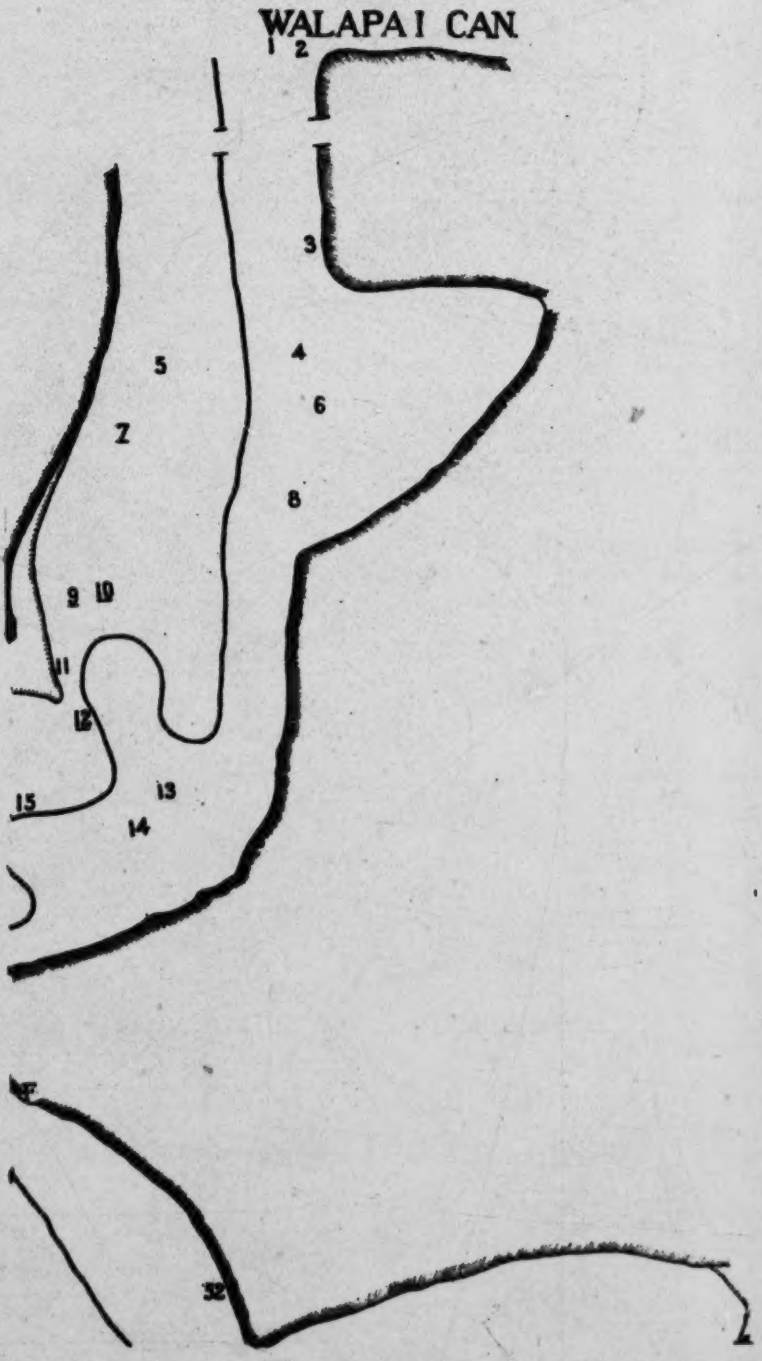

[p. 342 - C-2]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

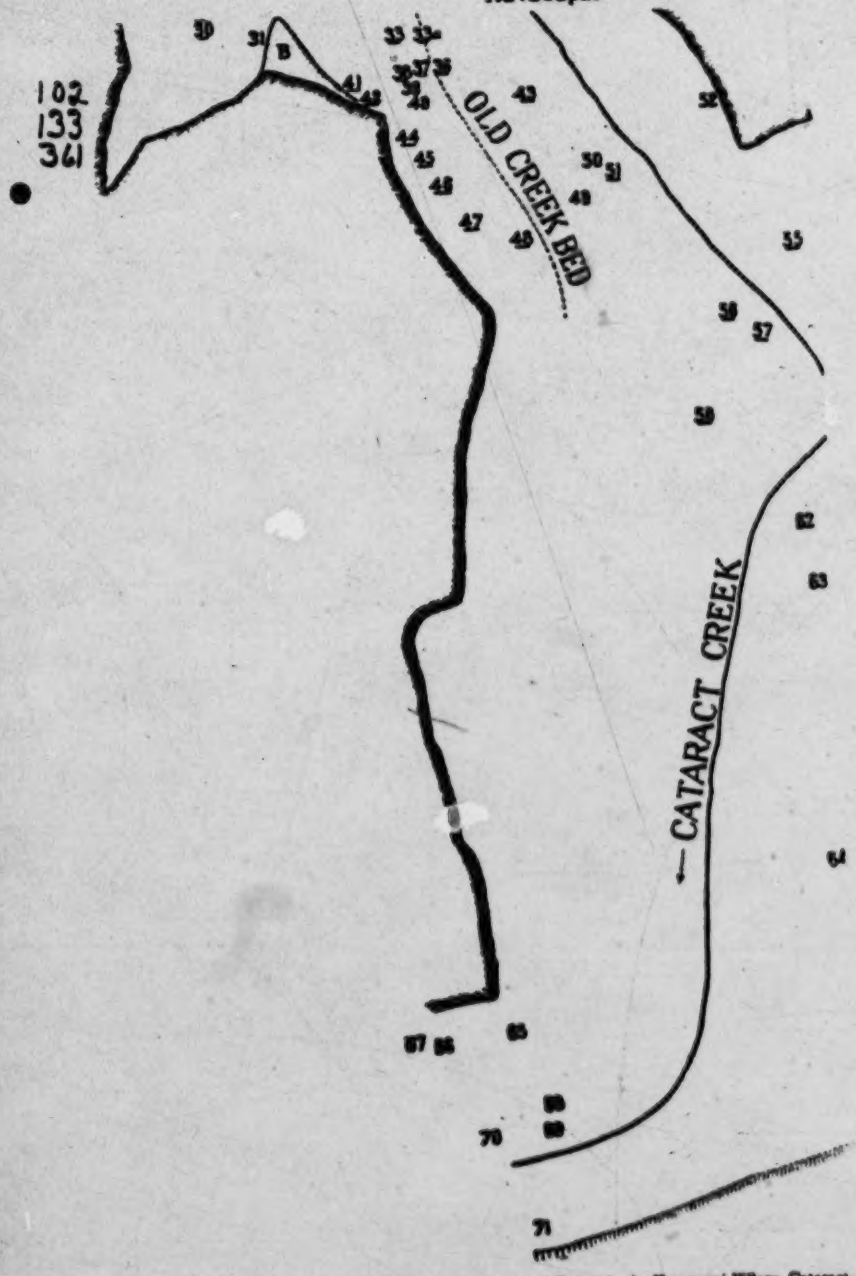

Fig. 28. Map of Camps in the Havasupai Village, Cataract

[p. 392 <->]

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Havasupai

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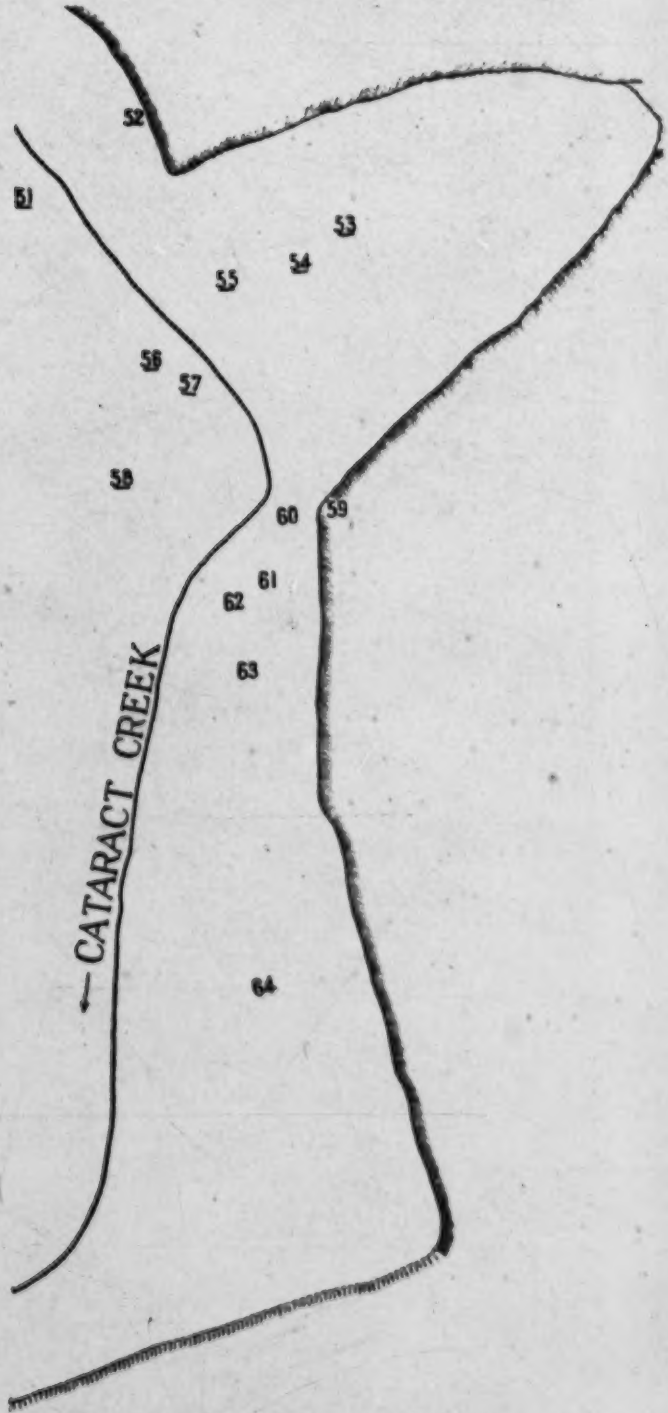

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the Havasupai Village, Cataract Canyon.

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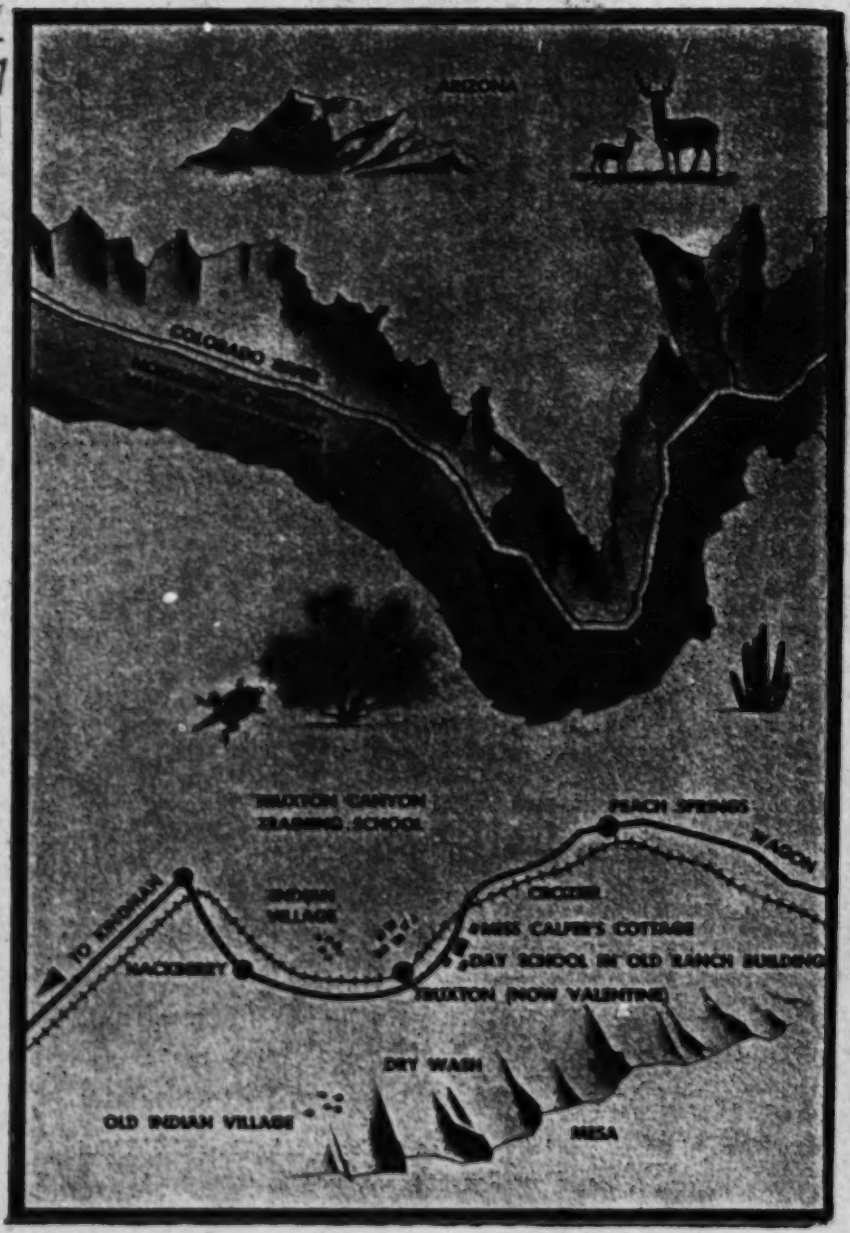

[p. 116H]

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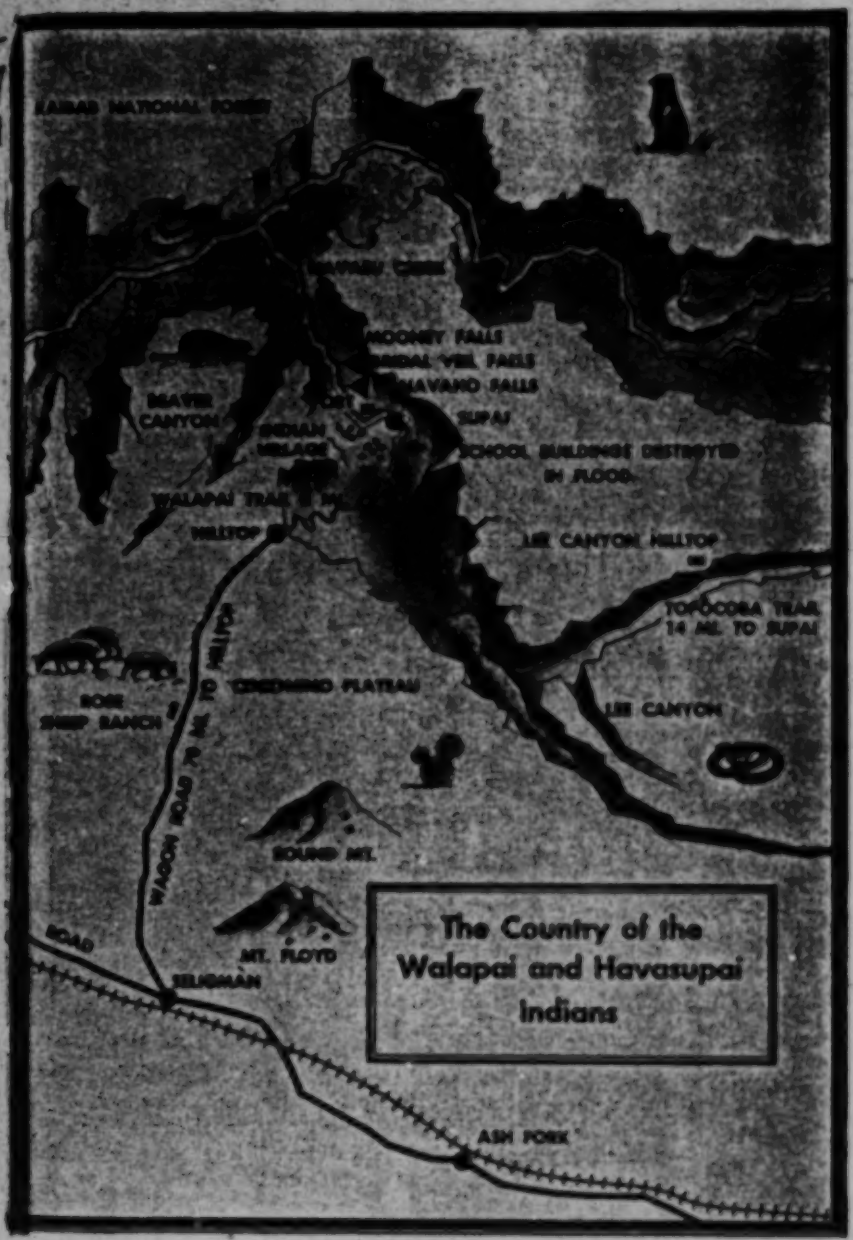

[p. 116 I]

222 would comb the desert for the pifion nuts, oily and pungent, as
262 they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

221 Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for
222 Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

221 From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the
262 upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain
224 sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff
[316] that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

221 When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight
361 winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods.
262 One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

253 Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on
824 the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

221 Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers
222 leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 361 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, canteloupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

133 241 311 [487] [312]

342 The peaceful *Aswas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again [291]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

773 539 until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

773 173 34 In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

At an elevation of 4000 ft., the Esplanade, 1 mi. wide in places, crumbles away in ragged steps through the upper strata of the Supai formation. Abruptly, vertical walls break away, dropping 500 to 800 ft. and forming the narrow inner gorge of Cataract Canyon. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, locally is called the Redwall in reference to its color, which contrasts with the Whitewall above. This is not to be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls. It is from the crumbling top of the Supai formation that storms wash huge boulders which tumble and crash to the canyon below. 133 [103]

The Factor of Water Supply

The existence of permanent water sources determined the residence pattern. The Havasupai have been described as seminomadic, but a more accurate term might be seasonally migratory. On the plateau, families sometimes built temporary brush shelters when they were harvesting pinyon nuts or other occasional crops, or when the tribe assembled for ceremonial or other purposes, but for the most part, families erected permanent structures to which they returned year after year as long as the house was deemed suitable. The presence of water within a reasonable distance was the determining factor in the location of both permanent and temporary camp sites, excepting those of the most transient nature. There were a number of permanent springs known on the plateau, and the karst topography provided natural reservoirs for retaining precipitation. It is speculated that the prehistoric Havasupai, with the karst examples before them and having the engineering skill and industry to build and keep in constant repair the canyon irrigation system, probably built dams on the plateau to impound water at some of the sites now similarly used by them or neighboring ranchers. 221 312 [342] [361] [241]

Water sufficient for irrigation was present at a site called Indian Gardens, which was located a short distance below the canyon rim on Bright Angel trail and which was farmed by the Havasupai in early historic times. Prospect Valley, west of Cataract Canyon, also was farmed (Spier, personal communication, 1957). In addition, several other areas, including one on the floor of Grand Canyon proper, were farmed by means of irrigation. 241 312 311

In Cataract Canyon,* a short distance above the village area, numerous springs emerge on the canyon floor, flowing over impervious shales in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with minerals, travertine being deposited along the stream's course. This deposition accounts for some of the erratic behavior of the creek. Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of past shifting of the creek channel. Havasu Creek,* swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house. 133 312

*The names, Cataract and Havasu Canyon and Cataract and Havasu Creek, appear interchangeably in the literature and all four terms are in common usage among residents of the area. [103]

[Text continues on page 10]

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.

[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

[372]
[276]

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
361 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land.
312 Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 3 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1878 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 598 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topocoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[83] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

232 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[143] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

282 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[98] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting pinon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and pinon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, pinon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come. 487

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown. 133

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians. 133 361

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for 361 (177) 177 342 342

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the post half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

[P. 538A]

101
131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman
173 tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Coconino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of
[172] Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed
● 361 early occupancy by them. Their present village, composed of temporary cabins or
342 shelters of wattled canes and branches
131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s.
142 of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manu-
105 facture and use of implements, and especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close [291] head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a [133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses, [241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed [312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed [342] in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows [361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the 114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that [756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a [515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great [231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed [44] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

The Nation of the Willows.

I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched 193 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as 241 we rode along the river trail. These 311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails. 342 Here and there were little cabins, or 361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our 609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[previous portion of this article not processed]

487 tains its primitive narrowness and angular beauty, only here and there worn
133 by the blasts of rain and wind and sand. These features are characteristic until the last turn reveals a bending plain, in no place exceeding half a mile in width, formed by the junction of the lesser southwestern cañon with the main southeastern, and reinforced by the wearing of the emerging river for ages, — and this is the sandy, loamy plain where the Ha-va-su-paí or Kuhni kwe dwell,
133 and the groves of cottonwood and willows grow. Below the little village,
[361] which numbers about thirty-five huts, are four beautiful cataracts, from which the stream derives its American name. The first two are inconsiderable, although beautiful, sheltered as they are
[137] by thrifty, irregular growths of cottonwood and willow, the forms of which are reflected, and torn into a thousand fragments of green and silver, by the rippling, boiling, surging, rushing waters. The geologic history of these two is repeated in a third and grander fall, a mile or two below the head of the village. Huge rocks have tumbled down to the very water's edge from the cliffs on either side, which here almost meet each other, leaving only a broken path on the eastern bank, difficult for the passage even of foot travelers. The unaided waters have built for their own adornment a horseshoe-shaped, overhanging dam of carbonate of lime, three hundred feet in height, filling in the basin above, to the very surface of the pool, with a confused jumble of petrified trees, mosses, ferns, flags, and what not, preserving only one deep, narrow, serene channel through the middle. And from their stony, dead ancestry spring ever fresh trees, mosses, ferns and flags; their rootlets and dead leaves continually changing to stone, their branches shooting upward to form a network so green and massive that it hides the waters which are at once their life and destruction. Over the top and very

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their hawas — even the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilised peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-te-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-te-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tod-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

841 773 539 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Presently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 864 841 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from contacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were [192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu k tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 328). Blood was recorded as ahuit' and red as ahuit'a by this investigator.

841 864 362 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 292 [622] In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtebut'lled*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*dk'lld*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [272] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úvi*, and *kdbé'da„la'ni* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*tdp'ó"l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*dqwidjd*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] 252 [412]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

side, it is rolled up, set aside, and later worked as described above. As the skin contains considerable fat, it must be dried in the shade. A second tanning is then given, using the spinal canal marrow. 281

Tools

Fire Tools. Inasmuch as cooking is a day-long process there is usually a fire within easy reach. But fire may be readily obtained with palm drill or strike-a-light. 372

The firedrill (*o'ogádid*: *o'o*, fire) consists of hearth and drill. The hearth (*katu'pàrdg*) is a section of the dry flower stalk of bear grass (*Nolina microcarpa* S. Wats., *ák'tagádid*), which grows on the talus slopes. This is flattened on opposite sides and provided on one face with pits (*nu'dág*) adjacent to notches in one edge (Fig. 18). The drill (*gutá*) of dry mesquite root is straightened, trimmed, and rubbed down to a diameter of one centimeter. Beargrass and mesquite root are the best materials; others may be used, the only requisite being that they are

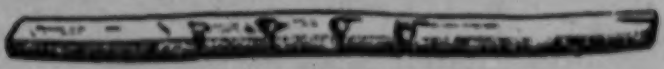

Fig. 18 (50.9-1234). A Firedrill Hearth.

thoroughly dry. Hearth and drill are made in two sizes. For ordinary uses about the camp, the hearth measured 25 cm. in length, the drill 60 cm. When traveling the drill is carried in the quiver, with the hearth in its own case tied to the outside. But by preference shorter sticks, each 15 cm. long, are carried together in a special case. The short drill is then substituted for the foreshaft of an arrow in order to lengthen it for use. The operator is usually seated with knees drawn up, holding the hearth on a flat stone beneath his feet. A pinch of sand is placed in the drill pan. The drill is rotated between the palms in the familiar manner, exerting considerable downward pressure; when the hands reach the lower end of the drill they are quickly returned to the top. The wood dust falls through the adjacent notch on to the stone; rubbed, dry cedarbark serves as tinder. A demonstration with a somewhat green drill took about a minute to produce a glowing coal. Obviously two men drilling together can reduce this time materially. The pumpdrill is not used.

The strike-a-light has a native form. A white stone (*ddgl'akwid*, pyrites?) is held, together with the tinder, in one hand, and struck with a flint knife. The only tinder used is cotton (*kádjdut*) grown from seeds

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

372 obtained from the Hopi. It is braided into a thick cord (Adjdaedcfwaad) 30 cm. long, and drawn through a tube (the hind leg bone of a wildcat) of half its length. When wanted the charred end is pulled out of the tube which protects it from dampness. The tinder and stones are wrapped together in their own case.[1]

It is quite as convenient to carry a slow-match (akakwidd) when traveling (Fig. 19). This is a rope of rubbed cedarbark, 2 cm. diameter

Fig. 19 (30.2-1280). A Slow Match of Cedarbark Rope.

and nearly 2 m. long, tied at short intervals with yucca leaves. It is carried in a coil, the smouldering end being blown on from time to time.

There is no great discrimination among fuels in the canyon for all the available materials are inferior (cottonwood, willow, sagebrush, corncobs, etc.). In fact, this is assigned as one reason for leaving the canyon [221] in the winter; it is certainly too laborious to pack firewood from the [412] plateau. Fallen trees and dead limbs are broken with heavy stones.

[1] Compare a reed containing charred cotton found by Fewkes near the Verde Valley, fig. 373.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*wakwa-ni'i*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*wakwa'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

Fig. 20 a (20.2-1888), b (20.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*a'wale*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, loc. cit. Ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (a), 278); Paiute examples in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (b), 209.)

[2] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimens in Museum of Anthropology, University of California). [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their *New Fire* ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2-1224) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

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171

Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

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As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

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[1] Hough, (a), 223; Fowke, (d), pl. 3; Lewis, (l), 223; (a), 199; (b), 214; Hough, (a), 236-243; Barrett, (a), 287; Mooney and Gardner, 15. Washo information from Dorothy R. H. Lewis, 1926.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 65.
[3] Hough, (a), Pl. 20; Lewis, (l), 223; (a), 199; Chamberlin, (a), 35; Barrett, (a), 287; Teit, (a), 327; Mooney and Gardner, 15.
[4] Franciscan Fathers, 607.
[5] Russell, (a), 134; Sparkman, 210; Dixon, (a), 168; Lewis, (a), 134.
[6] Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (a), 139.
[7] Pettis, 169; Goddard, (b), 261; Hough, (a), 237; Letherman, 253; Mason, O. T., (f), 640, 668, Pl. 78, Fig. 2; Mooney, J. A., (b), 136; Bourke, (b), 87.

[Text continues on p. 160]

Bailiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Socorran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the
[372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet
[276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 3 mi. in the cultivated area.

487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 134). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs.

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Sometimes peaches, etc., are rubbed over the interior of parching trays to prevent them from burning.[1] 285

When the water bottle is ready for its coating, it is vigorously rubbed all over with a dry corncob so that the fine fragments of the latter will fill the interstices. A mouthful of water is sprayed over the basket, then the soapweed paste is smeared on and rubbed in. This paste is made of old soapweed stalks which are pounded, the connective tissue worked up with water into a dough, and set aside for future use. When wanted it is pounded up and again mixed into a paste with water. After this is applied, a handful of red paint powder is mixed with water and smeared over the still wet bottle.[2] The bottle is then stood in the sun to dry. It next receives a coat of piñon pitch (*daaid*). The clear gum of this tree is picked off the bark, and boiled down for ten or twenty minutes until dark brown. A quantity (six or seven cupfuls) of the liquid is poured inside the bottle. Brush is stuck into the mouth to serve as a handle. The bottle is then laid on its side near a bed of coals—the pitch is highly inflammable—and continuously turned over, the heat preventing the pitch from coagulating until it has filled all the interstices. More pitch is evidently poured or swabbed over the exterior of the bottle, which rests on a bed of brush piled over the coals.[3] A piece of cloth or buckskin is frequently placed over the pointed bottom; one bottle (50.2–1640) has a pad of loosely woven yucca fiber, sticking tight to the soft pitch. The pitch does not melt in the sun to any extent after it once hardens. 285 285 381

The material used in sewing coiled baskets is the twig of the *gulut*[4] (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) or the cottonwood. The bark is scraped off and the wood split. The split sections are scraped to uniform width. They are prepared at leisure and coiled for storage like those of the Pima.[5] When desired for use they are soaked in water. [171] All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size.[6] The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod (*djimita*) close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center 285

[1] Cushing states that these trays are "coated with mineral asphaltum and earth", (a), 550. This is incorrect; no earthy substance is ever used. His mistake is natural since the ball of mineral tissue which is kept for the purpose looks very much like clay. The point is important, for Cushing's theory of the development of pottery from earthen linings for baskets, based on the Havasupai case, has been widely quoted, (b), 484–502. [144]

[2] I do not understand why the bottles are colored, unless it is intended that this coating color shows through the pitch which is subsequently applied.

[3] My notes are not explicit on this point.

[4] Kinsell, Fig. 15.

[5] Double, single, or two-rod foundations are never used.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *h*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a 386 mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a 317 small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*matkqdd'it*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 396 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the [302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matkd'o*

[171] [1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their heads black in this manner instead of red.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (sinkátčiwi, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva. 396 302

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dinyéčigé'*) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other 304

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. a-c, Center of man's forehead; *f*, g, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally 177 291

[Also signifying writing: *nadinyéčigé* means both photograph and camera (spd, mas).]

Gilliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

842 Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

844 At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant [515] in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, [278] obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, [854] a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.)

856 To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long [854] strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face [302] and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and [386] any available grease, such as lard or cold cream.

Use of the Cradleboard

854 A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's [302] mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent [438] has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers.

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Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother.

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

[177]

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

[237]

[386]

857
868

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride.

[562]
[492]

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally [301] were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[841] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the
[177] same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always

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Rabbits are also tracked in the snow to their refuges in hollow logs, etc., whence they are drawn with a straight poker (*hnhnPwidni*) corresponding to the crooked stick of other tribes. This is a thin pointed stick more than a meter long, nicked for a distance of 10 cm. at its tip. When thrust into the log, it is twisted about until these barbs catch in the rabbit's fur. When the rabbit is drawn out, the hunter locates the heart, pinches it, and with a sharp yank ruptures it.

Traps are placed on the rodent trails in the fields and near storehouses to catch the squirrels and rats which rust up the corn, tear their way into the storehouses, etc. Snakes and birds are sometimes found in these devices, but no attempt is made to trap or snare larger game. A stick rests in the fork of an upright stick, 25 cm. long, with one end propping up the deadfall weight, a large flat stone (Fig. 4). A cord tied

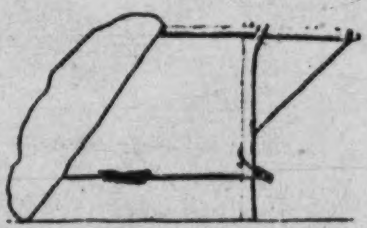

Fig. 4 (80.2–1225). A Rodent Trap.

to its other end has a short stick attached to it. The cord is carried half around the upright, so that one end of the short stick rests against it. The trigger stick is propped between the stone and the other end of the short stick; the tension of the cord holding it in unstable equilibrium. The trap (*gwee'ónia*, something ——) is placed on the trail, with wings of brush arranged so that the rodent must pass under the deadfall. It is baited with dried peaches or mescal pulp tied firmly to the trigger.

Turkeys, found on the plateau, especially near Pine Spring, doves, and quail, as well as the eggs of the last are taken for food. Other birds and their eggs are not eaten.[1] Fish are not eaten.

Dogs are sometimes used in hunting, for driving rabbits into hollow logs whence they could be chopped out, or for following wounded deer over hard ground. The dog is loosed on the trail, to pursue and hold the

[1] Unlike the White Mountain Apache, the Havasupai do not build fires under trees in which doves and quail roost in order to club the dazed birds.

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Yavapai, Luiseño, Salinan, Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi,[1] Kombo (Yana or Yahi), Paviotso, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Chopunish (a group at the eastern edge of the Nez Percé reservation), and Crow.[2] There are doubtless others.

Communal rabbit drives are probably very common in the Southeast and the Basin, but records of the fact elude a search. They are recorded as the practice of the Navaho, Acoma, Zuñi Hopi, Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Shivwits, Gosiute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern and Southern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi, and probably Walapai, Mohave, Uintah, and Salinan.[3] There is some variation in the procedure: the Paviotso, Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hopi hunters form in a line and drive in a straight course; the Shivwits, Navaho, Pima, and again the Hopi form a circle. The Washo, Paviotso, and Shivwits have a special director of the hunt; the Havasupai do not.

The rabbits are frequently driven into nets: Walapai, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, Salinan, Shivwits, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Northern Maidu, Achomawi and Atsugewi. This distribution omits the Southwestern tribes, except for those on its western fringe.

The characteristic curved rabbit club was not in universal use. It is the weapon of the Hopi, Zuñi, Navaho, Mohave, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. The Zuñi, at least, also use straight billets of wood. Several others are known to use clubs of some sort (Yavapai, Pima, Western (?) Apache, Achomawi, and Atsugewi) but the Shivwits and Havasupai use none at all.[4]

Many tribes in this area use a stick provided with a crook to draw rabbits and other rodents from their hiding places. But it is recorded only for the Yavapai, Tonto Apache, and Shivwits Paiute. I have also a recollection of seeing this tool among the Navaho, but a Havasupai informant referred to the use of a straight stick provided with little barbs like their own. The same straight stick is used by the Zuñi and probably as a second type by the Shivwits.[5]

The Navaho use a trap identical with that of the Havasupai, and this is true of the Hopi, if I correctly interpret the description given by Mason based on information from Hough.[6]

[1] Cremony, 39; Franciscan Fathers, 375; Matthews, (d), 217; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 439-441; Hough, (e), 285; Corbusier, 328; Sparkman, 197; Mason, J. A., (a), 124; Dixon, (a), 192-193; Powers, 271; Lowie, (i), 197, 199; (a), 185; Lewis and Clark, IV, 371; V, 38, 40; Lowie, (b), 210.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 324, 476; Sedgwick, ch. II; Bourke, (c), 345; Hough, (e), 174; Chamberlain, 338; Russell, (d), 59; Spier, (d), 337; Sparkman, 198; Lowie, (i), 198-199; Powell, 127; Chamberlin, (b), 336; Barrett, (b), 11-12; Dixon, (a), 195; Faye, 38; Dixon, (e), 213; Whipple, 115; Mason, J. A., (a), 143; Mason, O. T., (e), 209.

[3] Hough, (e), 285, 287; Mohave specimen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California; Barrows, 50; Bourke, (b), 60.

[4] Corbusier, 328; Smart, 416; Powell, 123; Cushing, (d), 491; Lowie, (i), 198.

[5] Franciscan Fathers, 322; Mason, O. T., (j), 472.

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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hapú'"*) is called *kap'ágima'a*, or *kap'á*, or *puima'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 148–198.

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322 411 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The [412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 322 237 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mĭsmdᵉ*, sinewed?): it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally, [412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly [439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back [531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The 411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by 237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

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though the string is loosened somewhat when not in use. New bow-strings are a necessity, because a worn string might snap and the tension of the sinew backing is such as to reverse the arc, break the wood, and "perhaps drive a broken end into a man's side, killing him." The bow is kept in a buckskin case; a tube with a single seam. Specimens of such

411 ● 237

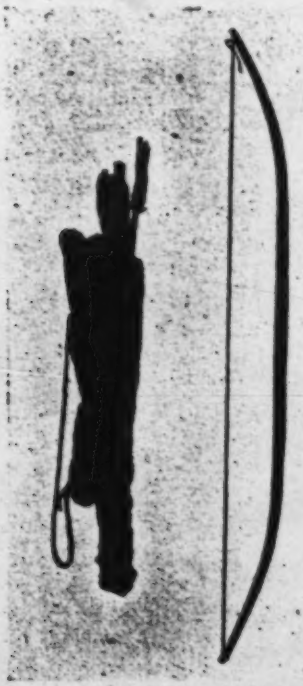

Fig. 23 (50.2-1601, 1599). Quiver and Self-Bow.

bows are not extant. No trussed or compound bow of any other description was used, but the trussed bow is credited to the Navaho. [177]

The bowstring (*ĭmĕcma hăpudjĭndgid*) is always sinew (*ĭmĕcma'*); leather and yucca fibers are never used. The best sinew is that from the hind leg of a deer or mountain sheep. (Tendons are pulled from the hind legs from knee to hock. Others are stripped from both sides of the deer's backbone beginning at the withers, leaving them attached to each

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411 other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is
237 soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This
[556] is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a
411 half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: hápdagwlôà (Let this be strong; let this not break).

[788]

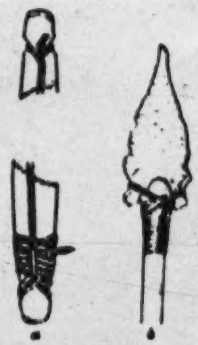

Fig. 24 (50.2-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldmé*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

411 Reed arrows (*dp'a"dt'a'* or *dt'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most
322 common. Arrow reeds (*dt'd'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*doθúwd*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'd'a'i'i; i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dmavdlá*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*múkwapadjid mödëmtdid*) is
[321] a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have
[412] been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not wet with the tongue at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamâlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjâtaûiga*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpded'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vltal'dja*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the series of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

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Young

231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane dis-
237 carded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
●411 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed
531 arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 25) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 25 (50.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

marks, for a man could always recognise his own arrows. Glue is applied
411 at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

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several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers.

The best quiver (*n,dpûwd*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hides of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 26. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the

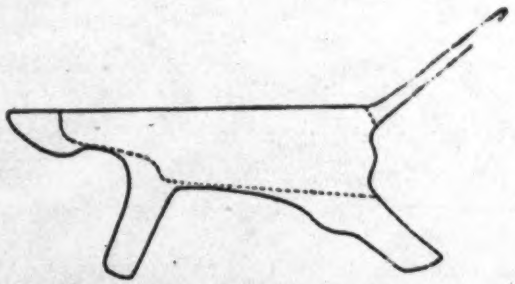

Fig. 26 (50.2-1601). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 23.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle.

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is in demand for quivers (Bourke, (c), 438.)

[2] An identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, (1) T. (c), Pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal.

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171 372 Most Southwestern peoples, like the Havasupai, use a simple fire-drill, a single piece of wood. The composite drill, having a short fore-shaft of wood of a special sort set in the end of the drill, occurs in this area among the Navaho. The Hopi use it at least in their New Fire ceremony. Northward it is distributed among the Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Washo, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Crow, Green River Salish, and Snohomish or Snuqualmi.[1] The materials used might be compared. I note that the Havasupai use the flower stalk of bear grass for the hearth, the White Mountain Apache that of *Yucca baccata*, and the Navaho a soft stalk of a large weed. The Shivwits, like the Havasupai, use mesquite for the drill. With regard to the pits on the hearth, the Paviotso prescribe four as the standard number. Similarly of the Navaho hearth, it is said "small holes, sometimes four in number, were cut into it,"[2] and one Havasupai specimen (50.2-1224) has four holes, but this was not specified as standard for them. The Shivwits made pits all along the hearth. It may be that we have here a diffused trait; on the other hand, it may be nothing but an expression of the pattern number, four, obtruding itself on every occasion.

The slow-match, a long roll of cedar or sagebrush bark, is widely distributed through the western plateaus. It is used by the Havasupai and by the Navaho according to them (p. 226), Hopi, White Mountain Apache (?), Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Modoc, Thompson, and Nisqually.[3]

285 171 Bark mats or blankets may be in general use throughout the plateaus. The smaller Havasupai type, woven spirally, is also found among the Navaho.[4] Reed mats are used instead by the Pima, Luiseño, Northern Shoshoni,[5] and Maidu.

171 411 237 As Mason and Wissler pointed out years ago the sinew-backed bow is found throughout the western plateaus, in the western Plains, and on the Pacific slope.[6] The following notes will help to define its range with greater precision (Fig. 28).

In the Southwest it is used by the Mescalero, Jicarilla, Southern Ute, Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Havasupai.[7] There is a prehistoric sinew-wrapped bow from southern Colorado in the Museum

[1]Hough, (c), 583; Fewkes, (d), pl. 3; Lowie, (l), 222; (a), 189; (b), 214; Hough, (a), 536-543; Barrett, (a), 257; Haeberlin und Günther, 15. Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926.
[2]Franciscan Fathers, 65.
[3]Hough, (a), Pl. 20; Lowie, (l), 223; (a), 189; Chamberlin, (a), 35; Barrett, (a), 257; Teit, (a), 297; Haeberlin und Günther, 15.
[4]Franciscan Fathers, 467.
[5]Russell, (d), 134; Sparkman, 210; Dixon, (a), 148; Lowie, (a), 184.
[6]Mason, O. T., (f); Wissler, (a), 159.
[7]Pattie, 164; Guiklard, (b), 261; Hough, (a), 397; Letherman, 203; Mason, O. T., (f), 640, 668, Pl. 79, Fig. 3; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 180; Bourke, (b), 57.

[Text continues on p. 160]

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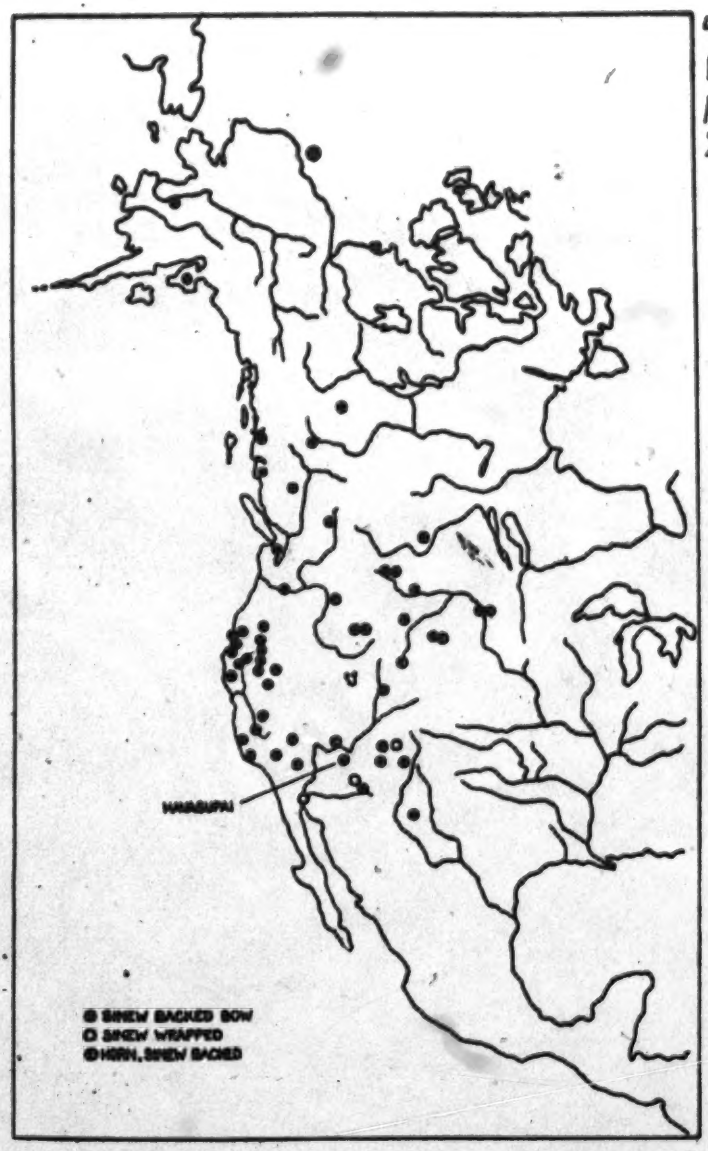

Fig. 28. Distribution of the Sinew-Backed Bow in North America (omitting Eskimo types).

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of Anthropology, University of California (2–3342). The Tonto have a bow "strengthened at points by a wrapping of sinew," and that of the Yuma is also wrapped with sinew.[1] In California and the adjacent part of the Basin the sinew-backed bow is used by the Chemehuevi, Panamint, Kitanemuk (Tejon), Salinan, Yokuts, Wükchumni, Washo, Paviotso, Northern Maidu, Yana (?), Northern Wintun, Eastern Pomo, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Rogue River peoples, Modoc and Klamath.[2] According to Kroeber this occurs generally in California south to the Tehachapi Range, including the Panamint and Yokuts and a single specimen attributed to the Chumash. The Cahuilla, the Northern and Southern Diegueño did not have the sinew-backed bow, nor did the Hopi, and perhaps Shivwits and Uintah.[3]

To the north and east this form is recorded for the Northern Ute, Lemhi, Crow, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Plains-Cree, Cheyenne, the Sioux of Montana, Hidatsa, Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, the natives of Port Discovery on Puget Sound, Middle Columbia Salish, Shuswap (?), Chilcotin, Carrier, Sekanai, Ts'ets'aut, Kenai, and the Tinneh of the lower Yukon River.[4] Mackenzie observed the bow in what is probably Bella Coola territory.[5] Another type, consisting of joined pieces of horn and backed with sinew is known from the Kaibab, Wind River[6] and Lemhi Shoshoni, Cheyenne, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Nez Percé. Some of those referred to above may be of horn rather than of wood. The data used here are not sufficient to distinguish between the wide bows of the Pacific slope and the slender variety of the Basin and Plains, as O. T. Mason does.

The Eskimo have still another form of the sinew-backed bow, which commonly has a cable of sinews extending along the back. This is known from Baffin Land to East Cape, Siberia. The trussed bow is also credited to the Navaho by the Havasupai. Compound bows are widely distributed in Siberia and other parts of the Old World.

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There is some suggestion that the length of self bows increases in the direction of Baja California. The relevant data (chiefly approxima-

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[1]Smart, 418; Trippel, 576.

[2]Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 32; credited to the Chemehuevi by the Southern Diegueño [Spier, (d), 350]; Coville, 360; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 63, Figs. 2, 3, 4; Pl. 93; 675; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Powers, 373; Barrett, (b), 16; Lowie, (i), 245; Snyder, 327; Dixon, (a), 202; Pope, 330, 341, Pl. 52. Fig. 3; Pl. 48, Fig. 15; 337, Pl. 47, Fig. 8. Pomo data from Dr. Edwin Loeb; Wükchumni from Miss Ann Gayton. Dixon, (c), 213; Barrett, (a), 346; Quarterly Oregon Historical Society, 7, 1906, 170.

[3]Kroeber, (g), 58; Spier, (e), 330; Lowie, (i), 245.

[4]Culin, (a), 96; Lowie, (a), 175, 191; Thwaites, III, 19–20; Lowie, (g), 230; Wissler, (a), 155, 180; Kroeber, (b), 180; Skinner, 83; Grinnell, (b), I, 174. Pope, Pl. 48, Fig. 14, 340; Sapir, (a), 272; Mason, O. T., (f), Pl. 62, Figs. 2, 3; 676, 677; Teit, (c), 516, 782; ms. on Middle Columbia Salish; Morice, (b), 58, 59; Boas, (b), 663; Wasco specimen, Field Museum no. 60491.

[5]Mackenzie, II, 311.

[6]Powell, 128; Lowie, (i), 246.

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tions) at hand are: Maidu, 1 m., Salinan, 91 cm., Havasupai, 91 to 112, Western Apache, 162, Yavapai, 137, Mohave, 122 to 182, Pima, 135, Cahuilla, 122 to 137, Luiseño, 152, Southern Diegueño, 100 to 120, Cocopa, 182 to 243, Pipi[1] and Lower California Indians, 182, and Pericues, "long."[2] The exception here is the Southern Diegueño.

Mohave, Navaho, and Southern Diegueño bows at least are cut from the wood in the same way as the Havasupai. That is, the rounded back of the bow is the exterior of the tree limb, the interior is cut flat giving a trapezoidal cross-section. This may not be general.[3]

The Navaho use the same bowstring hitches as the Havasupai and also attach a length of buckskin to the string. The bowguard or wrist protector is widely used. In this area it is recorded for the Yavapai, Tonto, Havasupai, Navaho, Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Paviotso, and Northern Shoshoni.[4]

The arrow wrench may be quite widely used. O. T. Mason ascribes it to the Plains Indians, the West Coast tribes, and the Eskimo. I have found it recorded among the Navaho, Ute, and Cheyenne,[5] as well as the Havasupai. This is a mountain sheep horn. The Hopi use antelope or goat horn[6]; the Cheyenne bone also.

Reed arrows are apparently restricted in the Southwest and California to the tribes in the direction of the lower Colorado River. The Yavapai, Tonto, Pima, Cocopa, Pipi, Seri, and the Indians of Baja California seem to use only reed arrows[7]; wooden ones are also used by the Navaho, Havasupai, Western and Mescalero Apache, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Panamint, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, and Maidu.[8] All other tribes mentioned in the second paragraph below apparently have wooden arrows only. The Havasupai and Luiseño favor the reed, the Cahuilla the wooden arrow. It is interesting that the Paviotso make a wooden arrow with a separate foreshaft in the manner of a reed arrow.[9]

There is also a suggestion that arrows from the lower Colorado and Baja California are longer than elsewhere. This might be expected from

[1]A group on a hundred miles below the mouth of the Gila and below the Cocopa (Pattie, 201).
[2]Dixon, (a), 202; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Bourke, (b), 57; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 50; Russell, (d), 95; Kroeber, (g), 58; Sparkman, 205; Spier, (e), 350; Chittenden, 204; Bargett 402; North, 238.
[3]Pope, 235, Pl. 46, Fig. 2; 237, Pl. 47, Fig. 7; Spier, (e), 350.
[4]Corbusier, 262; Smart, 418; Shufeldt, (a), 784; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (a), 246, 298; Whipple, 114; Russell, (d), 163; Spier, (d), 353; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 192.
[5]Franciscan Fathers, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 660; Grinnell, (b), I, 179.
[6]Hough, (a), 278.
[7]Whipple, 98; Smart, 418; Russell, (d), 98; Heintzelman, 43; Pattie, 201; McGee, 197, Bargett, 392; North, 238.
[8]Franciscan Fathers, 182, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 639, 661; Pattie, 164; Trippel, 376; Kroeber, (g), 58; Coville, 360; Sparkman, 205, 206; Spier, (e), 351; Dixon, (a), 203.
[9]Lowie, (i), 246.

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the fact that their bows are longer, but the correlation is not close. Approximate lengths follow—:

	Wood	*Reed*
Maidu	82–87 cm.	
Havasupai	70–73	75 cm.
Western Apache		60
Mohave		very long
Pima		78–85
Luiseño		90
Southern Diegueño	60	74–80
Seri		65
Baja California		95–120
Pericues		90+

Wooden arrows sometimes have shallow longitudinal grooves running along the shaft; these are usually wavy or zigzag. O. T. Mason states that "the Eskimo do not make them, neither do the Northwest Coast Indians. Athapascan, Shoshonean, Siouan, Kiowan tribes are especially given to this practice."[1] The distribution of this feature is wide, but more restricted to a definite area than Mason's generalization would imply. Such grooves are generally used in the Southwest, in the Basin and northern California, and throughout the Plains, but I have found them nowhere else with the exception of the Western Déné. In addition to the literature, I have examined the collections in the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, with some care, and somewhat more casually those in the Field Museum, United States National Museum, Museum of the American Indian, Washington State Museum, and the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B. C. It occurs among the following tribes: Yuma, Mohave, Havasupai, Hopi,[2] Zuñi, Western Apache,[3] Navaho,[4] San Ildefonso, Taos, Picuris, Mescalero, Southern Ute and those of Utah, Wind River (?) Shoshoni, Snake of Idaho, Maidu,[5] Wintun, Achomawi, McCloud River, Shasta, Hupa, Yurok, Klamath,[6] Wasco,[7] Rock Creek Sahaptins,[8] Nez Percé, Blackfoot, Western Déné,[9] Crow,[10] Cheyenne

[1] Mason, O. T., (f), 660.
[2] Hough, (c), 288.
[3] Mason, O. T., (f), 664.
[4] Franciscan Fathers, 318.
[5] Dixon, (a), 203.
[6] Mason, (f), 676.
[7] Field Museum, no. 69491.
[8] Washington State Museum specimens 5787 and 5789.
[9] Morice, (b), 55.
[10] Lowie, (b), 220.

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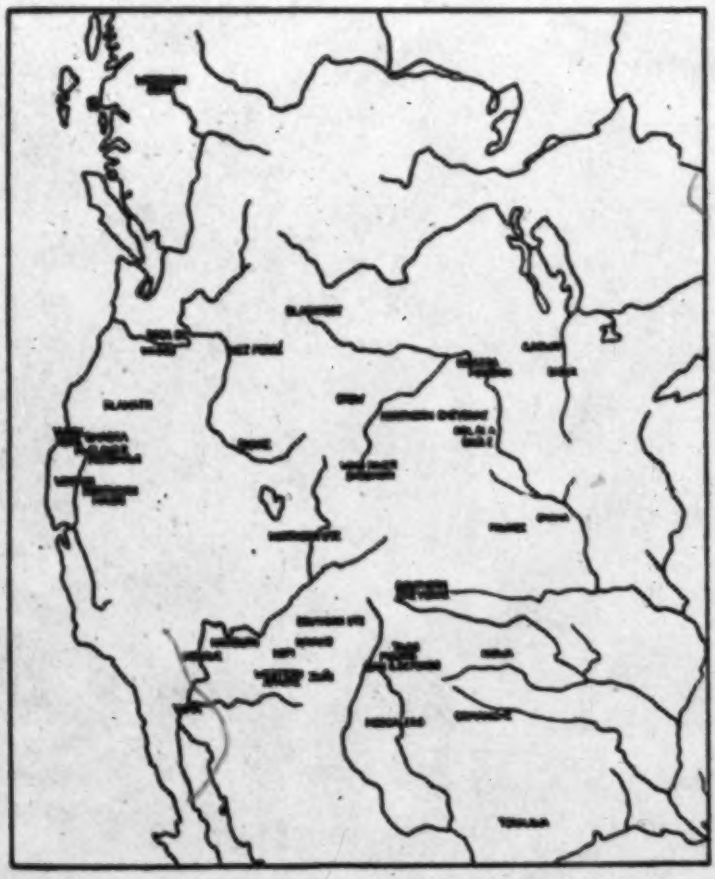

Fig. 29. The Distribution of the Grooved Arrowshaft.

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(both northern and southern groups),[1] Hidatsa, Mandan,[2] Oglala, Brûlé, and other western Sioux, the Sioux of Devil's Lake (Minnesota?), Ojibway of Dakota, Omaha,[3] Pawnee,[4] Kiowa, Comanche, and Tonkawa[5] (Fig. 29).

These grooves range from zigzag to straight lines. While my notes are not sufficiently complete for certainty, there is a suggestion of regional specialization of this feature. That is, Tonkawa, Comanche, and Kiowa examples are straight or nearly so; the others, where we have information, are wavy (Nez Percé, Wasco, Snake, Maidu, Ute, Havasupai, Navaho, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Ojibway). Cheyenne arrows have a straight groove on one side, a zigzag on the other. That from the Sioux of Devil's Lake is straight, but others from the Sioux figured by Mason are wavy or zigzag.

Several explanations are offered: they represent lightning to the Navaho, Havasupai, and Mandan;[6] blood channels to the Western Apache and Pawnee. The last also say that the grooves cause the arrow to adhere to the wound. Those of the Western Déné and Klamath are also styled blood gutters, but I am not sure that the Indians call them that. The Omaha explain them as a device to prevent the arrow from returning to its natural bent, an explanation accepted by Grinnell in connection with the Cheyenne, but the grooves are so shallow, the merest traces, that it is difficult to see how they could function, if a longitudinal groove would serve at all. This seems nothing but a rationalization, not different from the blood-channel explanation.

[1] Grinnell, (a), I, 128.
[2] Mason, O. T. (f), 664.
[3] Fletcher and La Flesche, 421.
[4] Mason, O. T. (f), 674.
[5] Mason, O. T. (f), Plates XLI, 3; XLVI, 1, 2; XLIII, 1, 2, 6; XLIV, 6; XLV, 2, 4, 5; XLVI, 2, 4; XLVII, 2, 4; LXXIV, 2; LXXII, 2; LXXIII, LXXIV, 2; XC.
In these museum collections are arrows from other localities having the grooves: Pomo, Modoc, Chilcotin, Kwakiutl, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Ponca, Tohono, and Shuswap. To which Antigua may be added, according, maybe, Eastern Columbians.
[6] This may be Matthews's explanation, not that of the Mandan.

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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matglnyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgdmund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sūwákwd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

726 In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*ǫdyǭǫd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*ǫdwawid'ǫ*, scalp; *ǫdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettis, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

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171 537 story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

171 726 Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

> divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialization was general in this area.

171 411 At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribution. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 116, 128.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 295, 318.
[3] Powers 331; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly Californian tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (d), 120, 202.
[7] Whipple, Parkman, and Turner, 80; Barrows, 80; Hoffman, in Reid, 20; Trippel, 877; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 66; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 331.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 298.
[9] Rourke, (b), 80; Lowie, (i), 246.
[10] Taylor, (c), 284.
[11] Means; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 603.

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171 411 Pima, Luiseño, Clear Lake Pomo, Trinity Wintun, Puget Sound Salish, and on southwestern Vancouver Island.[1]

It is well known that armor is used in a wide area of western North 171 America from Bering Straits into the southern continent. The only 713 variety we are concerned with here is a tunic formed of several thicknesses of heavy skin, commonly joined and stiffened by layers of glue and sand. Something of the sort is in use among Havasupai, Navaho, Western (?) Apache, Zuñi, Opata, Aztec, Comanche, Pawnee, Paviotso, Maidu, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Wailaki, Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, Takelma, Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Chinook, Quinault, Twana, Chimakum, Klallam, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Nootka, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, Loucheux, Hare, Nass, Taku, Chilcat and other Tlingit, and undoubtedly others.[2] The Blackfoot have a tradition of its use. The Pima evidently do not use armor.[3] To the south quilted cotton armor was used by Mexicans, Toltecs, Mayas, Isthmians, and Peruvians, according to Hough. Slat and rod armor reach no farther south than the Maidu: north from this point these types are used by Achomawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Klamath, Hupa, Takelma, Chinook, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, and Tlingit.[4]

So far as the information goes the curtain shield is used in the South- 171 west by the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai only. The Thompson 411 use a large piece of stiff elkhide and the Lillooet roll marmot skins thickly around the left arm. The circular shield used in the Plains and Mexico extends into the Southwest among Comanche, Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Western Apache, and Pima. Kroeber adds Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño to this list.[5] In the Basin-Plateau it is known to the Ute, Wind River and Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Shuswap, and Thompson.[6]

The poisoning of arrows may have been more common than the 171 collected data indicate; at any rate it is a widespread custom. One 278 poison of a curious sort suggests that some cases at least are historically 411 connected. This is made of a liver which a rattlesnake has been made to

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 75, 335; Pattie, 130; Bourke, (b), 59; Sparkman, 203; Powers, 215, 241; Kelly, 622; Meares, 176.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 458; Hough, (b), 626, 631, 642, 645, 646, Pl. 16, 17; Russell, (c), 73; Winship, 848; Bandelier, (a), 70; Lowie, (i), 245; Dixon, (a), 305; (c), 213; Mason, O. T., (a), 230; Kroeber, (c), 399; Gatschet, (b), 98; Lowie, (a), 192; Lewis and Clark, III, 21; Franchère, 253; Quinault information from Mr. Ronald L. Olson; Gibbs, 192; Spinden, 227; Kelly, 633; Teit, (c), 338, 785; (h), 324; (a), 265; Meares, 354; Morice, (a), 217; (b), 140, 149; Krause, 309; Sapir, (a), 274; (b), 157, 255.

[3] Winsor, (a), 163; Russell, (d), 26.

[4] Hough, (b), 631, 640, Pl. 14; Farrand, (a), 647; Sapir, (a), 273.

[5] Kroeber, (a), 208.

[6] Lowie, (i), 242; Lewis and Clark, III, 19. I have not attempted to complete its distribution to the northwest.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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strike (White Mountain Apache, Seri, Northern Maidu[1]), or part of a deer struck by a snake (Shoshoni and Bannock), or a mixture of liver and venom (Paviotso, Teton), liver and the juice of the wild parsnip (Achomawi), the spleen of an animal and pulverized ants (Northern Shoshoni[2]). In several of these cases this is allowed to putrefy: the Yuma also used putrid flesh. Others prepare compounds of poisonous insects and plants (Havasupai, Yavapai,[3] and Wishram[4]). Rattlesnake venom is used by the Southern Diegueño, Blackfoot, Lillooet, and Thompson; rattlesnake blood by the Takelma.[5] In addition to these the Jovas, Opata (and the tribes of Sonora generally), Lipan, Navaho, Cahuilla, the Indians of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Gosiute,[6] and Snohomish are known to have used poisons.

Scalp taking is general in the Southwest, although it seems everywhere a matter of little concern. It is specifically attributed to Havasupai, Yavapai,[7] Tonto and Pinal Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Papago, and Opata.[8] In the Basin we may add the Paiute, Uintah (?) Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, and possibly Paviotso.[9] Kroeber states that scalps were taken in the greater part of California, possibly excepting the Yokuts, Valley Maidu, and Pomo, and surely excepting the tribes of the northwestern area. Powers also excepts the Trinity Wintun although ascribing the practice to other Wintun. I have found records for one of the Mission groups, Saiinan, and the Maidu of the mountains.[10]

Removing the entire scalp in the Havasupai manner, not a small patch, is attributed to the Yavapai. This, according to Kroeber, is the general Californian practice, and, by my own information, that of the Klamath and Wishram further north.

The Havasupai do not take the whole head although it might have been expected. This is common in California (specifically Salinan and Patwin), in the Northwest area, and in Mexico it is noted for the Tepehuane.[11] Friederici believes that scalping is a substitute for head taking stimulated by the whites.[12]

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[1]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 186; Bourke, (h), 38; Bartlett, I, 465; McGee, 250-258; Bandelier, (a), 70, 237; Dixon, (a), 205, 232.
[2]Hoffman, 67-71; Lowie, (i), 245; (a), 195, 192.
[3]Trippel, 570; Corbusier, 332.
[4]Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.
[5]Spier, (e), 353; Teit, (b), 235; (a), 363; Sapir, (a), 373.
[6]Bandelier, (a), 70; Franciscan Fathers, 186; Hooper, 355; Yates, 374; Chamberlin, 368, 384.
[7]According to the Havasupai, although Corbusier (331) denies this.
[8]Smart, 419; Bourke, (d), 26; Franciscan Fathers, 368, 438; Pattie, 132, 139, 165, 199; Parsons, (f), 12; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bartlett, II, 221; Gaillard, 295; Bandelier, (a), 153, 242.
[9]Lowie, (f), 820, 833; (a), 193; (h), 242, 245; Powers, 320.
[10]Kroeber, (o), 207; Powers, 238, 241, 321; Boscana, in Robinson, 308; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Dixon, (a), 200.
[11]Powers, 231; Bandelier, (a), 95.
[12]Friederici.

2:HHH Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Pictures Yumans NT14
Havasupai

342

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The old basket weaver's home, built of poles, bark, brush and discarded clothing

342
482
291
411

Mother carrying her baby in a burden basket. Her home is typical of the Havasupai house of a generation ago

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2:1lliff Y-5 (ca.1981) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

487 We had heard rumours of a secret crack in the canyon wall through
133 which the Indians fled to the outside when pressed by enemy invaders. Immediately we planned to investigate. When Vesnor learned that we intended to go through the passage, he shook his head gravely and cautioned, "Indian moccasin walk trail all right. Think white man shoe no good." Before we were through with the experience we agreed with him.

After a walk of several miles, we stood in a side gorge and gazed up at a long triangular crevice that split the wall to an incredible height. A ledge of stone, fifty feet above the canyon floor, seemed to form the base from which the crack rose to an apex. We realized that this might prove a little more dangerous than some of our other ventures—but if the Indians went through, so could we. It would be worth the climb to stand under the open sky free from sharp, enclosing walls.

[41] Two Indian ladders (logs on which crosspieces of heavy sticks were tied with leather thongs) took us up to the stone ledge. The loose rungs, giving under our feet, swayed the logs threatening to spill us. Shaky from our tussle with the ladders, we pulled ourselves up, single file, onto the stone ledge and faced the entrance to the crevice through which ran the old Indian trail. And behold! this was not the base of the crack at all, but its center—the fissure continued downward so deep into the earth that we could not see the point where its sides met. The trail, a mere edge of stone clinging to one of the close-set walls, ran through the narrow crevice midway between the top and the distant bottom.

Mr. Burnett took one look at the precarious trail, then scrambled down the ladders as fast as he dared to solid ground, where his dog anxiously awaited him. How deserted we felt when he left us to face the dark passage alone! I began to realize that we might encounter unsurmountable difficulties in that thin crack before it landed us somewhere "up above." We stood peering into its darkness, wondering what force had cut this vertical chasm through solid stone. Had a river come in from the plateau, carving its way through the sandstone wall, then disappeared? Or had an earth tremor split the stone apart? A few yards ahead the jagged walls

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert region, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted soapweed leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took to the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance, as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

should the man born with a mental advantage over his fellows exercise that advantage any more than the man born with a physical advantage? We have not quite ceased to worship the Sullivans, the Corbetts, and the Fitzsimmonses, and, where we have, we have transferred our worship to the intellectually strong, many of whom are no more worthy our homage than the prize fighters. So now it is the intellectually strong who prey upon the intellectually weak, and, as in the physical conflict, it is inevitable that the weak "go to the wall." In simple cunning the Havasupai Indian may be our superior, but in deep craft he is "out of the field." His bow and arrow tipped with obsidian or flint pitted against our repeating rifle; his rolling of heavy rocks opposed to our Gatling guns; his mule and burro against our iron horse; and his pine torch against our electric light, — all demonstrate him to be in his intellectual minority, or at an intellectual disadvantage. He makes a fine figure in our romances, but I sadly fear that the knell of his doom has sounded, and that a few generations hence he will be no more.

Wallapai and Havasu Canyons, far more than the Grand Canyon, meet the popular idea as to what a canyon is. Their walls are narrow and precipitous, and one staying in their depths must be content with a late sunrise and an early sunset. Just above the rude bridge before described are several natural reservoirs of water. Here the canyon is not more than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet wide. This close proximity of the walls, which fairly overshadow one, compels one to feel his insignificance far more than when he stands in the wider and more comprehensive vastness of the Grand Canyon.

butcher knife in the other and strikes indifferently at the squash, turning it around and at different angles the while. In a few moments chips, as it were, begin to fall into the cooking pot, and after the exterior is cut and hacked in every direction the cook begins to slice it into the pot. When well cooked, it is eaten without any other improvement than a little salt.

Corn and beans are plentiful with them, and both are as delicious and tender as any I have ever tasted elsewhere.

Mescal is one of their chief foods. It is made by them exactly as the Wallapais make it. That fibrous portion of the plant that cannot be treated in this manner is boiled, and the drink therefrom, when fresh, is a sickish-sweet liquid, that, however, might soon become agreeable. This liquid is of a dark brown color, and when boiled for a long time becomes a species of thin molasses.

The Havasupais know no process of fermentation so far as I have been able to learn, and the elders of the people long objected to the coming of the white man because one of the bad things he brought to the Indian was whiskey and other intoxicants.

Quail and ducks abound in various parts of the Havasu Canyon region. Even to this day many of the latter are shot, for sale to the white man, with the arrow instead of the gun. The Havasupais claim that the arrow is far less liable to scare away the flock than is the loud report of a gun, so they keep up their practice with the antiquated bow and arrow, and some of them show wonderful skill in their use. I have often placed a ten-cent piece in a notched stick and enjoyed watching the young men as they fired their arrows at it at a distance

3:James T-6 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

223 of fifty paces. Their skill was such that on one occa-
411 sion I lost a dollar thus within half an hour.

At one time in February I found the canyon alive
136 with quail, the whirring of whose wings met us on every hand as we rode along from hawa to hawa.

I am told there is no fish in Havasu Creek above Mooney Falls, but from the base of this fall on to the river both large and small fish are abundant. I rather doubt this, as on the occasion of my attempt to reach Beaver Falls down the course of the creek from Mooney Falls I saw no fish, nor signs of any.

One of the Havasupais tells me that mountain sheep may be seen on the northern rim of the Grand Canyon in small bands. When the snow is deep upon the Buckskin Mountains and the Kaibab Plateau they descend to the more temperate regions of the canyon where grass may be found in plenty, and then the Paiuti and Paiced Indians kill them, drying the flesh for later use. This they do regardless of a territorial law, which forbids even an Indian killing mountain sheep at any time. The Indian regards his as a prior right, existing long before there was any territorial legislature, and he acts accordingly.

224 Mountain lions, wildcats, lynxes, coyotes, badgers, deer, and antelope, with an occasional mountain sheep and bear, are the larger quarry of the Havasupai hunters. The deer and antelope they find in the open grassy glades of the forests on the canyon rim and reaching towards the desert. The other game is generally found in the recesses of the canyons or on the slopes of the far-away mountains of Hue-han-a-
[103] patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), or Hue-ga-da-wi-za (Red Butte).

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their superiority. The women are certainly
[562 duller and less impressionable than the
151] men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kă-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-[177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

● 411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were formerly used, although now only to a [526] limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili-zation perhaps, of any Indians in the [177] United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig-614 nificant one in the consideration of the

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the ●[412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539] mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána	owi
growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows t toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[1] Coues, 345. A later statement (435), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.
[114] [2] Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.
[171] [3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 178–179).

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with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

243 221 243 243 [412]

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyădĭĭpa*", with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n„mawĭghuwălă*), white and blue (*n„mă'vĭgwasú*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n„ŭdă*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea arnylacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[177] [439] [177]

[1] Mr. Gensler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtekwi'lkwa*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*dk'ŏta*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium hopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [372] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úxa*, and *kaθθ'dn„lu'va* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*tŏp'ŏ'l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*dgwidja*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] [412] 252

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with tongs, rolled about on the ground with a bundle of brush, and finally rubbed individually with a rag to remove the spines completely. A burden basket full is carried home, the fruits opened and spread out to dry; sometimes the seeds are removed. When desired these are soaked for a few hours and squeezed to make a sweet decoction. 222 252 251

Mormon tea furnishes a drink: the stems are dried in bundles. [272]

Mesquite pods (*iyd'a*) are ripe at the end of September. There is but one way to prepare them. They are gathered when dry and pounded on the grinding slab. The excessively hard seeds are winnowed from the ground pod. The latter is stirred into cold water and allowed to stand for several hours. This drink is stirred before it is imbibed. The pods, being sweet when dry, are often chewed at odd times.

Yucca fruit (*dmõnõ't*) ripens on the plateau at the end of September. A layer of this is spread on a bed of dry sticks, a meter in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, when they are removed with the tongs (*sdtdo'*), and thrown into a pile, on which water is sprinkled. The burned rind is removed, and the seeds, separated from the pulp, prepared by mashing with a mano. The flesh is spread to dry in a layer, 1 cm. thick, on a carpet of Mormon tea sprigs: this sheet is folded for storage. All drying fruits will spoil if exposed to rain. This preparation will keep for half a year. Bits of the sheet are broken off to eat dry, or they may be boiled.

A variety of seeds are gathered: a partial list includes pigweed (*dgwodvł*); goosefoot (*tkciyddidj*); *sllł''ł, gõtd, i'łdł* (all three unidentified): juniper berries (*ddjwqd*), and piñon nuts. Sprays of ripe pigweed and goosefoot are allowed to dry for a week; the pods are then rubbed between the palms into a tray basket so that the seeds may be winnowed. These are roasted in the parching tray and ground. Half a kettle of water is brought nearly to a boil and the meal stirred in to make a mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled with salt, sometimes with cornmeal added, and eaten like cabbage.

Sllł''ł grows only in open glades on the highest part of the plateau. The harvester walks along with a small burden basket in her left hand into which she raps the seeds with a seed beater (*sllł'dridł; dridł*, to beat), emptying the smaller into a larger burden basket on her back from time to time. The seeds are ground, although they are unripe, and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel. They are sometimes parched, ground, and eaten dry with bread. 222 252

The seed beater is used only in this connection. It is a flat scoop of wickerwork (Fig. 3). The warps are doubled at their midpoints: at 285 412

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285 412 intervals twigs cross these which are bent down the sides of the scoop to the handle, where all the loose ends are bound together. While the specimen at hand has a thong drawing the tip toward the handle, it is probable that this was intended to hold the beater in shape only until the *green twigs dried.*

Garcés records that beside mescal, juniper berries were eaten.[1] 222 252 Piñon nuts, which ripen in October, are parched and ground (without removing the shells); the ground meat is spread on bread. The nuts may also be ground without parching and stirred into boiling water to make a thin gruel.

[285] [412]

Fig. 3 (50.2-1575). A Seed Beater.

263 [222] Wild bees hive in dead logs and the flower stalks of dead mescal. Parties of children go out, picnic fashion, to gather the stalks, split them, and collect the honey. Rock salt (*tôi'i*) is collected from a cave in the [317] cliff on the south side of the Colorado, where there are stalactites of it. This is ground. Much less than we are accustomed to is used.

Hunting

224 [262] Hunting is a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products. Flesh is part of the dietary the year around, but particularly during the fall and winter when they reside on the plateau. Antelope, mountain sheep, and deer are said to abound in the order named, while cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels are plentiful. Hunting in the gorges of the Grand Canyon is really a hazardous enterprise. One instance was recorded of a wounded ram charging his pursuer and hurling him from a narrow ledge. Yet killings are sometimes tame affairs: one man standing at the door of his house shot a mountain sheep but a hundred meters away. They frequently descend the canyon close to the village.

[1] Coues, 344.

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animal at bay. They are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwedad*, labia minora (a male dog), *gi'n,ikdwaid*, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *ldôa*, *paimôa'* (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *sûgd*, *sûgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sa'*, *sdmlgd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*sa'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depression and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*[3]wiqeetu'tiâ*; *[4]wi*, stone, *gue*, something, *tûtiâ*, to pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*sa'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[1] Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?

[2] Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (k), Plate 100.

[1] [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

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Seeds of all descriptions are parched not only to roast them, but to dehydrate them somewhat, rendering grinding easier. The kernels of corn, etc., are tumbled about with live coals in the parching tray by a swinging, sinuous, rotary movement. Finally, the lighter charcoal is separated from the grains with the same motion, throwing it up from the far edge of the tray and blowing it away. Any charcoal that remains is picked out.

Cooking is usually done in the clay vessels (*hamdtagwetadlid; hamdt*, clay pot) but boiling (*tuldmîga*) in baskets is carried on at the same time. Small stones, heated red, are dropped, with the aid of a tongs, into a basket filled with water. These are replaced by others when cool. The food is stirred in when the water is boiling; the remaining stones are picked out when it is cooked.[1]

Green willow tongs are used on hot stones, but better wood, such as ash, may be used in tongs for handling hot or prickly objects, stirring stews, etc. Tongs (*adtde'*) are simply green branches, flattened on one side, with a kerf at the midpoint, so that they can be bent double, and bound until dry. They measure 40 to 50 cm. long; a smaller specimen is 20 cm. Crooked sticks and convenient twigs are also used for stirring, as forks, etc. Horn ladles are used in cooking as well as in eating.

A cooking vessel (*mâltâtgwetâtâmia*, cactus, something, boil) is sometimes improvised from the barrel cactus (*mâltât*, possibly *Echinocereus*) when on hunting expeditions. Occasionally the same device is used at home. The spines are burned off, one end cut away, and the pulp removed, so that it can be used for stone-boiling. "Wild cabbage" (*ak'tad*), cornmeal, meat, etc. is cooked in this.

Green corn is usually cut or shelled from the cob and ground to a pulp on the grinding slab. Water is brought nearly to a boil before the corn is slowly added, stirring it into the water with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside. Corn is not boiled on the cob as a rule.

Green corn is cut from the cob, mashed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut into small chunks.

Squash flowers are boiled until the mass cannot be reduced further,[2] they are then fished out with a twig and mashed to a pulp on the grinding slab. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is boiling in the liquor. The pulp is then added and the whole is boiled to make a sweet dish.

[1] Food is never cooked in a skin or a pouch.
[2] N. Lumholtz, (c), II, 180.

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171 241 In northern Mexico cultivation has been recorded among several modern tribes: Huichol, Cora, Tepehuano, Tarahumare, Tepecano, and Opata.[1] There are records of the Jumanos in eastern Chihuahua in 1582, the Guaymas, a southern Piman group near the Seri ("land-tillers on a very low scale"), and the Sobaypuris, Pimans on the Rio San Pedro.[2] Intensive agriculture is characteristic of the Pueblos.[3] It would be interesting to know the extent it was followed in such outlying communities as Taos and Picuris. Pima, Maricopa, Yuma, Cocopa, and two groups near the last, Taliguamayque and Cajuenches, Mohave, and Navaho raised crops in abundance.[4] The Havasupai and Papago are agriculturalists to a lesser extent, both subsisting in some degree on wild seeds. But cultivation is greater among them than among the Jicarilla, and Western Apache, Apache-Yuma, Chemehuevi, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, and Walapai.[5] These tribes mark the limits of agriculture in the west. It is known not to have extended into California, the Basin, or into the southwestern Plains. In fact for certain tribes in the immediate vicinity of those practising the art we have specific information that it is lacking; to wit, Mimbreños and Tonto Apache, Moapa Paiute, Akwa'ala and Halyikwama of Baja California, and the Seri.[6]

Perhaps irrigation was in all these cases part of the agricultural technique, but it is not recorded. It is the practice of all the Pueblos, the Navaho, Havasupai, Shivwits, Kaibab (?), Pima, Maricopa, and Cora. The Mohave utilization of the overflow of the Colorado corresponds to the planting of other tribes in dry washes or creek bottoms.

175 412 The planting sticks and hoes offer some comparative points. Planting sticks are of two types; one a straight stick having a wedge-shaped point, the other similar but provided with a projecting footrest near the lower end. The first type is that of the Havasupai, Hopi, Pima, and probably Shivwits. The Zuñi use the form with the footrest, while the Navaho use both. The Havasupai hoe is one form of a general type: a flat stick with its blade and handle in one plane, approximating a weaving sword in shape, although there is considerable variation. This type is also used by the Pima, Mohave, Hopi, Navaho, and Zuñi. The last two also use a hoe like our own, a wooden blade or elk scapula set

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[1] Lumholtz, (a), 4; Bandelier, (a), 69, 96, 98; Bartlett, I, 444; Mason, J. A., (d), 135.
[2] Bandelier, (a), 68, 79, 101.
[3] Cushing, (d); Hough, (a), 238, 239, Pl. 19.
[4] Bartlett, II, 172, 180, 214, 222, 260; Pattie, 121, 131-2, 144; Russell, (d), 92-93; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 859; Whipple, Eybank, and Turner, 139; Kroeber, (a), 776; Leiberman, 288; Francisco Pathers, 304; Lippe, 56; Stephen, 264; Bandelier, (a), 104, 176.
[5] Gifford, 225; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 698; Whipple, Eybank, and Turner, 139; Curtis, 235; Lewis, (b), 239; Rusby, 67, 68, 74, 75; Whipple, Eybank, and Turner, 22, report agriculture as the main pursuit of the Chemehuevi, but this does not seem likely.
[6] Bartlett, I, 397; Whipple, Eybank and Turner, 14; Kroeber, (b), 479; McGee, 186.

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transversely at the end of a shaft. The Havasupai use a horse scapula but without hafting it.[1] 171 [412]

Cotton is raised by the Hopi, Tewa (except possibly Pecos and Taos), Pima, Maricopa, Western Apache, and Tepehuane. It is not grown by the Navaho, Zuñi, Acoma, or the Tanoan Pueblos.[2] 171 248

Tobacco is widely used in North America though it is not everywhere grown. In the Southwest and the adjacent territories its cultivation has been noted for the Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, San Carlos, Pima, Southern Diegueño, and the Mayos of Mexico.[3] Smoking is known to have been customary among neighboring tribes, who did not raise the plant: Cocopa, Akwa'ala, Moapa, Cosnino, Paviotso, Washo, Wind River Shoshoni,[4] and generally in California. The Havasupai habit of planting in ashes without turning the soil is also the custom of the Hupa.[5] 171 249

Unfortunately, I do not know which species the common Havasupai tobacco is. Its name, *úva*, however, is connected with Southern Diegueño *op* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), Shasta *ôp*, Takelma *ô"p'*, Crow *ôp* (*N. multivalvis*), Hidatsa *ô'pe* (*N. quadrivalvis*), probably Washo *pinkue*, and possibly Pima *siopal viofâ*, "like tobacco" (*N. trigonophylla*).[6] There is a similar extension of the name "Coyote's tobacco" though again to distinct species; Havasupai (*N. trigonophylla*), Southern Diegueño (*N. attenuata*), and Pima (*N. Bigelovii*). 192 171

Mescal (agave) is gathered and roasted in pits by most, if not all, the non-Pueblo peoples and perhaps by the Pueblo and Mexican tribes as well. It is an item of some importance for the Jicarilla, Mescalero, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navaho, Havasupai, Paiute, Yavapai, Pima, Cahuilla, and Huichol.[7] It would be worth knowing how far this distribution corresponds with that of the plant. Pit roasting is probably absent from the Basin and the Plains, and from California except among the southern desert tribes. But much farther north, in the Plateau and adjacent sections of the Northwest Coast, it is the characteristic mode of preparing roots. The mescal cabbages are probably always pried off with a chisel-edged stick (Havasupai, White Mountain Apache, and Pima) and trimmed with the peculiar hatchet (Havasupai, 171 222 252 [412]

[1] Cushing, (d), Pl. III, 304; Russell, (d), 88, 97; Franciscan Fathers, 285-6. Mohave specimen in the Anthropological Museum, University of California.
[2] Spier, (f), 80.
[3] Hatchell: Curtis (XII, 39) denies that the Hopi plant tobacco; Corbusier, 328; Russell, (d), 110; Spier, (a), 348; Bandelier, (a), 48; Goddard, (e), 358.
[4] Lowie (b), 215; Kroeber, (a), 280.
[5] Goddard, (a), 37.
[6] Lowie, (f), 198. Washo name from Doctor Lowie, 1920.
[7] Goddard, (e), 148-149; Curtis, I, 17-19; Palmer, 647; Corbusier, 327; Russell, (d), 70; Barrows. Lumholtz, (a), 13.

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White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

[1] Powell, 139; Coville, 253; Lowie, (h), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 188; (c), 212; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 120, 143; Bourke, (d), 131; Corbusier, 328.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 40, 41; Sparkman, 199; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (c), 302, 304; (e), 455.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 126; Bolton.

[4] Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 473; Matthews, (d), 239; Corbusier, 328; Dixon, (a), 193; Chamberlin, (b), 235.

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The grinding slab or metate of the Pueblos is also found in Southern California and the Basin. Among the non-Pueblo peoples it is used to some extent by the Pima, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave,

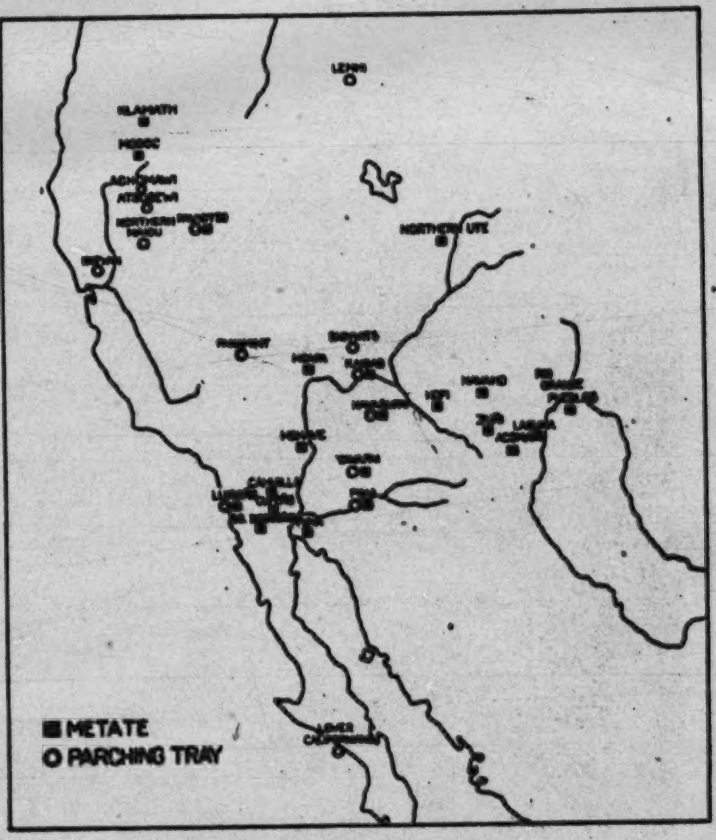

Fig. 5. Distribution of the Metate and Parching Tray.

Kaibab, Moapa, Northern Ute, Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, Yuma, and undoubtedly by others in their vicinity.[1] Most of these people, if not all, use stone or wooden

[1] Russell, (d), 99, 103; Hrdlička, (o), 44; Francisca Fathers, 83, 219; Carbonier, 226; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 931; Powell, 127; Lowie, (i), 304; Barrett (a), 238; Kroeber, (g), 40, 51, 52; Sparkman, 208; Spier, (e), 335; Trippel, 376.

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mortars as well. Mortars are the characteristic utensil of the central Californian tribes and those of the northern Basin.[1] As might have been anticipated from their geographic position some of the western groups apparently favor the use of mortars rather than metates: Pima, Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cahuilla. (Fig. 5.)

Parching seeds by tumbling them about with live coals in a shallow basket is a method widely used among Californian, Basin, and the western ranchería peoples of the Southwest. It is recorded for the Havasupai, Yavapai, Pima, Kaibab and Shivwits Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Lemhi Shoshoni, Lower Californians, Luiseño, Patwin, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. (Fig. 5.) The Pima also cook in this fashion using a shallow pottery vessel. The Lower Californians sometimes substituted a turtle shell. Doubtless many others shared the practice: the Salinan, at least, did not.[2]

Wafer bread is a familiar Pueblo product, probably in use in all the towns, but certainly among the Hopi, Zuñi, and Acoma. It is also prepared by the Havasupai and Navaho but is not known to the Pima.[3]

Fish is not an article of diet of many of the Southwestern ranchería people. This is not altogether a matter of the absence of fish, for they must be at least as abundant as in the Basin where they are eaten. There is a definite taboo ranging from the horror of the Navaho to the mild sentiment of the Havasupai. These tribes include all the Athapascans, (except the Lipan), the Caddoan Taovayoes, the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Zuñi. Outside of this restricted area fish are eaten: Cochiti, Lipan, Hasinai, Pima, Cora, Tepecano, Seri, Southern Diegueño, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Washo, and all the Basin Shoshoneans.[4]

With regard to other tabooed animals little can be said because of the fragmentary nature of our information. Lizards are not eaten by the Havasupai, Mohave, Pima, Salinans of San Miguel, the Shoshoneans of Kern River, and the southern Yokuts. But the neighboring Yavapai, Walapai, and Paiute did not despise them, while in California, the northern Yokuts and the Miwok eat most reptiles.[5]

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[1]Cuesta (Chittenden, 289); Mohave (Whipple, 115); Salinan and Yokuts (Mason, J. A., (a), 137–138); Washoe (Stoddard and Fort Hall Paiutes (Lowie, (a), 174).

[2]Carbonell, 336; Powell, 126; Lowie, (i), 234; (k), 136; Coville, 353; Lowie, (a), 174; 188; Bancroft, 360; Sparkman, 193; Powers, 239; Dixon, (a), 160; (c), 212; Kissell, 191. Russell (d), 66; Mason, J. A., (a), 126.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (b), 361; Cushing, (d), 333; Hodgwick, Ch. II; Franciscan Fathers, 288, 307; Russell, (d), 68.

[4]Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 139; Matthews, (c), 108, 107, 110; Kroeber, (a), 276 277; Dumarest, 146; Carbonell, 336; Russell, (a), 85; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Whittemore, 38; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 548; Mason, J. A., (c), 340; McGee, 103; Spier, (d), 338; Truppel, 574; Chittenden, 291; Lowie, (i), 203; Mooney, (b), 1030, 1032; Lippe, 42; Stephen, 257; Franciscan Fathers, 214, 307; Matthews, (d), 238; Bolton.

[5]Kroeber, (a), 277; Russell, (d), 83; Mason, J. A., (a), 122; Carbonell, 336.

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281 The hide is hung over a smooth pole, 5 cm. diameter, which rests slanting against a tree. The hide is caught between pole and tree. The hair and pigmented layer are removed with the beaming tool grasped in both hands and drawn down the pole toward the body. The hair is frequently left on the legs, though it is just as convenient to dehair them or cut them off at once. Loose tissue is also removed from the flesh side. The [412] beaming tool is a deer cannon-bone or hip-bone broken lengthwise and sharpened. Now a horse rib, naturally sharp on its concave edge, is

[417]
[291]

Fig. 47. Wringing a Deer Hide.

substituted. Dehairing takes about two hours. The hide is hung on a pole to dry in the sun for a day or so.

When ready for tanning, the stiff skin is soaked in the creek over night, but no longer. It is then rubbed thoroughly pliable in the hands, wetting it with warm water. Folded lengthwise flesh side out, the neck is looped about a post, the legs around a stick, and both are folded back inside the skin. Twisting the stick wrings the skin dry. (Fig. 17.) It is now stretched by pulling at the edges and rubbing it together everywhere [412] until entirely freed of wrinkles. A skewer threaded in little slits which

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539]

Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj	ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name)	he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wîa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171]

[1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 308).

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372 obtained from the Hopi. It is braided into a thick cord (*hĕdjdwdcĕnawd*) 30 cm. long, and drawn through a tube (the hind leg bone of a wildcat) of half its length. When wanted the charred end is pulled out of the tube which protects it from dampness. The tinder and stones are wrapped together in their own case.[1]

It is quite as convenient to carry a slow-match (*ohokwidd*) when traveling (Fig. 19). This is a rope of rubbed cedarbark, 2 cm. diameter

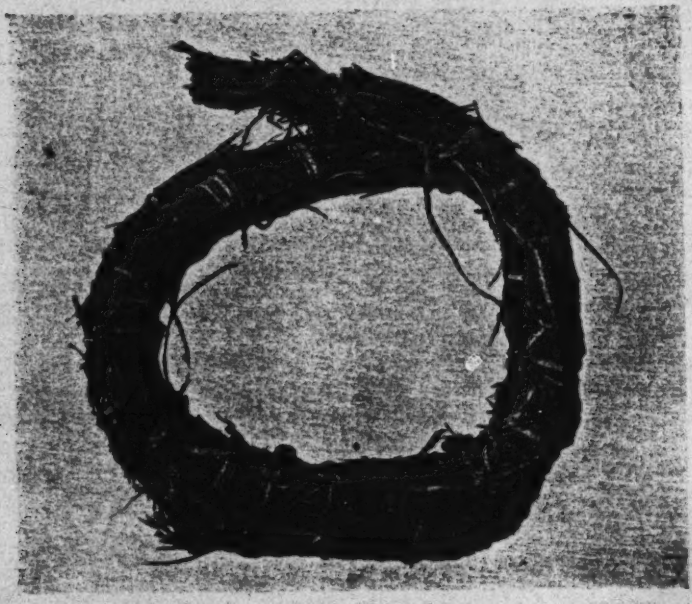

Fig. 19 (50.2–1380). A Slow Match of Cedarbark Rope.

and nearly 2 m. long, tied at short intervals with yucca leaves. It is carried in a coil, the smouldering end being blown on from time to time.

There is no great discrimination among fuels in the canyon for all the available materials are inferior (cottonwood, willow, sagebrush, corn-
[221] cobs, etc.). In fact, this is assigned as one reason for leaving the canyon in the winter; it is certainly too laborious to pack firewood from the
[412] plateau. Fallen trees and dead limbs are broken with heavy stones.

[1] Compare a reed containing charred cotton found by Fewkes near the Verde Valley, (a), 372.

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Havasupai

415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyā'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate,
324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with
412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted; they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĕkedlakwi'sd*) are made of strips of cedar or
285 juniper bark (*tcĕkedla*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These
[422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used.
283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1]Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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322 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the
411 pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The
[412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mĕsmᵈ*, sinewed?):
322 it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark
237 streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally,
[412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly
[439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back
[531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The
411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by
237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: hápúagwlôà (Let this be strong; let this not break).

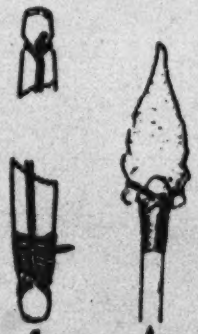

Fig. 24 (30.2-1231, 1233). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldmí*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

Reed arrows (*dp'a"dl'a'* or *dl'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most common. Arrow reeds (*dl'd'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*dodóad*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'd'a'i'i; i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dwaadld*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*mákwapadjid mádámdid*) is a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not wet with the tongue at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamália*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaúigd*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpded'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vttal'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the series of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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tions) at hand are: Maidu, 1 m., Salinan, 91 cm., Havasupai, 91 to 112, Western Apache, 162, Yavapai, 137, Mohave, 122 to 182, Pima, 135, Cahuilla, 122 to 137, Luiseño, 152, Southern Diegueño, 100 to 120, Cocopa, 182 to 243, Pipi[1] and Lower California Indians, 182, and Pericues, "long."[2] The exception here is the Southern Diegueño.

Mohave, Navaho, and Southern Diegueño bows at least are cut from the wood in the same way as the Havasupai. That is, the rounded back of the bow is the exterior of the tree limb, the interior is cut flat giving a trapezoidal cross-section. This may not be general.[3]

The Navaho use the same bowstring hitches as the Havasupai and also attach a length of buckskin to the string. The bowguard or wrist protector is widely used. In this area it is recorded for the Yavapai, Tonto, Havasupai, Navaho, Hopi, Mohave, Pima, Southern Diegueño, Paviotso, and Northern Shoshoni.[4]

The arrow wrench may be quite widely used. O. T. Mason ascribes it to the Plains Indians, the West Coast tribes, and the Eskimo. I have found it recorded among the Navaho, Ute, and Cheyenne,[5] as well as the Havasupai. This is a mountain sheep horn. The Hopi use antelope or goat horn[6]; the Cheyenne bone also.

Reed arrows are apparently restricted in the Southwest and California to the tribes in the direction of the lower Colorado River. The Yavapai, Tonto, Pima, Cocopa, Pipi, Seri, and the Indians of Baja California seem to use only reed arrows[7]; wooden ones are also used by the Navaho, Havasupai, Western and Mescalero Apache, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Panamint, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, and Maidu.[8] All other tribes mentioned in the second paragraph below apparently have wooden arrows only. The Havasupai and Luiseño favor the reed, the Cahuilla the wooden arrow. It is interesting that the Paviotso make a wooden arrow with a separate foreshaft in the manner of a reed arrow.[9]

There is also a suggestion that arrows from the lower Colorado and Baja California are longer than elsewhere. This might be expected from

[1] A group one hundred miles below the mouth of the Gila and below the Cocopa (Pattie, 201).

[2] Dixon, (a), 202; Mason, J. A., (a), 142; Bourke, (b), 57; Whipple, Eurbank, and Turner, 59; Russell, (d), 95; Kroeber, (g), 58; Sparkman, 205; Spier, (e), 350; Chittenden, 204; Bancroft, 362; North, 226.

[3] Pope, 235, Pl. 46, Fig. 2; 237, Pl. 47, Fig. 7; Spier, (e), 350.

[4] Curtis, (a), 283; Smart, 418; Stolpich, (a), 794; Franciscan Fathers, 319; Hough, (e), 244, 298; Whipple, 114; Russell, (d), 163; Spier, (d), 353; Lowie, (i), 245, (a), 192.

[5] Franciscan Fathers, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 660; Grinnell, (b), I, 179.

[6] Hough, (e), 278.

[7] Whipple, 98; Smart, 418; Russell, (d), 98; Heintzelman, 43; Pattie, 201; McGee, 197, Bancroft, 362; North, 238.

[8] Franciscan Fathers, 182, 318; Mason, O. T., (f), 639, 661; Pattie, 164; Trippel, 576; Kroeber, (g), 58; Coville, 360; Sparkman, 205, 206; Spier, (e), 351; Dixon, (a), 203.

[9] Lowie, (i), 246.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1628) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1894). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcī'ī*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 848.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 302 Plains hair dress is affected to the east. Mescalero, Taos, Picuris, Southern Ute, and Northern Shoshoni men wear their hair in braids, sometimes wrapping them with strips of fur. This was apparently the earlier Navaho style. It is, on the contrary, of recent introduction among the Northern Shoshoni, who in earlier times wore the hair loose and parted in the middle in the manner of the Wind River Shoshoni.[1]

The case is simpler with regard to women's hairdress. Apparently throughout the Basin and among most of the rancheria peoples of the Southwest women wore their hair loose. In Arizona it was usually cut straight across the forehead to form a low bang and in the back at the level of the shoulders (Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, San Carlos Apache, and some Mohave). Pima, Maricopa, and Yuma followed the same style, but the back hair may have been somewhat longer, hanging even to the middle of the back. The Southern Diegueño add only braids at the temples.[2] Aside from these, Plains influence has apparently affected the Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni and the Southern Ute, who part the hair in the middle though they do not braid it. The older Pueblo style of two whorls of hair on the side of the head, described by Castañeda for the Zuñi, is perpetuated only by Hopi maidens. The older women in those pueblos wear two short braids. Elsewhere, the hair is banged in front and cut square just below the ears in back, but at Zuñi at least the hair is parted from ear to ear over the crown of the head and the rear portion tied in a queue. Navaho women, like the men, draw the hair straight back and club it behind. The Achomawi and Atsugewi wear it in two braids wrapped with minkskin in front of the shoulders. Illustrations of a Cocopa and some Mohave show it hanging loose about the shoulders from a central part.[3]

171 [301] A feather hair ornament consisting of a bunch of down pendent from the top of the head by a short cord is worn by the Havasupai, Yavapai,[4] and by Zuñi dancers. It may be more generally distributed in the Southwest.

● [412] A brush of stiff fibers similar to the Havasupai hairbrush is made by the Pima and Huichol.[5]

[301] Ear pendants worn by Yavapai of both sexes are quite similar to those of the Havasupai: strings of beads, five to six inches long, with mother-of-pearl or stone pendants.[6]

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[1] Pattie, 164; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 84; Lowie, (i), 216, 217; (a), 188; Franciscan Fathers, 99. For a western group see Dixon, (c), 210.
[2] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 838; Bartlett, II, 229.
[3] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 220, 620; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 271.
[4] Corbusier, 360.
[5] Russell, (d), 116; Kissell, 145; Lumholtz, (c), II, 232.
[6] Corbusier, 360, 362.

241 Their garden was lush with corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and sunflowers that grew large seed heads. Purple figs and red-cheeked peaches grew at one end of the plot.

Chickapanyegi worked unhurriedly, pushing the dirt aside with his bare toes to open the floodgates, letting the water gush through to fill the ditches that ran between his rows of vegetables. Toes did the work of fingers, opening ditches or packing the soil to close them, picking up sticks and stones and piling them ready to be removed. Here was a way of life new to me and very intriguing.

060 The Walapai that I knew lived in idleness on bare sand, accepting government rations, a few working at odd jobs. These people produced and stored food, not only for the immediate future, but for years ahead. At one time, the Walapai, too, had been self-supporting and self-sufficient; then agents of the government had come, using rations as a buying power, and had established controls that crushed initiative.

241 412 The Havasupai had devised their own garden tools, even making a spade by fashioning the blade and handle from a long, flat piece of wood. They used the shoulder blades of horses or anything they could get that would loosen the soil or chop weeds. Obviously they were greatly handicapped by these primitive tools; sticks, bones and toes were poor substitutes for spades, hoes and rakes. The Indians themselves restricted production by refusing to till inherited land until it had lain fallow for a year or more. The spirit of the dead might at any time return to its former home, so they would not make immediate use of such land, partly through fear, but also to show respect to the former owner. Thus many acres of fertile soil lay fallow, necessitating more intensive cultivation of the land in use.

241 Tending their crops and preserving their food was the main object in life for the people of this village. Always the crop was divided into portions: some for eating, some held for an emergency, but the best kept for seed.

342 674 Chickapanyegi's rectangular house stood near his garden. The flat, brush-covered roof, topped with earth, and the sides, thatched

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Stick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

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[p.116 0]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

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Fig. 23. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Pilsbury prepares ground corn for baking white type of bread. B. Mamie Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

THE HAVASUPAI

sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [215]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [144]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [237]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [137] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
423 readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
193 walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
343 plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
355 meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
265 stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
388 use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

227 The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [412] [177] [655] [462] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and WINNINGLY. 142

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549 A]

262 tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

412 Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and [439] brass kettles, procured by barter with 415] the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped [264] from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden 415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a 482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. 412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good [177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kō-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-[177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili-[177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig-614 nificant one in the consideration of the

ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

The worship of the Ha-va-su-paí consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

"Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

The Ha-va-su-paí believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

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Havasupai

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

Necessity had devised this clever instrument, for even though we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Seeds of all descriptions are parched not only to roast them, but to dehydrate them somewhat, rendering grinding easier. The kernels of corn, etc., are tumbled about with live coals in the parching tray by a swinging, sinuous, rotary movement. Finally, the lighter charcoal is separated from the grains with the same motion, throwing it up from the far edge of the tray and blowing it away. Any charcoal that remains is picked out.

Cooking is usually done in the clay vessels (*hamdtagwetaólid; hamát*, clay pot) but boiling (*tulúmiga*) in baskets is carried on at the same time. Small stones, heated red, are dropped, with the aid of a tongs, into a basket filled with water. These are replaced by others when cool. The food is stirred in when the water is boiling; the remaining stones are picked out when it is cooked.[1]

Green willow tongs are used on hot stones, but better wood, such as ash, may be used in tongs for handling hot or prickly objects, stirring stews, etc. Tongs (*sdtdv'*) are simply green branches, flattened on one side, with a kerf at the midpoint, so that they can be bent double, and bound until dry. They measure 40 to 50 cm. long; a smaller specimen is 20 cm. Crooked sticks and convenient twigs are also used for stirring, as forks, etc. Horn ladles are used in cooking as well as in eating.

A cooking vessel (*mâlldlgwêtalúmia*, cactus, something, boil) is sometimes improvised from the barrel cactus (*mâlldl*, possibly *Echinocereus*) when on hunting expeditions. Occasionally the same device is used at home. The spines are burned off, one end cut away, and the pulp removed, so that it can be used for stone-boiling. "Wild cabbage" (*ak'tsd*), cornmeal, meat, etc. is cooked in this.

Green corn is usually cut or shelled from the cob and ground to a pulp on the grinding slab. Water is brought nearly to a boil before the corn is slowly added, stirring it into the water with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside. Corn is not boiled on the cob as a rule.

Green corn is cut from the cob, mashed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut into small chunks.

Squash flowers are boiled until the mass cannot be reduced further,[2] they are then fished out with a twig and mashed to a pulp on the grinding slab. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is boiling in the liquor. The pulp is then added and the whole is boiled to make a sweet dish.

[1] Food is never cooked in a skin or a paunch.
[2] C. Lumholtz, (c), II, 100.

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The grinding slab or metate of the Pueblos is also found in Southern California and the Basin. Among the non-Pueblo peoples it is used to some extent by the Pima, Navaho, Havasupai, Yavapai, Mohave,

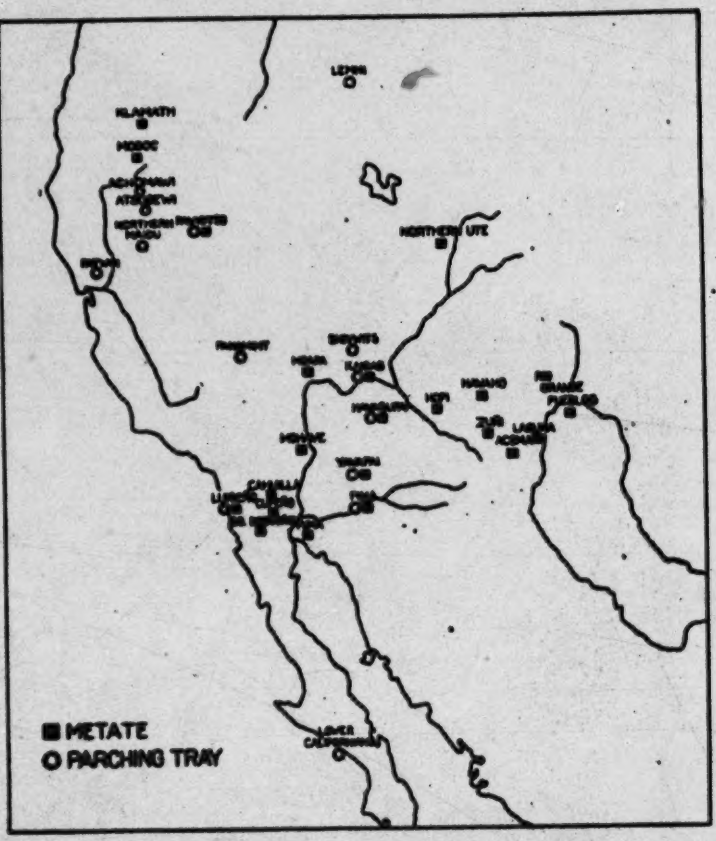

Fig. 8. Distribution of the Metate and Parching Tray.

Kaibab, Moapa, Northern Ute, Paviotso, Klamath, Modoc, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Southern Diegueño, Yuma, and undoubtedly by others in their vicinity.[1] Most of these people, if not all, use stone or wooden

[1] Russell, (d), 99, 108; Hrdlička, (e), 44; Franciscan Fathers, 62, 219; Carbonier, 326; *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 821; Powell, 127; Lewis, (i), 206; Barrett (a), 263; Kroeber, (g), 40, 51, 58; Sparkman, 326; Spier, (a), 336; Trippel, 376.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

4/15 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the 476 long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women [462] gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

[475] [482]

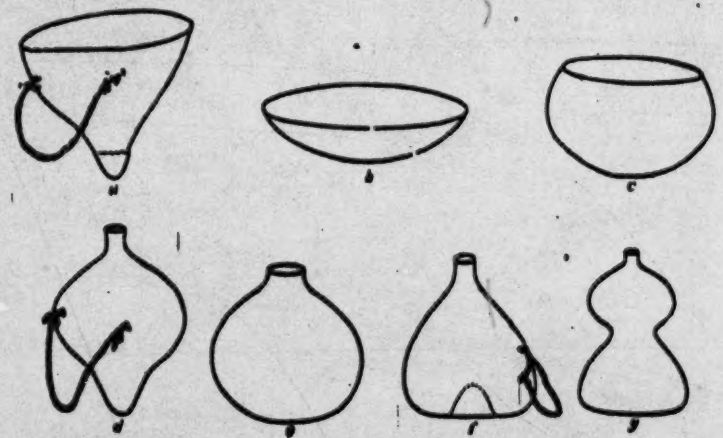

Fig. 6 *a* (50.2–1634), *b* (50.2–1651), *c* (50.2–1250), *d* (50.2–1237), *f* (50.2–1643), *g* (50.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p.127]

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Fig. 7 (50.2-1634, 1225). Burden Baskets.

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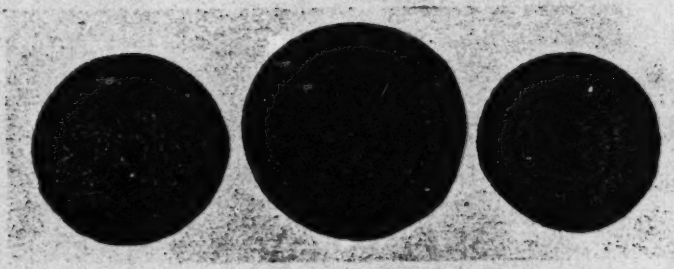

Fig. 8 (30.2-1247, 1648, 1654). Basketry Trays.

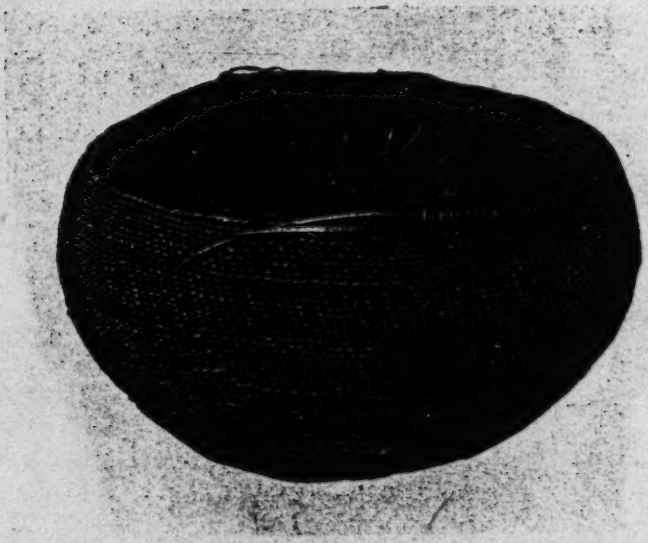

Fig. 9 (30.2-1250). A Boiling Basket.

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Six types (Fig. 6) are recognized: burden baskets (*gdδδ'k*), water bottles (*edved*), shallow bowls or trays in twine (*gdδδ'á"*) and coil (*gd'á"*), stone-boiling bowls (*ha'ugwδlδlé'mia*, water, something, boil) in both techniques, and parching trays (*gdδδu'ulalá*, lit. old twined tray). Burden baskets, water bottles, and parching trays are made with twine weave. 285 [415]

While the weaving is quite coarse and uneven, with the exception of a few coiled pieces, many of the baskets are surprisingly water-tight. However, most baskets for liquids are rendered tight with some sort of coating, mescal juice or cornmeal mush. Trays in which mush is placed soon become impervious; the mess is sometimes rubbed into the interstices with that end in view. Small water-tight trays are used as pannikins to drink from. Water bottles receive a heavy coating of pifion pitch as well as soapweed paste.

Burden baskets are conical; some have a slight reverse curve near the apex which produces a nipple effect (Fig. 7). Two loops to receive the carrying band are inserted in the side of the basket somewhat more than a third of the distance from the rim. After the basket is completed pressure is applied to make this side flat so that the basket will not roll from side to side on the back. These baskets are generally made in three sizes: that used by the women measures about 60 cm. in diameter at the mouth, and 45 cm. in height; a smaller size used by half-grown girls is about 50 cm. by 45 cm.; that of small girls about 35 cm. by 32 cm. 482 415 285

Trays are used to hold seeds, meal, fruit, mush, and a host of other foodstuffs (Fig. 8). Twined trays are roughly of two sizes, although the variation is considerable; 40 cm. in diameter by 9 cm. in depth, and a smaller size 30 cm. by 6 cm. Occasionally these are quite conical. Fewer coiled trays are made: these are about the same size. They are somewhat flatter on the bottom than the twined ware. Parching trays are simply old twined trays, as their name implies, which are given a protective facing. Only the larger size of tray is used for this purpose. 285 415

Stone-boiling disappeared years ago so that descriptions of the baskets used for this process are somewhat vague. Apparently they were the same size as trays but quite deep, really bowls. One basket said to resemble them is 38 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep, quite globular, with a mouth slightly smaller than the body (Fig. 9). Smaller coiled bowls, such as those now sold to tourists, may have been used for stone-boiling. Cushing figures a coiled boiling basket, bottle-shaped, with rounded base and wide mouth.[1] [252]

[1](b), Fig. 803. This shows the bundle foundation which my informants denied was ever used.

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285 415 Water bottles are biconic with gentle reversed curves giving a nipple effect to the pointed base and narrow mouth (Fig. 10). These are about 35 cm. in diameter and 25 cm. in height. Two thongs are inserted just above the maximum diameter to take the burden band. Bottles (*sdwɔgatagólkɔ́*) are also made without the lower cone, that is, with a flat or rounded base.[1] Occasionally this flat base is pushed inward. A third type was used when traveling afoot. It has an hourglass shape, with a flat bottom, and the upper part brought to a narrow mouth. This was

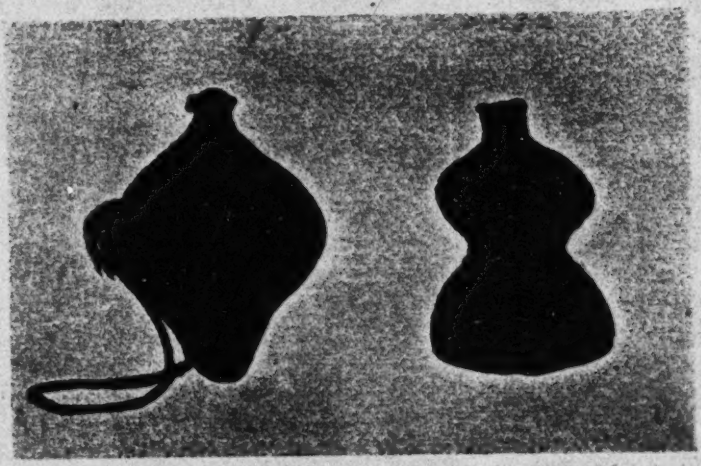

Fig. 10 (50.2–1237, 1645). Two Types of Basketry Water Bottle.

carried at the small of the back by a thong encircling both the wearer's waist and the constricted part of the bottle.[2] A bottle is stoppered with leaves or a corncob.

285 The best material for twined baskets is acacia twigs (*kd'djd'ad*, *Acacia greggii* Gray) which are gathered when green. If picked dry, or if dried in storage, they are soaked two or three nights before using. Cottonwood and willow twigs are inferior. These, too, are gathered green. They may be used for either warp or weft, or in combination with acacia. Mesquite is never used.

[171]

[1] Two figured by Mason, O. T., as Havasupai have the coil technique and shape of neck of Navaho specimens, [(k), Plate 22, Figs. 4 and 5, see p. 239.]

[2] Similar bottles occur among San Carlos Apache (50–8732) and Paiute (Peabody Museum, Salem). The Seri are also accustomed to carry small objects at the small of the back in a cloth tied around the waist. The Huichol have a similar double water gourd [Lumholtz, (c), II, 230].

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 415 [177] [178] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdt*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See O. T. Mason's diagrams, (k), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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323 317 [462] Pots are made by women alone. The best clay, the color of adobe, occurs in a deposit located at Pine Spring west of Cataract Canyon. As this is very hard, chunks must be pried off with a deer antler pick, and are then reduced to a powder by crushing between two stones. Fine stones, procured from an ant hill, are added, the whole being kneaded with water into a stiff dough. Cylinders, 2 cm. in diameter, are rolled 323 out between the palms and coiled in a clockwise direction on a tray basket, patted on top the while with a small, flat, smooth stick to make

[415]

Fig. 16 (50.2–1668). A Coarse Undecorated Vessel of Clay.

them adhere. Both basket and stick are kept wet with a concoction of boiled antler, weed roots, and other ingredients. When the flat coil reaches a diameter of 20 cm. the sides are built up by coiling in the same manner; the potter supporting them with a smooth, round pebble inside while the exterior is paddled. When the vessel is complete, this same pebble is used to smear the concoction over the inner and outer surfaces, rubbing vigorously, in order to render the clay hard and prevent cracking. The vessel walls are of a uniform thickness, 0.7 to 1 cm.; the lip is no thinner. The completed vessel is set in the sun for two days or until it has thoroughly dried. A pile of dry wood of any sort, 70 cm. or more in height, is prepared and set alight early in the morning. After it

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*mukud-vĕtĕ*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*mukwa'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

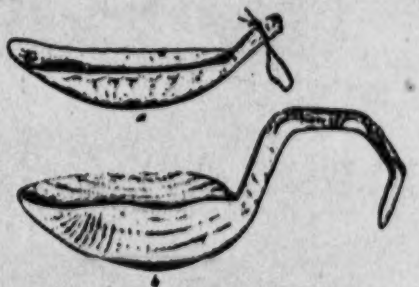

Fig. 20 a (50.2-1585), b (50.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*d'ndle*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, (a), 880.

[2] Such ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (a), 378); Paiute example in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (b), 289.) [171]

[3] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimen in Museum of Anthropology, University of California).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate, as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĕkedĭkwi'ed*) are made of strips of cedar or juniper bark (*tcĕkedĭd*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Rope. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used. The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

2:Hiff Y-S (ca.1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tunnam NT14
Havasupai

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Winter scene showing our stone cottage, later washed away in a flood. To the far right is the outdoor toilet. From the high wall on the right came the boulders and trees that crashed down on us during an earlier flood----

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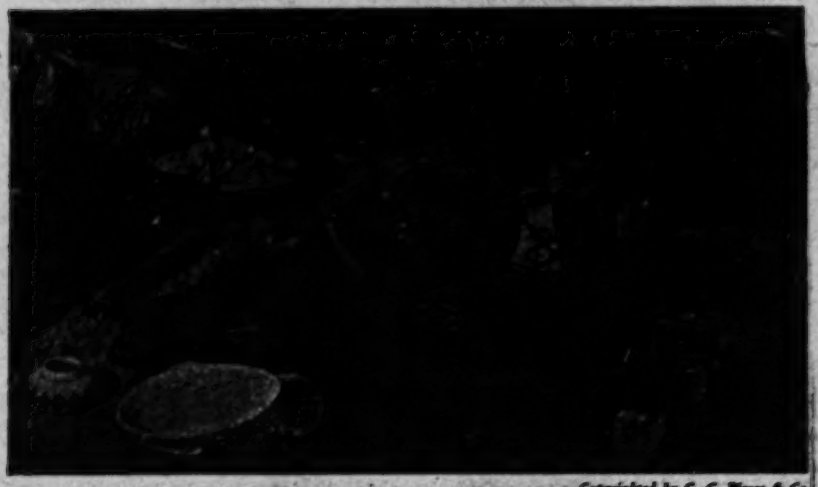

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Havasupai woman, wearing *satas* about her shoulders, preparing to bake thin, crisp sheets of bread on her baking stone

[p.116F]

BAUER T-8 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

hile Eastern construction workers were
ressing Mooney Falls, this kind of al-
ife would have brought the woman five
ollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit.
ick is used to pry plant from the
round. Hatchet-like knife is used in
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American Museum of Natural History

[p.116 0]

Bilfiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *tobolwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

Billiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

3-James T-5 (ca.1908) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapahaoie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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LAHOMAH'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHANCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EBOWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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SIHYELA, WITH ZUUVA, GOING FOR WATER.

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ROCK JONES, LEADING MEDICINE MAN OF HAVASUPAIS.

[FACING p. 256]

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[641] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [622] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

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[114] Spier (1928,183-87) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.
[301]

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[287] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[285] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
●[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and
[768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

4: Smithson. Misc. (1931-1958) 1959 W514 Phelps Vernon W14 [illegible]

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Fig. 23. Women grinding corn. A, Hilda Pelaez prepares green corn for juicy cake type of bread. B, Nanda Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[135] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[343] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[252] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers,
twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[585] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

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water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape. The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carrying straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no 614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex- 602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

593 The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties. A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

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Though many Havasupai women use modern metal corn grinders, some still prefer the metate and mano.

Lina Iditicava is one of the oldest as well as one of the best Havasupai basket-makers.

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[P. 42]

262 tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

412 Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and [439] brass kettles, procured by barter with 415 the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped [264] from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden 415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a 482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars.

412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good [177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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281 The hide is hung over a smooth pole, 5 cm. diameter, which rests slanting against a tree. The hide is caught between pole and tree. The hair and pigmented layer are removed with the beaming tool grasped in both hands and drawn down the pole toward the body. The hair is frequently left on the legs, though it is just as convenient to dehair them or cut them off at once. Loose tissue is also removed from the flesh side. The [412] beaming tool is a deer cannon-bone or hip-bone broken lengthwise and sharpened. Now a horse rib, naturally sharp on its concave edge, is

● [417]
[291]

Fig. 47. Wringing a Deer Hide.

substituted. Dehairing takes about two hours. The hide is hung on a pole to dry in the sun for a day or so.

When ready for tanning, the stiff skin is soaked in the creek over night, but no longer. It is then rubbed thoroughly pliable in the hands, wetting it with warm water. Folded lengthwise flesh side out, the neck is looped about a post, the legs around a stick, and both are folded back inside the skin. Twisting the stick wrings the skin dry. (Fig. 47.) It is now stretched by pulling at the edges and rubbing it together everywhere [412] until entirely freed of wrinkles. A skewer threaded in little slits which

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Young

231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

237 Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane discarded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
411 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed
531 arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 25) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 25 (50.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

411 marks, for a man could always recognise his own arrows. Glue is applied at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyd''d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

2:IIIH Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumam NT14
Havasupai

133
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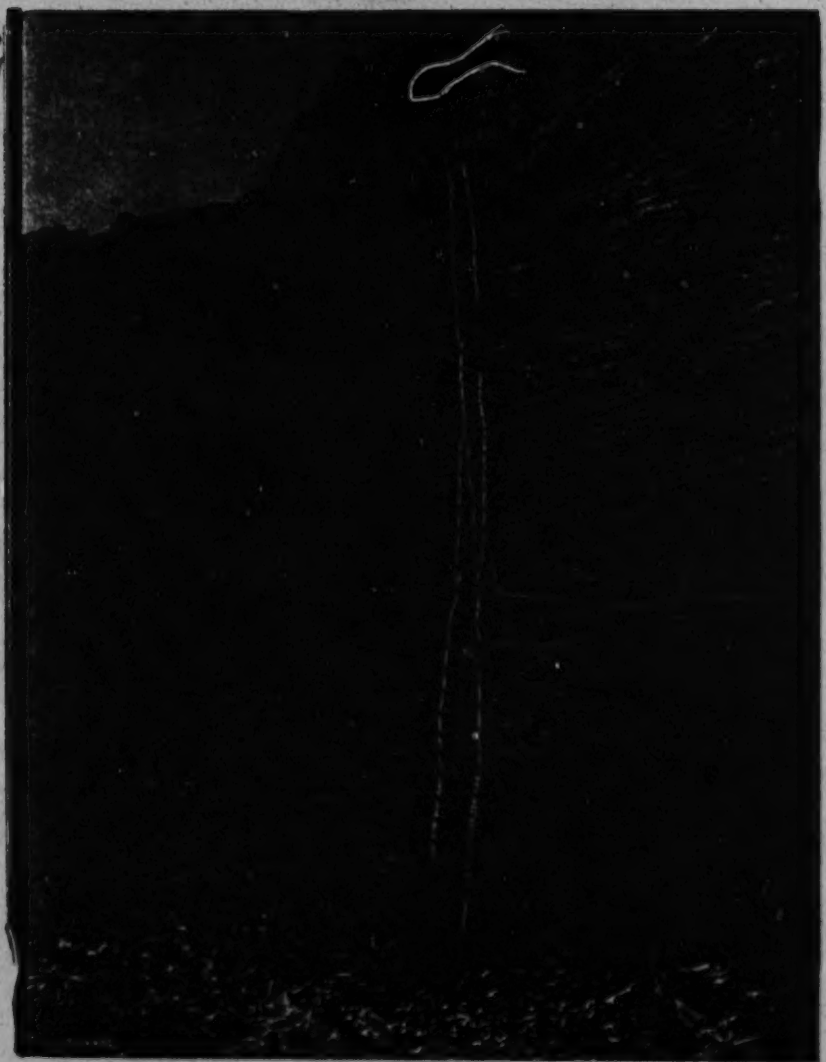

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Crude ladder by which the Indians descended to the pool below Mooney Falls, which is out of the picture to the left

[p. 116 M]

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement. 181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense. 152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.) 181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots. 421 562 [221]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékuchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 ●421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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415 Gourds having an hourglass shape are used as water jugs on foot journeys. They are carried at the middle of the back, held by a rope which passes around the traveler's waist and the constricted portion of the gourd.

Knives. The stone knife (*kwaiyd'l;* also arrowhead) is lanceolate, 324 as large as one's hand, sharp on both edges, somewhat pointed, but with 412 a blunt base. Obsidian is preferable, but flints are used. It is not known whether such knives were hafted: they are no longer made. Another knife (50.2–1219) is a broad flake, with long chips struck from one face only. This is conveniently held between thumb and forefinger.

Cutting movements, as in wood working, are always toward the body.

Stone is not drilled; drilled beads are obtained elsewhere, as among the Hopi. Holes are drilled in wood, bone, or horn (as in the arrow wrench) with an arrowhead, revolving the shaft between the palms.

Sleeping Mats. These (*tcĭkedĭakwi'ed*) are made of strips of cedar or 285 juniper bark (*tcĭkedĭd*) pounded until soft, but not rolled into rope. The larger mats are rectangular, 1 m. by 75 cm., woven with both warp and continuous weft of bark. The ends are bound by stitching with a cord at 2 cm. intervals. Smaller mats are used, and owned, by children. These [422] are somewhat elliptical, with nearly parallel sides. The warp, coiled from center outward, is crossed by twined wefts (cords) placed radially. Neither blankets nor clothing are made of cedarbark.

Ropes. Ropes are usually of yucca fiber, but tanned hide is also used. 283 The inner leaves of a dead broad-leaf yucca are selected, pounded singly between two smooth stones, and flexed with the fingers to remove the connective tissue. The fibers are finally separated by continuing the flexing of a bundle of such leaves rendered pliable with water.

Yucca ropes are three- to six-ply, usually three. These are braided of bundles of fiber; the bundles are never rolled into strands. New lengths are introduced, as required, by simply laying them between two crossing elements. If the fiber is dampened the rope will shrink tight. Three-ply ropes are commonly about four meters long and 1.5 cm. in diameter.

The hide ropes may be of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep skin; the last is strongest.[1] These are also braided of three to six strands. One seven-ply specimen (50.2–1231), nearly six meters long, is flat (0.5 by 1.2 cm.) and the plaiting presents a herring-bone pattern on both sides.

[1] Curiously my informant referred to all articles derived from this animal as best.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. *These weapons were all products of their elders.*

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather pre- [768] determined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 1900, I, 107 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (2), XI.

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white families in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. 472

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing,
[768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

267 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177 233] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 591] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

● 422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [432 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [315]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [340]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [237]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [157] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cha*

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all classes, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (Ø, 39 41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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591 *51.* Shorty lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house,
583 62. Twyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house,
6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's
551 land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjelik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (207); she died. Took Mrocs from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 57?)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.
● 423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the
311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the
133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its
423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,
311 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desir-
423 ing additional fields.

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi and Keresan boundaries (Cushing, (d), 153) and Navaho fences of brush (Stephen, (b), 344).

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428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaʔada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaʔada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 58 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 80) which Kaʔada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a [139] new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaʔada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 55 lay abandoned for years. Kaʔada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1919, he cleared it.

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his older sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small 423 sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough—since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who 423 assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although 465 they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush 423 may not be cut without his consent. Xutin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

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1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [968] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [968] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [968] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[illegible]
[illegible] (cf. 22).

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 230). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patriloeal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matriloeal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Pawnee (Hopkins, 73 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 93; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lippe, 44; Curtis, I, 123–127; Mooney, (c), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 58, 66; Gifford, (a), 173, 189; Reid, 11.

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long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

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camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

Families who owned large plots of ground had several storehouses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

Sir: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him.

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

231 Chicapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
•423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 171

Death

764 The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 283-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held [177] for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead [768] person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1967) notes [114] [423] that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property.

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that [114] [171] "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the [765] Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems [769] contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives [551] of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the [787] land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a [755] shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de-

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, [768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
428 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

598 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

423 In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
562 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.) 423 428 562

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry. [587]

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.
428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 928 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 134) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1958). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

267 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175 Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177 who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev- 591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591 unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [765 lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

●423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [423 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or hogan. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [355] [356]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [171]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
423 readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the In-
dians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at
times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[13] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of
this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking
is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
132 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights
361 and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of
the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the
plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is
plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[34] plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in
construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[35] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of
fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together
on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[16] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in
the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these,
sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish
of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces
of meat and vegetables are taken from the stews with the fingers,
tortes, or knives, while mouth is scooped up with chunks of bread. Gen-
erally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are
visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are
through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin baskets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[28] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating
which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is
used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the bas-
kets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[27] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard
stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is
turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off
the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning
the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried
meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The
women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves,
of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the
usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs
down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes.
It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the
only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handker-
chief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manu-
facture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords
for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the
older men and women. During the warm weather the women and chil-
dren go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moc-
casin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [523] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [17] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pinon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [18] 121

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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-488, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 inter-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved consanguineal cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 Almost half of the houses are more of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, as he occupied four when married. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, as they can be considered negligible as a factor in the discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cliff*

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423 planted stand in the fields and not or are destroyed. These things are so closely
[423] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
[425] whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
177 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
648 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
428 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
621 argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai man owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-233, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Gookin, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stressed that proprietary rights in land depended more emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to land a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai say that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

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relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps somewhat, in part, for the lack of 423
patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold [512]
different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is always divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of communally owned horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to use the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greatest, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when [626]
it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among [F2
Y13

9 Out of 39 inter-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 1 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "elements of rights."

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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, [624] by virtue of his valor and possession, is a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House,"—a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 956 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gamâlwi* or *kaha'i*,[1] but he is also known as *hanâtâwa*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *mâlowagîdjîgâtâ*. Jess differentiated between them by *mâlwik'îdjî* and *pagamâlwikâwatîha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahwîs* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwakhîni*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-one (information from H. H. Lewis). The Yuma head chief is *hwa-ah-lhal* (Trippel, 508).

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time for fear of encountering ghosts. [726] [727]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [728]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are shamans's familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every shaman claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard calling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The shaman closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A shaman sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the shaman carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. [729] [730] [731] [732]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. [733]

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become shamans. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [734]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [735]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a shaman dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. [736] [737] [738]

Among the Havasupai there are shamans who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and shamans who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become shamans. [739] [740]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather shamans. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [741] [742]

The rattle of a shaman is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a shaman is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the [753] [754] [755] [756]

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464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.
465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being
[469] excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
● [425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of aced and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topocoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so closely
[422 bis that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
[425] whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Gutheis, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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774 camera they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

343 Families who owned large plots of ground had several store-
423 houses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had
427 been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

000 It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote ~~my report. I~~ had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

241 Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never [312] troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the [587] inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

In one plural marriage for which there is definite information 595 Manakadja had already married Gwegweθgwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegweθgwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of 586 arbitrary separation. Wa°kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (d), 152] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 354].

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The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who 423 assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although 465 they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owns. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. 423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [768] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 337 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 851.

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

CHIEFTAINSHIP

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlva* or *kahá'l*,[1] but he is also known as *handtáva*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagldjlgálà*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlvik'ádja* and *pagamúlvákavátčka*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kokots* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwahóh*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *hom-ah-thal* (Trippel, 308).

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624 They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their
[183] families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would
624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If
626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate
624 occasions (*skwigwaulg*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The
[156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others
[554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any
[701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess
624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis-
554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications
428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs; at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I [648] [537] 554 756

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The Walapai knew Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Cave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivámă's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Nava'o, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognize him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the eldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hlégа'mf'I. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hlégа'mf'I. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[Text continues on p. 243]

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognize that he has inherited the status.

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . . " Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . . "; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . . ". Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *hdnlgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gl0ijv'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatägwi'ladmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakàhûtaŋa àsá
eagle eagle
ĭnyàhátẽŋe ĭnyanyàhátá
my domestic animal my dog
ĭyàwaiẽŋe yuwaĭà
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwĭ'nõŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., àluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), àluwĭhalàl'dàl'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave information, Bourke (a), 172).

[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyaĭlta*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthus* van Denburgh), *hanpaipita*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatàmtà*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhyncha ochrorhyncha*).

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 178 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1]Kroeber, (a), 281.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (c), 148. Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 262; Cremony 103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99. Sparkman, 239; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3] Kroeber, (a), 295.
[4] Lowie, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45. Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of father-
[587] hood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

586 Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry.
593 At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them re-
[587] mained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived
●[428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, pub-
[787] lic opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586b Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, [768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con-
●428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

423 In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
562 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.) 423 428 562

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry. [587]

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.

428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasûpai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

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648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs.
[175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon,
[177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following
233 1887. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand
[328] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev-
591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct
[591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot
[763] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the
[422 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in
251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are *on* the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The House-Clan*

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planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Problems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and coöperation.

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complexities indicates that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious intricacies of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and coöperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgullo, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgullo never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Mischa Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

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than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai *say* that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

The children do not seem to have reg- 423 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 428 til after puberty, although, on the death 858 of the father, his portable property is 171 inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 622 In the absence of a son, the chief's neph- 643 ew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and a dance, celebrating the death of the [727] enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 643 guished from the civil, with them; for 793 the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/101 cont./
622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [171] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly
768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their [431] representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. 423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little ● 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [768] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 337 *et seq.*
[2] Cushing, (a), 851.

175
648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs.
[175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon,
[177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following
233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand
[428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev-
591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct
[591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot
[768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the
[422] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in
251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 648 [175] the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play, and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work [464] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash [439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist [432] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 241 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 343 648 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 765 648 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually replaced by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 177 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete, took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
● 434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being
[464] excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231; Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

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In most things there is no fixed standard of price. Fictitious values are placed upon articles of no value whatever, but to which the Indian mind has attached singular virtue and importance. On the other hand baskets, which require days to manufacture, taking no account of the time and arduous labor expended in gathering the materials, dyes, etc., for that purpose, are sold at varying prices, but nearly always far too low to begin to compensate them for the efforts expended. 435

Yet they are keen traders in their way. "What can I get out of him?" is the normal attitude of mind, and the price is made to correspond to what the seller imagines is the ability of your pocket.

In dealing with them, I adopted the plan years ago, as a fixed rule, from which I seldom deviate, to state a figure I will give for things offered to me, and that sum, no more, no less, is what I will pay. They soon learn this, and, though at times it seems to be a disadvantage, it gains the confidence of the Indian and he will the more readily trade with me. 437

I once excited the hearty laughter and some scorn of the Havasupais by buying a lot of old baskets, blankets, etc., that they had long deemed of no value. I was seeking their older styles of work and urged them to bring me "any old trash" they had discarded. The usual crowd assembled around my camp, and, as each specimen of dilapidation was half-shamefacedly revealed a shout of laughter arose, directed partially at the would-be seller for her temerity in supposing that such rubbish

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and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he 181 has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will [55 tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by 576] the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

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Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted 281 and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal 237 canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. 281 Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539] Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name) he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wlθa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the [438] fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171] [1]The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 308).

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-paí build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

●438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
paí have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-paí man is complete. To all this,
[554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned toget-
her behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

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the middle of June until September. When the harvest is abundant, invitations are sent to the neighboring Walapai, Navaho, and Hopi to join in the annual dance, a week of festivity. In the course of gambling and trading, another link is fixed in the trade route that runs from Oraibi and the Navaho settlements, through the Havasupai and Walapai, to the Mohave in the west.

The harvest in, mesquite and local seeds gathered, there is no further attraction in the canyon. In the middle of October the exodus to the plateau begins. By single families, or in groups of two and three, they go off to establish snug camps in the denser cedar thickets. These are semi-permanent, for they move from time to time as piñon nuts are reported growing thickly in one glade, wild seeds abundant in another locality, or hunting good near the mountains. When the snow falls, rabbits, deer, and antelopes are easier to track. During this season they live in part on corn which they have carried up from the canyon, and from time to time replenish from the granaries there. As spring comes they drift back, perhaps along the ledges of the Grand Canyon, to resume life in the village.

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with holes opposite those in the first. (Actually the spacing is not very regular). Thus groups of plants grow about a meter apart in both directions. Fields are irregular in outline. Several men might plant one field, the others following the leader's spacing. They do not repeat the invocation. The land is irrigated about two days before planting. They begin to plant in the middle of April and finish two months later; the precise time depends on a man's whim. If corn is planted in the middle of May the shoots will appear after four days, but later planting requires five days. In a month it is half a meter high; it then receives a second watering. When the tassel appears after two or two and a half months it is given a third and last watering.[1] The attention required by the growing crop is not burdensome; of course the fields must be weeded, traps placed for the ground squirrels and rats who would otherwise uproot the corn, etc. The hoe is a wooden spade-shaped affair with a disproportionately long narrow blade with a handle in the same plane. This is used to scrape up the sand into ridges when irrigating and for scraping out weeds. The shoulder blade of a horse (never a deer) is also used for the latter purpose: this is held in the hands, not hafted. The corn ripens in about four months. Plants bear two and sometimes three ears to the stalk. Only the ears are collected, although the stalk with the ears attached is sometimes taken (for fodder?).

According to Sinyella there were only two varieties of corn before he was married (1860–70), then others were acquired from the Hopi. These two were *teyā'ljlpa''*, with kernels mostly red with a little white, and blue corn, both of which, but particularly the first, are accredited to the culture heroes. The modern varieties recognized are white, red, yellow, black, white and red (*n„msavïghuwätä*), white and blue (*n„msä'vïgwasú*), all of which are named by color, and black and white (*n„údä*, spotted). A very small variety (*Zea arnylacea*), with ears about 12 cm. long, known as Mohave corn, is also grown, yielding ears in two months. These have been traded from the Mohave through the Walapai. The blue corn is planted first, because it ripens quickly. Each color is planted alone in a field, even in a large field which is given over to several varieties. The colors of adjacent varieties mix, but no reason is offered for this. One color is not preferred above another for its taste, but wafer bread is made of either white or blue, but not of mixed corn. Long, well formed ears are selected for seed. About twenty such are said to be needed to seed an acre, but this does not seem enough.

[1] Mr. Gessler, a first-rate farmer, tells me that this system of irrigation is proper; corn planted in late May matures in sixty to seventy-five days.

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plain twining alternate with wider bands of diagonal twining. Contrast is also obtained on the same baskets with three strand twining, since rows of this stitching are raised above the surface of the basket. The bands of three strand twine are uniformly very narrow; usually only one or two rows. Water bottles are commonly decorated in contrast twining, although they are subsequently pitch-coated to an extent which obliterates the decoration. I can see no other reason for this display of unfruitful energy than exuberant interest in utilizing a controlled technique and producing a pleasing effect for the moment. Only a very few are ever kept or traded without the pitch coating.

285
531

Designs (*tĕnyúñgá*, a so tattoo marks, face painting) are woven in twine and coil baskets with black martynia. These do not represent objects, and in fact, the women repudiated the idea that any meaning might be read into them.[1] There are no recognized design units nor design names: the women did not seem inclined to speculate about them. All the designs are extremely simple.

Twine trays are decorated with a single circular line, one row wide, or with the same line with short spurs, usually oblique, either on the inside or outside, resembling a cog-wheel with oblique teeth. The same series of teeth are used without the base line. Other decorations are a central circular area, filled solid; a horizontal zigzag line; or simple combinations of any of these. Burden baskets have one to three decorative bands around the upper third; using the same units (except the solid circle) and in addition a band of equilateral triangles, usually filled solid, and with basal angles in contact, or with bases or vertices touching a narrow line running around the basket. A band of two opposed dentate lines is frequent. Water bottles do not have design decorations.

One curious feature is a disinclination to decorate that part of the burden basket which will rest against the back and so will not be seen. The first, i.e., the lowest, band is usually carried around this portion as well, but subsequent bands are progressively executed with increasing carelessness or omitted entirely at this point. (Fig. 7.) This, of course, is contrary to the spirit which accounts for the decoration of water bottles in contrast twining.

A few baskets have the spurs of the dentate bands vertical, that is, following the warps. In all other cases observed, with one exception, the spur lies obliquely in the direction of twining, that is, with its lower end nearer the weaver's left hand and inclining upward to the right. Nearly all such designs are in diagonal twine. I think we have here a clear case of the influence of technique on design. In the first place, the

[1] This does not prevent them from providing interpretations for the tourist trade.

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*dmal'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wdtamákwi'dtgá*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] [439] A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[114] [2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins [(a), 533]. I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighboring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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Campfires on the plateau are not banked at night, but heaped with sufficient wood to last until morning. 372

Ladles. These are said to be made of mountain sheep horn (*mukwd-vëtï*) alone, although Cushing saw small wooden ladles.[1] The typical ladle (*mukwa'*) has a round, shallow bowl, 12 cm. in diameter, with a curved handle. A smaller dipper, 15 cm. long, has an oval bowl with a short handle (20ab). After the handle is hacked and trimmed to size, the horn is soaked and buried in wet sand from three to six nights or until it is fairly soft. The grease of the mountain sheep and the mountain lion are rubbed into the horn, which is warmed at the fire. The handle is then bent into shape. To form the bowl, the top of the horn is split, 321 415

Fig. 20 a (50.2-1585), b (50.2-1217). Mountain Sheep Horn Ladles.

the sides wedged apart with a stick, and the edges trimmed. The bowl is filled with dirt, carefully propped up, and laid aside for a week to harden. As these are used to serve hot liquids, the bowl relaxes to its original shape. The Hopi, who take these ladles in trade, cut disks from them, which they flatten and bore for spindle whorls.[2] [439]

Gourds. Gourds (*a'ndle*), grown in the canyon, are infrequently used as water vessels. These are a long-necked variety, 25 cm. or less in diameter. The stem end of the neck is cut off square and stoppered with grass, crushed cedarbark, or a corncob.[3] A handful of kernels is placed in the new gourd and given an occasional shake to remove the loose fibers. 415

[1] Cushing, (a), 880.
[2] Such ladles are widely distributed: Hopi and all other pueblos (Hough, (a), 278); Paiute example in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.; Wind River Shoshoni (Lowie, (b), 309.) [171]
[3] The Mohave use similar gourds to carry grain on journeys (specimen in Museum of Anthropology, University of California).

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322 411 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The [412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 322 237 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mēsmâ*, sinewed?): it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally, [412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly [439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back [531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The 411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by 237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*makŭapéva*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat.

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside.

Trousers (*dgdl mĭkŭál*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect.

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and Navaho.

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven.
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 187]

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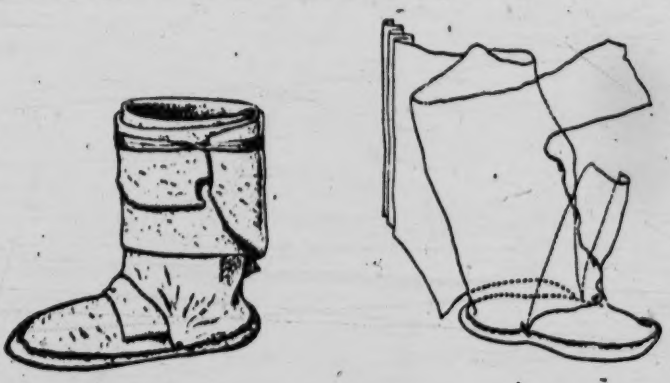
281 this warp at intervals of 5 cm. Blankets are fairly rectangular; speci-
286 mens measuring 75 by 125 cm.; 125 by 140 cm., and a mattress 65 cm. square. The sixty rabbitskins or so necessary for a good-sized blanket are gathered from time to time. The skins are not tanned. Such blankets are quite heavy. Women do not like to go without their shawls, [291] at least outside the camp, but I doubt that the sentiment is as strong as [171] at Zuñi.[1]

Hard sole moccasins are the universal footgear.[2] Women sometimes
291 wear the man's type, but their regular style is like that of Pueblo women,
294 with a long upper which is wound around the leg. The man's moccasin



a b

Fig. 43 a (50.2-1276a), b (50.2-1277a). Woman's Moccasins with Ankle Flaps.

consists of two pieces. The sole is made of the neck skin, the thickest part of a deer hide. In all types the sole comes well up the sides and toe, being shaped and puckered. Three styles are used in the upper of men's moccasins (*mahányó°*, sing. or pl.). The commonest is a single piece lapping at the outside of the foot, where it is fastened with Navaho ● [439] silver buttons (Fig. 41).[3] A short thong is tied through upper and sole at the bottom of the opening for reinforcement. A second type also has a single piece upper, but so cut as to form a short tongue, which the upper laps at the inside of the foot (Fig. 42). The third type resembles that of the

[1] The modern shawl hangs to the heels like that of the Colorado River tribes. It is formed of four handannas sewed together. Two corners are tied under the chin. The modern dress is also like that of the river people. An undershirt is universally worn.

[2] Neither one-piece moccasins, sandals, nor basketry shoes are made.

[3] This is the type shown by Wissler, (a), Fig. 97, for the Zuñi.

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so that it can be turned up and puckered. Sinews are chewed and rolled on the thigh. The toe-tongue is then sewed to the sole with these, beginning at the toe and working toward both sides (Fig. 43). The stitching is concealed; the sinew passing but partially through the two pieces of hide. The ankle flap (D), from which legs and fragment of neck are roughly trimmed, is fitted to the leg; a line being drawn on it around the heel between the midpoints on each side of the foot (E). The ankle piece is now sewed to the sole along this line; the long free end being on the inside of the foot. Little reënforcement thongs are inserted on each side where the uppers meet the sole. The upper edge of the ankle flap is serrated: this edge is turned down outside when the flap is bound about the ankle.

Fig. 45 (50.2-1280a). A Buckskin Overshoe for use in Snow.

An overshoe (*mahanyákwáva*) for use in the snow[1] is made of an oval piece of buckskin extending 15 cm. beyond the sole on all sides. A thong runs through holes around the edge. This is stuffed with soft, crushed cedar-bark and drawn up around the moccasin. These are also attributed to the Walapai. Another type (Fig. 45) but little larger than the ordinary moccasin is really a one-piece moccasin to which a hard sole has been added. The upper is sewed from toe to instep and part way up the heel. This leaves two flaps which stand about the ankle above the tie-thong which is threaded through holes cut but a little above the sole.

Personal Ornamentation

Havasupai styles of personal decoration are not extravagant: hair dressing, painting, and tattooing are only moderately developed.

Men wear their hair full length, to the small of the back, parting it front and back at the ears. The front hair is banged across the forehead just below the eyebrows, leaving the hair at the temples to be cut off on the level of the nipples. The long back hair is bundled back and forth on itself to lie at the nape: the knot (*gúdakóva*) is bound around with a fibet,[2] a woven ribbon of Hopi or Navaho manufacture, or a band of buckskin. The last is broad enough (6 cm.) to conceal the entire knot

[1] Netted snowshoes are not known.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sŏltŏrĭtăkŏ*; *sŏl*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidĭvĭgŏ*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 288).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 [684]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'ig!0dalādj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] (a), 551.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

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the direct route across the head of Cataract Canyon. He found the Havasupai well supplied with red cloth, iron tools, cows, and horses from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico obtained through the Hopi, for in fact the Havasupai camps on Moenkopie Wash provided a readily accessible trading station. On the return journey, he was accompanied by Havasupai going to the Mohave to trade mantas, leggings, and pieces of cowhide for "shells—only for white sea-shells, for no others do they receive in exchange."[1]

439

The exchange value of articles in the period 1840–65 gleaned from Sinyella's and Manakadja's reminiscences, is as follows:—

Havasupai:	Big blanket	—*Mohave:*	Young horse
	Saddle blanket	—*Paiute:*	Two skins of good-sized bucks
	Tray of shelled corn	—*Navaho:*	Saddle blanket
	Small burden basket of shelled corn	—	Big blanket
	Biggest burden basket of shelled corn	—	Horse
	Two bundles of dried squash		Big blanket
	Small tray of beans		Good-sized blanket
	Two buckskins and a little corn	—	Horse
	Big blanket	—*Ute:*	Gun
	Fair-sized buckskin Ten silver buttons	—	Ten small charges of powder Ten bullets Ten percussion caps
	Big blanket	—*Walapai:*	Three buckskins
	Decorated blanket (all-over pattern of black lozenges, each containing a dot: *dätwitticädïvd*)	—	Four buckskins
	Four blankets	—	Horse
	Five blankets	—	One good horse
	Large and small buckskins	—*Hopi:*	Large blanket
	Seven or eight buckskins	—	Horse
	Ten buckskins	—	Race-horse

[1] Cross, 319, 320, 326, 334, 337, 339, 340, 345, 357, 410, 414.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŏk$_y$óvà [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovŏk$_y$óvà trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

484 649

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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgînyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qudadmund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

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The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branchee set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*gweflłkómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gweflłkómidł'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

łnyámátvł	má'évához'ł'ł	dúyłłniyúdjłk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánłgwayóhag'ł'ł	ma'évához'ł'ł
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahá't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

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[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hupi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakàhútaŋa àsá
eagle eagle
ĭnyàhátčŋe ĭnyanyàhátà
my domestic animal my dog
iyàwaičŋe yuwaĭà
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwĭ'nõŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., àluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), àluwĭhalàĭ'dàĭ'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave information, Bourke (a), 172).
[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.
[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyallìa*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer rutilus* van Denburgh), *kanyapiku*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *katàmàlà*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhyncha ochrorhyncha*).

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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. [844] [846]

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] [845]

Twins (*huwdǧídjà*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] [856] [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pîk'igîčaaîdàdj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hôlkdl'ô'pà*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. [842] [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is so greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 178. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (i), 293).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

854 The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grandmother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark, [479] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the [174] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The [842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with piñon pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Kissell, 146).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of
574 cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a
[439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop-
[697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared,
[576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *hánlgá*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for [515] except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." [684] When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care.

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast.

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin.

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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281 and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a
291 good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make mocca-
[462] sins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

● 439 Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd
[574] of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

437 There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

193 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[342] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

[439] "Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
439 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and
seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men some-
times traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own work-
manship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male
groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also
obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with
another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was con-
ducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave
to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade
route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and
cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the
Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based
mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence"
which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance"
(1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439 177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

586 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal ef-
562 fects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband
[177] without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no prop-
[423] erty comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and main-
648 tained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they
[439] also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The ex-
[582] treme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done
[177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 591] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 224 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

285
415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
531 then with piñon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[208] The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
[439] ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale.

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged.

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed.

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions.

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians.

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 648 [175] the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play, and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work [461] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash [439] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist [432] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 241 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 943 648 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 765 648 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually replaced by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 177 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete, took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 19 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory.

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai.

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches.

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254).

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poshai Anki'a*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 101).

tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-paí household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

● [439]

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. -Analyst]

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
342 life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
224 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that
648 the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
●[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

such items as *Lucky Strikes*, *Carnation Milk* and *Tide* washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati.

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year.

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings.

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy.

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

continued our school sessions. The men pointed out another pillar, farther down the canyon, that endangered neither school nor village, that would come down "four suns, maybe five."

From the day of the flood, falling boulders and landslides had kept us in an unsettled state, but on the fourth day, as the men had predicted, the big column fell. It leaned out from the wall, toppled crazily, its center buckling, and burst apart with a roar as if the gorge itself had split open and was shaking itself to pieces. A bedlam of sound struck the angled walls to be tossed back, echoing and re-echoing until it seemed there would never be an end to it. We hurried down to view the ruin, arriving before the dust had settled, while the stones were still sliding over one another, groaning and grinding as they shifted to a lower level.

The Indians patiently repaired their houses, dried out the furnishings, rebuilt fences, replanted gardens and orchards. How many times in the past had they undertaken this same task, I wondered. I wondered, too, at the leisurely way they worked, stopping to gamble a little, to visit and make merry for awhile, or to eat food some neighbor brought. If a task could not be done one way, try another; if it could not be done today, try it tomorrow. They had never worked by a clock, nor permitted time to become their master, so they, as a people, remained cheerful, unhurried.

Portions of the Walapai trail had been wiped out. The Indian men, using their native methods with brush and stones, soon had it passable but dangerous, so we were greatly surprised when several men rode down from the plateau and stopped at the school. One of them, Mr. Jacobs, an engineer in charge of a surveying party on the government reserve, expressed his surprise in finding us alive and the buildings standing. He said, "We watched the storm from our camp a few miles back on the mesa. From there, it looked as if a cloudburst hit right in this canyon. We expected to find this place swept clean as a whistle."

According to his report and that of his men, our danger was as real as it had seemed. But now that it was over, I was prepared.

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork 461 pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete 178 government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, cer-178 tain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time. 593 461 855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit. [854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
439 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

●461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
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177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[46] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[517] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

555 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

They
never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

Their perceptive faculties

181 are good, especially relative to simple
151 ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous.
153 They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-pai, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original.
[212] They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my
[522] interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

281 They are skilled in manufacturing
● 461 and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from
030 the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

[P 549 A]

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
● 461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets or preparing food. The men are expert
[224 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, *ruins which have attracted world-wide* attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

[P. 547B]

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versal punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

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Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

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Sedentary agriculturists in summer, the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

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[P 553A]

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221 silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and
439 various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

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331 The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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491 Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-paí; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-paí domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
● 46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] [i.e., horse. -Analyst]

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away and the seeds scraped out and collected. After further drying, the flesh is sliced spirally from side to side, beginning at the stem end, in a strip 2.5 to 5 cm. in width. This coil, 1 to 1.5 m. long, is hung from a pole to dry in the sun. While it is still pliable, it is folded back and forth on itself into a bundle (*hamtekwi'lîvâ*), 30 to 45 cm. long, and bound with one end of the strip. This is set aside to dry thoroughly before it is placed in the storehouse for winter use. Squash so dried will keep through an entire year. Melons are also grown. 251

Sunflowers (*dk'ôlâ*) are grown for their seed. Cotton (*Gossypium kopi* Lewton) is raised from seed obtained from the Hopi; the only use for this product is in the strike-a-light. The seeds of wild food plants are not planted; some, such as pigweed, grow in the fields. Peaches and figs, modern foodstuffs, are eaten fresh. Peaches are also torn in two and pitted, while figs are opened, before they are spread on the rocks to dry. 241 [249] [372] [251]

Two varieties of tobacco are known, *úvâ*, and *kâθô'dn„lu'vâ* (Coyote's tobacco; *Nicotiana trigonophylla* Dunal). Myth has it that the second was grown by Coyote for his own use. Both grow wild on the plateau and in the canyon above the village: their leaves are similar, but the smoke tastes somewhat differently, according to the natives. Tobacco (both varieties?) is grown only on the plateau. A mesquite tree is cut down and burned. The tobacco seeds are thrown into the dead ashes (the soil is not dug up). Willow is not used as a substitute. 249

Wild Food Products

These are a valuable adjunct to the food supply, especially from the autumn until spring during the residence on the plateau. During this period they lead a wandering life, families going off in the fall to a place where someone had reported piñon nuts lying plentifully on the ground; winter finds them to the east, hunting in the Coconino Basin, dropping down to the benches of the Grand Canyon in the spring for mescal, and so on. Women and children are sometimes left to gather seeds while the men go off to trade. 221 222 [462]

Mescal (the agave plant), which grows on the canyon benches, is ripe in May when the flower stalk is 30 to 60 cm. tall. The plant is severed entire by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick (*lôp'ô''l*) about 1 m. long, 3 cm. diameter, against its base. The outside leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a special hatchet (*dgwidjâ*). This consists of a broad stone blade set in a slot midway in the length of a short handle, 30 cm. long, (sometimes of piñon wood), where it is held fast with glue or pitch and by lashings. A load of [412] 252 [412]

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

Fig. 6 *a* (50.2-1634), *b* (50.2-1631), *c* (50.2-1230), *d* (50.2-1237), *f* (50.2-1643), *g* (50.2-1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p. 127]

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323 317 [462] Pots are made by women alone. The best clay, the color of adobe, occurs in a deposit located at Pine Spring west of Cataract Canyon. As this is very hard, chunks must be pried off with a deer antler pick, and are then reduced to a powder by crushing between two stones. Fine stones, procured from an ant hill, are added, the whole being kneaded with water into a stiff dough. Cylinders, 2 cm. in diameter, are rolled 323 out between the palms and coiled in a clockwise direction on a tray basket, patted on top the whi e with a small, flat, smooth stick to make

[415]

Fig. 16 (50.2-1668). A Coarse Undecorated Vessel of Clay.

them adhere. Both basket and stick are kept wet with a concoction of boiled antler, weed roots, and other ingredients. When the flat coil reaches a diameter of 20 cm. the sides are built up by coiling in the same manner; the potter supporting them with a smooth, round pebble inside while the exterior is paddled. When the vessel is complete, this same pebble is used to smear the concoction over the inner and outer surfaces, rubbing vigorously, in order to render the clay hard and prevent cracking. The vessel walls are of a uniform thickness, 0.7 to 1 cm.; the lip is no thinner. The completed vessel is set in the sun for two days or until it has thoroughly dried. A pile of dry wood of any sort, 70 cm. or more in height, is prepared and set alight early in the morning. After it

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323 has burned down, the coals are raked away from the center, the pot set right side up on the ground, and buried, inside and out, in coals. A small amount of brush is then set ablaze on top of this, presumably to create a draft. After baking all day and night, the pot may be removed next morning. Only one pot is fired at a time. These vessels are said never to have cracked in firing.

[252] Cornmeal mush is always the first thing cooked in the vessel. A ladle full is given to every comer, more being cooked in the same pot as the supply wanes, in the spirit of ascribing inexhaustibility to it. Pots are supported on three stones when cooking.

[356] Sometimes the bottom burns when cooking so that fine cracks appear, although the vessel does not break. A sort of "alkaline clay,"[1] obtained from the creek bed, is smeared over the faulty spot, beyond which no further attention is required.

[439] Pottery is obtained from the Hopi for storage uses, but not for cooking.

[276] Clay pipes (*amal'há'u*) are made of material obtained from the creek bed. The bowl, 5 cm. high, is fitted with an arrow reed stem, 7.5 in. long, in one side. Cigarettes (*wátamákwĭ'dĭgá*) are made of cornhusk, but not of reeds.

Skin Dressing

281 [462] [439] A Havasupai man's sole specialized product is the tanned deerskin. It is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone. It is also the chief article of trade, which is, on the whole, another male activity.[2]

The fresh skin is stretched on the ground hair side down, with large stones on the neck, tail, and legs, and with smaller ones along the edges. After four or five days of drying in the sun it is as stiff as a board. If the skin contains much fat, it is dried in the shade, otherwise it will putrefy. The rawhide is sprinkled with water until it can be rolled into a loose cylinder, in which condition it can be stored for future use for as long as three or four months, by which time the insects will have gotten at it.

To dehair the rawhide, it is tied down in the creek to soak for a day and night. Dehairing commences with the dawn the next day, not because the sun would dry the hide, but because the process is laborious.

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[1] Unidentified: the creek is heavily charged with lime salts.

[114] [2] Cushing observes that these people are famous among other Indians for their buckskins [(a), 353]. I fail to see any superiority over the products of neighbouring tribes, or those of other North American Indians represented in museum collections.

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pot at its middle. This is illustrated for the Pima, Yavapai, Havasupai, Mohave, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño. Navaho jars are taller and narrow; San Carlos are said to be cylindrical with round to conical bases. Shivwits pottery is also pointed at the bottom.

Perhaps corresponding to the Havasupai custom of cooking cornmeal mush in the new vessel, the Cocopa cook it, smear it on the vessel, but throw it away,[1] while the Pima and Papago pour flour paste inside and out of the red hot pot, and the San Carlos coat it with a mixture of clay and *sphaeralcea emoryi*.

The Havasupai pipe is exceptional in having a reed stem fitted in the side of a clay bowl. The nearest form is that of the Diegueño which has the clay of the bowl pinched out at a sharp angle into a short stem.[2] This would appear to be merely a bent tubular pipe were it not for a nipple below the bowl which is suspiciously like that of our own clay pipes. Elsewhere in the Southwest and California the tubular pipe is used; e.g., Navaho, Western Apache, Jicarilla, Luiseño, Washo, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[3] It is interesting to note that the older pipes of the Cheyenne were straight tubes of bone or stone.[4]

Skins are dressed by the Navaho by a process practically identical with that of the Havasupai. Descriptions from other tribes are so meager that I do not know how far details are similar. Some of the Southwestern tribes at least do not smoke the skins, (Navaho, Havasupai, and Shivwits), others to the north do (Mompa—for whom it is a recently acquired trait,—Kanab, Uintah, Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso, Achomawi, Klamath and Modoc).[5] Smoking is also general north of the Basin and eastward in the Plains.

Skin dressing is wholly the work of men among the Havasupai, as among Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa also. Zuñi men do all the sewing, and as is also customary in other pueblos (Cochiti, Hopi, e.g.) make the moccasins. In this connection we note that Paviotso men make their rabbitskin blankets.[6] On the other hand, skin dressing and working is a woman's task in the Plains, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men weaving garment materials has been transferred to the preparation of skins by men of these tribes.

[1] Field notes of R. H. Lowie.
[2] Spier, (a), 348; Hays, (d), Pl. XI, Fig. 20.
[3] Franciscan Fathers, 287, 305; Matthews, (f), 314; Whipple, Eylmank, and Turner, 47; Russell, (a), 267; Barrkman, 212, 210; Washo data from Dorter H. H. Lowie, 1926; Dixon, (e), 214; J. A. Mason states that the Salinan and Yaudanchi used reeds, but only as straws for drinking, but elsewhere he speaks of the Salinan "pipe" ((a), 142, 183).
[4] Grinnell, (b), I, 208.
[5] Shufeldt, (b); Lowie, (i), 226ff; Mason, O. T., (e), 272.
[6] Corbusier, 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 371; Dumarest, 148; Hough, (d), 70, 72.

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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horisontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the mid-points of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horisontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Sonpweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. [462] At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most 354 in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otúuv*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel. 352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedarbark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed. 513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

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DRESS AND ADORNMENT

CLOTHING

Both sexes are moderately well clothed, in fact, Garcés was struck 291
in 1776 with their contrast in this respect to the scantily clad Colorado River tribes.[1] A man wears a headband, shirt, breechclout, moccasins, leggings, and in more recent times, trousers. A woman's dress is a short under-apron, a dress consisting of two aprons, a long one worn in front and a shorter one in the rear, moccasins, and blanket. Young children go entirely naked; at six or seven boys are given shirts, and as they approach puberty they don nether garments. Girls assume complete dress earlier than boys. There are no stylistic differences of clothing or hair dressing marking maidens from wives.

Children run barefoot. Ordinarily women go barefoot about the camp where the sand is soft, but wear their moccasins to the fields or on journeys. Men, on the other hand, are never without them.

Men usually take pains to avoid exposure. The breechclout is worn at all times, even in the sweatlodge and when bathing. Women are equally careful to retain the under-apron, sleeping, bathing, and in the sweatlodge. The dress fashioned of two aprons is open down the side and exposes its wearer's thighs when seated: the front apron is drawn back between the legs.

All skin clothing is made by men, for the whole skin industry from 294
flaying the carcass to the manufacture of women's dresses[2] is in the 281
hands of the men. 462

The man's shirt (*nlguaid*) seems to have been based on the poncho 291
type of the Plains, but only variants resembling European garments are 294
now extant. Cushing observed that the shirt was [177]

> made from a single deerskin, a transverse slit in the center serving as a neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of the same material, heavily fringed, are attached to the edge of the skin, either side of the neck-hole, and open down as far as the elbows. Save the seams at the shoulders and from the elbows to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit admirably by means of a belt or band, with which the ends falling down front and back are gathered about the waist.[3]

I was told that shirts are also made of two skins sewed together along the straight shoulders and down the sides. True sleeves are inserted. Triangular flaps were added to the neck hole front and back; that in the front is said to have been somewhat the broader. The type now in use

[1] Coues, 435.
[2] Compare the Western Apache (Bourke, (d), 123).
[3] Cushing, (a), 346.

[Text continues on p. 185]

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Pima, Southern Diegueño, Luiseño, a people of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Salinan, Miwok, Southern and Northern Maidu, Shivwits and Kaibab Paiute, Paviotso, Gosiute, Southern (?) Ute, and Northern Shoshoni.[1] There is some variation in the details of manufacture which provides comparative data. The Southern Diegueño and Havasupai warp these upon rows of stakes; the Hopi do not. The Maidu resemble the Paviotso in warping them over two poles.[2]

Descriptions of hair dress are lacking in precision and the situation is somewhat complex. A style consisting of doubling up the long back hair into a knot or queue at the back of the head is common to the Havasupai, Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Yet there is considerable difference even here: the Pueblos bang the hair over the forehead and cut that at the sides square; the Havasupai, while they too use the bang, wear the hair at the temples long. The Rio Grande Pueblos are said to arrange it behind in two clubs.[3]

Westward of this group the style calls for the bang on the forehead but long hair behind, even artificially lengthened. There appear to be two general styles of treating this back hair. It is simply wrapped without braiding by the Yavapai, Apache-Yuma,[4] Chemehuevi,[5] and Southern Diegueño.[6] On the lower Colorado and Gila the back hair hangs in long plaits or rolls: Mohave, Yuma, Maricopa, Pima, and probably Cocopa.[7] The Maricopa and Pima alternatively arrange it in a club at the back. The Mohave and Walapai, like the Seri, also part it in the middle and allow it to hang loose. The Walapai sometimes wear a braid on each side. Like the Havasupai, the Maricopa and Cocopa have pendent ear locks.

The position of the Western Apache is not clear. The Tonto wore the hair banged at the eyebrows and longer behind, but not to the shoulders, or they cut it short all around. The San Carlos trimmed it, but wore no bang.[8]

[1] Stevenson, M. C., (b), 370; Hough, (d), 302; Franciscan Fathers, 141; Curtis, II 93; Russell, (d), 158; Spier, (c), 340; Sparkman, 230; Yates, 375; Mason, J. A., (a), 127; Ponce, 338, 351; Fay, 38; Dixon, (a), 148 (where the blankets are used more in the Sierras than in the Sacramento valley); Lowie, (j), 198, 216, 217, 228; Dellenbaugh, 178; Chamberlin, (b), 330; Lowie, (a), 178.

[2] Among the Paviotso weaving is the work of men, but sometimes of women. It would be interesting to know whether this is connected with Pueblo loom weaving, formerly a man's art, or with the manufacture of all clothing by men, as among the Havasupai.

[3] Stephen, 255; Franciscan Fathers, 404; Hough, (e), 245; Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 85.

[4] "Long matted rolls of false hair behind" (Corbusier, 270); Bourke, (d), 414.

[5] "Gathered" by a narrow band, from which it hangs loosely down the back" — or does this mean a headband encircling loose hair? (Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33).

[6] Spier, (c), 340.

[7] Heintzelman, 48; Trippel, 305; Russell, (d), 158; Cremony, 90; Sandefur, (a), 253; Bartlett, I, 402, II, 217, 230; Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 33. The Cocopa, a tribe found by Ohate at the mouth of the Gila in 1604-5, had a similar hairdress (Sandefur, (a), 111). Mason, 227, see also Lumholtz, (a), 9; Curtis, II, 93.

[8] Stuart, 418; Hrdlička, (d), 499.

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[462]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. 423 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

428 A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his possessions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. [768] To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 337 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 321.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ádjúdá*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*shaŋapkitaidp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [782]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gloiyé'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*glaslud*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai pe-esnacka, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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515 136 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say, I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 [462] Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows [137] suitable for this work.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 562 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
[586] children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
593 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
861 of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854
736 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

462

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children.

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so [224] trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility.

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, [114] James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women [224] both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. To- [281] day, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while [478] he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also. Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[184] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

462

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous.

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women [342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang- [476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

462 439 Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe, each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 177 562 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a corresponding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 464 177 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 294 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [524]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415? 531 [482]

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [755]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 757 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [757] [754]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly.

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

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Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

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Sedentary agriculturists in summer, the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[281]

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $320.
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In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
231 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
511 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their
434 cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which depiete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier 1928, 231, Service 1947, 364). 464 166 [425]

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon Village. [431]

About a mile from Grand Canyon Village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in Grand Canyon proper. Until recently a few families lived at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family was at Pasture Wash, about 30 mi. to the southwest, near Topocoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon Village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population off the reservation. Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services. A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for 10 or 15 years. These residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a number of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon. 361 162 166 161 166

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in neighboring towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years; (2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season. Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while miscellaneous employment as stablehands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc., may be available. [464]

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources 434

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 344) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 381).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white families in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [972]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

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sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his 422
possessions independently.

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually 492
has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips.

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with 241
stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small [215]
acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land.

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the [240]
Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting.

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot 241
and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with 412
a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped [237]
hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds.

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; 241
even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted.

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six [237]
inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the 251
roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use.

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play, and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually replaced by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete, took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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428 A typical instance of male succession is that of Kaṅada and his three nephews. Apart from other holdings Kaṅada's father owned a large tract (from Camps 56 to 57 and beyond, see map, Fig. 80) which Kaṅada and his elder brother inherited. The three sons of the latter fell heir to his share. In the flood of 1911 the creek assumed a
[139] new course, dividing this tract neatly in two; whereupon Kaṅada took the section west of the creek for his own and gave up using any part of the eastern portion. His nephews kept the eastern tract undivided, even after the death of the middle member of the trio. All three lived together on this tract (Camp 57) until the youngest, Tobey, established his home on land inherited from his maternal grandmother's brother (Camp 55). A small part of the tract south of Camp 56 lay abandoned for years. Kaṅada's intention of reclaiming it was well known at the time of my first visit, but considered vague; in 1910, he cleared it.

Bob's land was inherited by his widow and her adult son by a former husband. Bob had no male relatives; his elder sister, who is well provided for, and another sister's grandson, who often lived with him, received nothing. The heirs have not divided the land.

Nina planted a cornfield independent of her husband. The field belonged to her
423 father's younger brother, Panamida, who let her use it for the support of her two small sons. After her death, Panamida took it back, planting there the next season contrary to custom, but with the approval of the community. Panamida gives some of the corn to Nina's sons.

An uncultivated field, now used only as the dance ground, is claimed by Smiley and Panamida. Smiley, who owned the land, gave it to his daughter for the use of her children; she having married Panamida. She and all her children, save one, are now dead. Panamida claims the field as his, but Smiley says that now the children are dead the field is his again.

425 Land is also exchanged and sold. Sinyella exchanged a strip of corn land near Rock Jones's house with the latter for a piece below Navaho Falls on which he then planted fig trees. When Jess married he bought a piece of uncleared land for a house site and pasture from Manakadja (an acre and a half for thirty-five dollars). In a measure, this is land given for support of a woman relative—although the price is fair enough —since Jess's wife formerly lived with Manakadja, her mother's father and her nearest male relative save one.

423 The products of the land belong to those who own it. Others who assist in caring for the harvest, etc., have no proprietary rights although
465 they are commonly paid in kind. This is distinctly compensation. For instance, on one occasion Sinyella had eight women assisting him in curing the fruit of the many peach trees he owned. Two were members of his family group; the others were not closely related. Each one received part of the crop in payment.

423 Natural products also belong to the land-owner. Trees and brush may not be cut without his consent. Austin owns a cornfield, inherited from his paternal grandfather, west of the old creek bed. In the flood of

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school housekeeper and cook, $120.
657
465

In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

415 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 476 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women [461] gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

Fig. 6 *a* (80.2-1634), *b* (80.2-1631), *c* (80.2-1230), *d* (80.2 1237), *f* (80.2-1643), *g* (80.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms. *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p.129]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539]

Wâtim'a	ahâwamuhavi
wa'a'agadj	
(a hero's name)	he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wîθa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing,* presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171]

[1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 303).

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC STATUS AND ROLE

Division of Labor

Economic activities were not in precontact times as sharply sex-limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children. 462

Predominantly Male Activities

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, 102-4) also made this observation. Housebuilding was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently, and upon reaching adult status she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility. [224]

Spier (1928, 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, 231), who made a few observations during a brief visit and was perhaps less than an accurate reporter, recorded that "men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." As hunting laws now restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may possibly have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweat lodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it may be [114] [224] [281] [476]

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[114] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the
ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and
seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men some-
times traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own work-
manship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male
groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also
obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with
another neighbor. Spier (1928, 244) reports that "An active trade was con-
ducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave
to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade
route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and
cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the
Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

462 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based
mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence"
which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance"
(1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal
communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either
on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while
many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or chil-
dren. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always
been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the
tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed
by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which
socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented
status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predomi-
nance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance
which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

Zolliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [789 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe. 541 525

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time. 526

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive. 855

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation [487] 526 868

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

889 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neigh-
736 boring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just de-
[145] scribed, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair,
[481] and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate
[153] and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have some-
what greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they
[562] do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather [515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate 181 to children and pets, and very hospita- 604 ble to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are never- 152 less passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

MANUFACTURES

Basketry

4/15 Baskets are the most important domestic utensils. A dozen or so may be found in each household; two or three burden baskets, half a dozen trays holding foodstuffs, one or two parching trays, a water bottle or two, and in the old days, boiling baskets. Basketry is entirely women's 285 476 work, to which they devote most of their spare time, particularly the long midday period when household duties are light. Wherever women [462] gather, basketry may be seen; the hostess working at her products, the

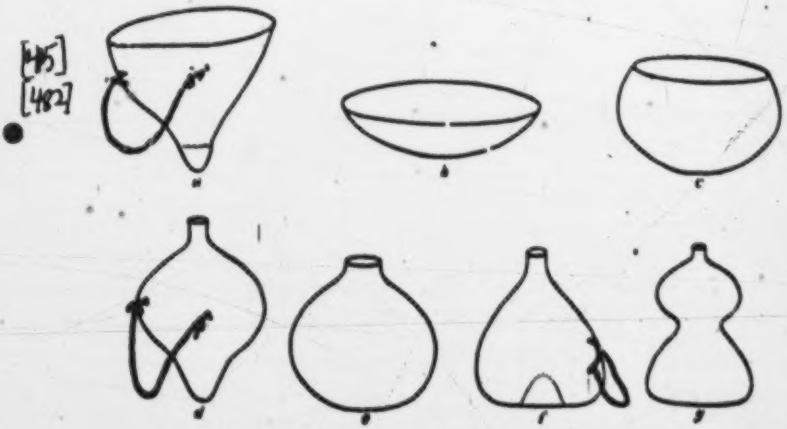

Fig. 6 *a* (50.2-1634), *b* (50.2-1631), *c* (50.2-1230), *d* (50.2-1237), *f* (50.2-1643), *g* (50.2 1645). Havasupai Basketry Forms, *a*, Burden basket; *b*, Tray; *c*, Boiling Basket; *d-g*, Water bottles.

guests plucking and preparing twigs from the nearby bushes, or more commonly helping the hostess at such tasks. Women do not usually 285 carry their unfinished wares further than a neighbor's camp; not even the coiled baskets which are worked on only intermittently and regarded much as our women do embroidery. Twined baskets are worked on more consecutively; a tray basket, depending on its size, may be completed in a few days; a burden basket is worked at off and on for a month. They consider twining hard work because continual pulling at the stiff wefts bruises the fingers badly. Expertness is recognized and prized; a few women are widely acknowledged as preëminent.

[text continues on p. 127]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 7 (50.2-1634, 1235). Burden Baskets.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Six types (Fig. 6) are recognized: burden baskets (*gdôô'k*), water bottles (*sdwd*), shallow bowls or trays in twine (*gdôô'á"*) and coil (*gd'á"*) stone-boiling bowls (*ha'uguĕtdû'mia*, water, something, boil) in both techniques, and parching trays (*gdôôu'ulatá*, lit. old twined tray). Burden baskets, water bottles, and parching trays are made with twine weave.

While the weaving is quite coarse and uneven, with the exception of a few coiled pieces, many of the baskets are surprisingly water-tight. However, most baskets for liquids are rendered tight with some sort of coating, mescal juice or cornmeal mush. Trays in which mush is placed soon become impervious; the mess is sometimes rubbed into the interstices with that end in view. Small water-tight trays are used as pannikins to drink from. Water bottles receive a heavy coating of piñon pitch as well as soapweed paste.

Burden baskets are conical; some have a slight reverse curve near the apex which produces a nipple effect (Fig. 7). Two loops to receive the carrying band are inserted in the side of the basket somewhat more than a third of the distance from the rim. After the basket is completed pressure is applied to make this side flat so that the basket will not roll from side to side on the back. These baskets are generally made in three sizes: that used by the women measures about 60 cm. in diameter at the mouth, and 45 cm. in height; a smaller size used by half-grown girls is about 50 cm. by 45 cm.; that of small girls about 35 cm. by 32 cm.

Trays are used to hold seeds, meal, fruit, mush, and a host of other foodstuffs (Fig. 8). Twined trays are roughly of two sizes, although the variation is considerable; 40 cm. in diameter by 9 cm. in depth, and a smaller size 30 cm. by 6 cm. Occasionally these are quite conical. Fewer coiled trays are made: these are about the same size. They are somewhat flatter on the bottom than the twined ware. Parching trays are simply old twined trays, as their name implies, which are given a protective facing. Only the larger size of tray is used for this purpose.

Stone-boiling disappeared years ago so that descriptions of the baskets used for this process are somewhat vague. Apparently they were the same size as trays but quite deep, really bowls. One basket said to resemble them is 38 cm. in diameter and 23 cm. deep, quite globular, with a mouth slightly smaller than the body (Fig. 9). Smaller coiled bowls, such as those now sold to tourists, may have been used for stone-boiling. Cushing figures a coiled boiling basket, bottle-shaped, with rounded base and wide mouth.[1]

[1](b), Fig. 503. This shows the bundle foundation which my informants denied was ever used.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahdnă*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The feet are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, 6), 283.) [171]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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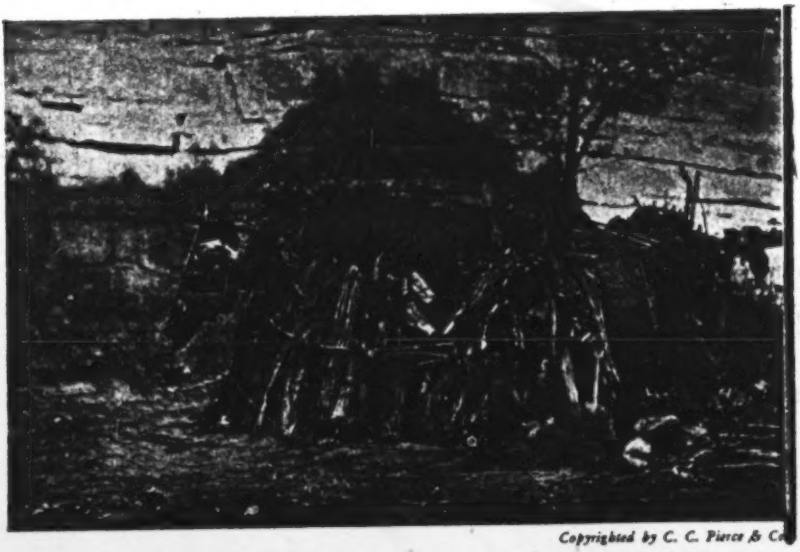

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The old basket weaver's home, built of poles, bark, brush and discarded clothing

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Mother carrying her baby in a burden basket. Her home is typical of the Havasupai house of a generation ago

[p. 116 N]

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

While Eastern construction workers were harnessing Mooney Falls, this load of alfalfa would have brought the woman five dollars

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Mescal trimmed for the roasting pit. Stick is used to pry plant from the ground. Hatchet-like knife is used in trimming

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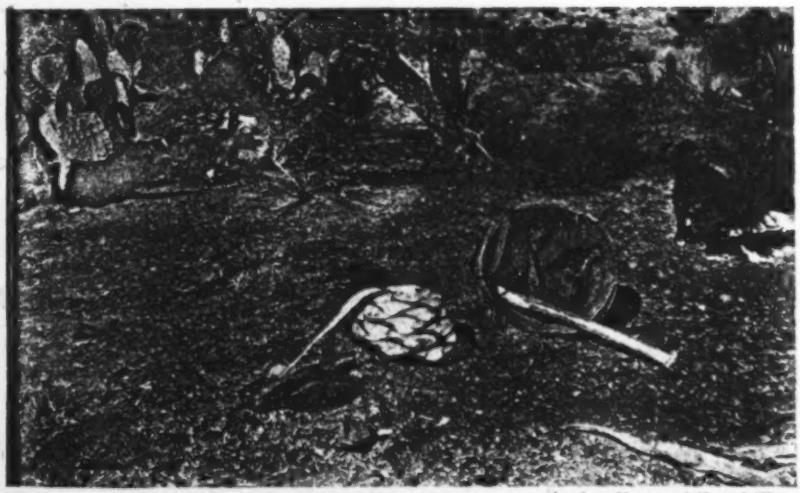

American Museum of Natural History

[p.1160]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

648 forced to go? Who always went when the Indian had land that the white man coveted?

The white men had plenty of cash with which to allay the Havasupai's fears. They bought alfalfa from them for their horses, [482] paying five dollars for the load a woman could carry suspended from a strap across her forehead. They gave a silver dollar to those who posed for a picture. But this proved little compensation for the Indians, who could only stand by and watch as heavy machinery rumbled in along the widened Lee Canyon trail, and old Mooney began to lose her wild timbered beauty. This trail, these falls, everything here had belonged to the Havasupai since the day the gods had led them into the canyon. Lanoman, gray-faced and angry, went about his duties. The foreign men were desecrating the "Mother of the Waters," sacred to his wife and those other dead whose spirits could sometimes be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The Indians feared these invaders as they had never feared the Yavapai or the Apache. They could meet the latter and deal with them as they deserved, but these white men—working like ants, building roads, making permanent improvements—had taken possession without need of battle. Mr. Ewing wrote that the contract had been negotiated in Washington; he was powerless to interfere. And in increasing numbers the white men continued to come.

The Havasupai recalled the story the Navaho had told them of how the white men had elbowed them out of their ancient home. When, in retaliation, they killed those who had stolen their hunting ground, the Great Father in Washington sent soldiers with fire-sticks, who punished the Navaho, and took the guilty to some far place.

648 175 The people again gave thought to the warning of the Chemehuevi Indian who had come to them as an evangelist, reminding them of the old ways and warning them of the penalties of forgetting the customs of their ancestors. Mr. James, in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, recorded the Chemehuevi's impassioned appeal to the Havasupai at a dance where an agent from

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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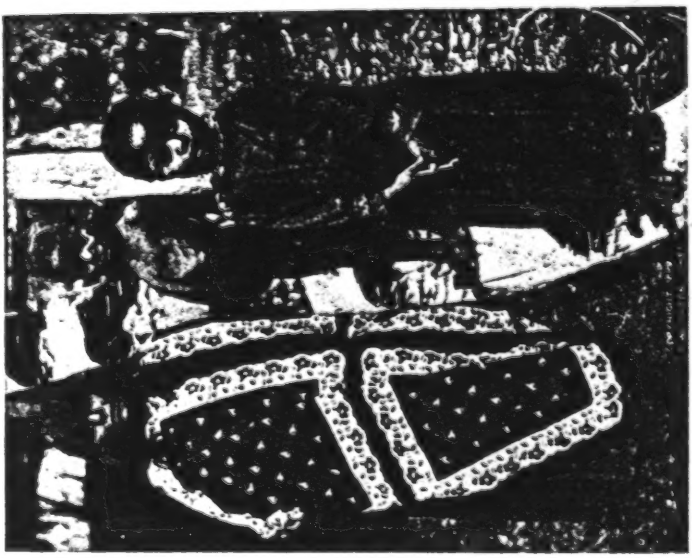

A Family Group of Havasupais.

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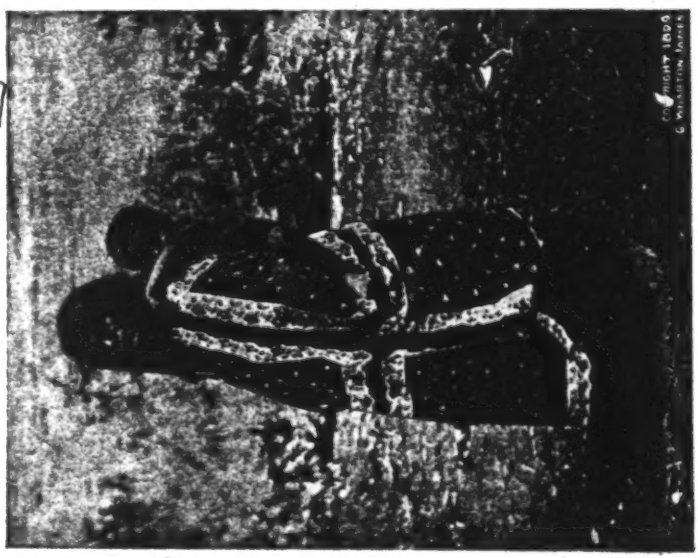

Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903

NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14

Havasupai

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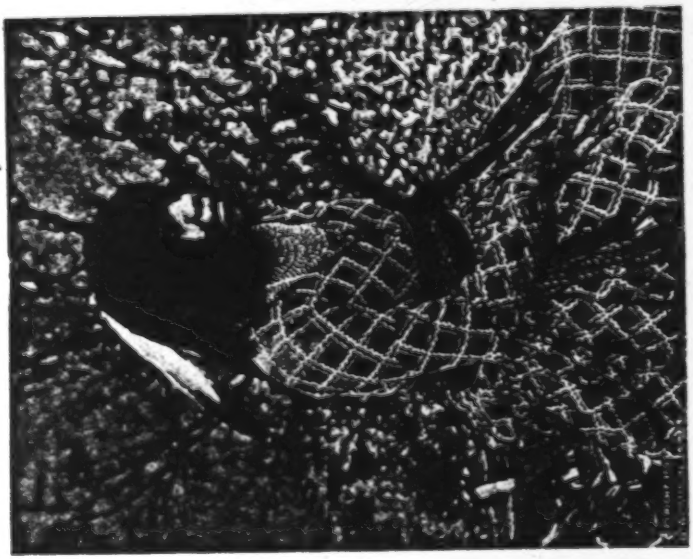

LAHOMAH'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHANCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EDUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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SINYELA, WITH ESUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

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ROCK JONES, LEADING MEDICINE MA[illegible]
HAVASUPAIS.

[FACING p. 256]

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fig. 17. Women weaving baskets. A. Coiling technique; a hole is punched with an awl. B. Weft element threaded around three-rod foundation in coiling technique. C. Beginning a basket to be woven in twining technique. D. Carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head, as shown, or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in sequence, Edith Putesoy, Lina Iditicava, Mamie Chick (last two photographs).

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 224 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [824]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 573
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [482]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

262 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared
252 for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a
[251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the
252 more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-paí from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and
● [482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These
[527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-
262 va-su-paí, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist
262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

[P. 549B]

262 tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

412 Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and [439] brass kettles, procured by barter with 415 the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped [264] from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden 415 and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a 482 broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars.

412 Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good [177] steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,

/100 cont. / LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
● 482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovõkyóvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovõkyóvá trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

484 648

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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hole, and buried him.[1] Then we all went back to the camp and the next morning we went on. 484 648

At that time we did not have many horses to ride; perhaps our family had only one. We just kept walking along. I do not remember exactly where we camped. I know we camped above Dripping Springs [west of Grand Canyon Station], where we stayed two nights. Then we set off again and got to Long Jim Canyon [east of the station], where there are big caves in which we camped one night. Next day we got to Hagáśuvád'i [Hance's Ranch, east of Grand View] and the next day we camped at I'i'má'hwa'áhá [Deer Tank, to the north of Coconino Basin]. The next morning we went on down to the bench above Hagáśeť'lá [Little Colorado River] and along it up the canyon. We stopped that night at Tatá'áhà, where we found a lot of Paiute. We stayed with them for two or three sleeps. Then one morning we continued up along the bench to its end [?] where the Navaho Bridge is now; we went up a little further and crossed the Little Colorado. We climbed up on the red bench on the other side and camped at Wihwátágil'lá (red pinnacles). Next morning we went up the slope toward the east. When on top we made pretty good time traveling and got close to Oraibi. This camp was at K'eyúdlgà (gulch). Next morning we went on and reached Oraibi about midday.

All the Hopi came out to see us. They said in their language, "It is very good to bring the women and children with you. We are glad to see you." We went into Oraibi and each of our families took up quarters with friendly Hopi. The Hopi said, "It was pretty good of you people to come to see us. Do not go away soon; stay with us a long time. That is what we like." I think it was about harvest time; the Hopi were gathering their corn. The Hopi wanted the Havasupai to go with them and gather their corn; so they did so. I was a little boy and I played about with the Hopi boys. 648

We stayed at Oraibi a long time: I think, until it snowed. When it was very cold, we started back. We stopped at Wihwátágil'lá for a little time. Again we moved back across the Little Colorado, but not by the same road; this time a considerable distance above. We came out to the west on top of a high mesa, Amád-l^{a}nyuínyá (antelope trail). When we were a little way to the west of this, we stayed in a big cave in another canyon, Waigátídà. We stayed at this place a pretty long time. When snow lay on the ground we hunted rabbits. We stayed nearly all winter, until there was only a little snow left on the ground; then we came right along. At each camp we stayed for two or three sleeps. At that time the trail came by the north side of Wigàdáwi'sá [Red Butte]: this was the road we followed. We got to Ha'apu [Rain Tank] where we stayed a long time again. Again we moved toward home: we stopped to camp at Huwaťádjahwílá [Little Red Rain Tank]. Next morning we came on and got to Huwaťáśàldivà. Here some said that they wanted to go down into Grand Canyon onto the red bench. So they went down Padjinyáhamõ [man's trail, i.e., Bass's trail] where their home was. My father and some other men just kept coming along the rim of Grand Canyon and along the rim of this one, to Lee Canyon where we camped for several days. Then a lot of our people came down that canyon wanting to go to the village. Some of the others wanted to go down on to the red bench in Cataract Canyon. My father and an old woman took their families along the bench. We followed down that canyon which runs westward from the 484

[1] At this time it was customary to burn the dead; they are now buried.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

648 [196] Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *itcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 722 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (e), 165.

2:Iliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Day the Mail Did Not Go

000 At four o'clock one morning I was awakened by a loud pounding on my bedroom door. Miss Goenawein was calling excitedly, "Miss Gregg! Miss Gregg! Come here—hurry!"

I sprang out of bed, shoved my feet into slippers, pulled on a robe and ran to her room. There in the open doorway stood Spoonhead, the mail carrier, the mail pouch clutched in his hand. His long, queer head looked more than ever like the bowl of a spoon as I stared at him, wondering what mischief he had cooked up to get me out of bed at this hour.

484 His pony stood in the yard, bridle rein dangling. The saddle 674 was decorated like a Christmas tree with Spoonhead's numerous bundles: food for himself and his horse, extra clothing for the cold nights on the mesa, and those mysterious knickknacks he took on such trips. I did not notice the absence of the large, red Navaho blanket he always carried neatly rolled and strapped to the back of his saddle, until he began gesticulating wildly and shouted, "My blanket! He steal 'em. He go there." He pointed to the base of the canyon wall.

674 There I saw a short, heavy-set Indian with a blanket thrown 578 across his shoulders, crouched low, running stealthily from bush to bush, seeking cover for escape. In the dim light we caught only fleeting glimpses of the man. I could not understand why Spoonhead did not give chase and try to retrieve his property.

such items as *Lucky Strikes*, *Carnation Milk* and *Tide* washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati. 177 443 655

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year. 177 485 655

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings. 177 648

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy. 443 177 [285]

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not. 177 648

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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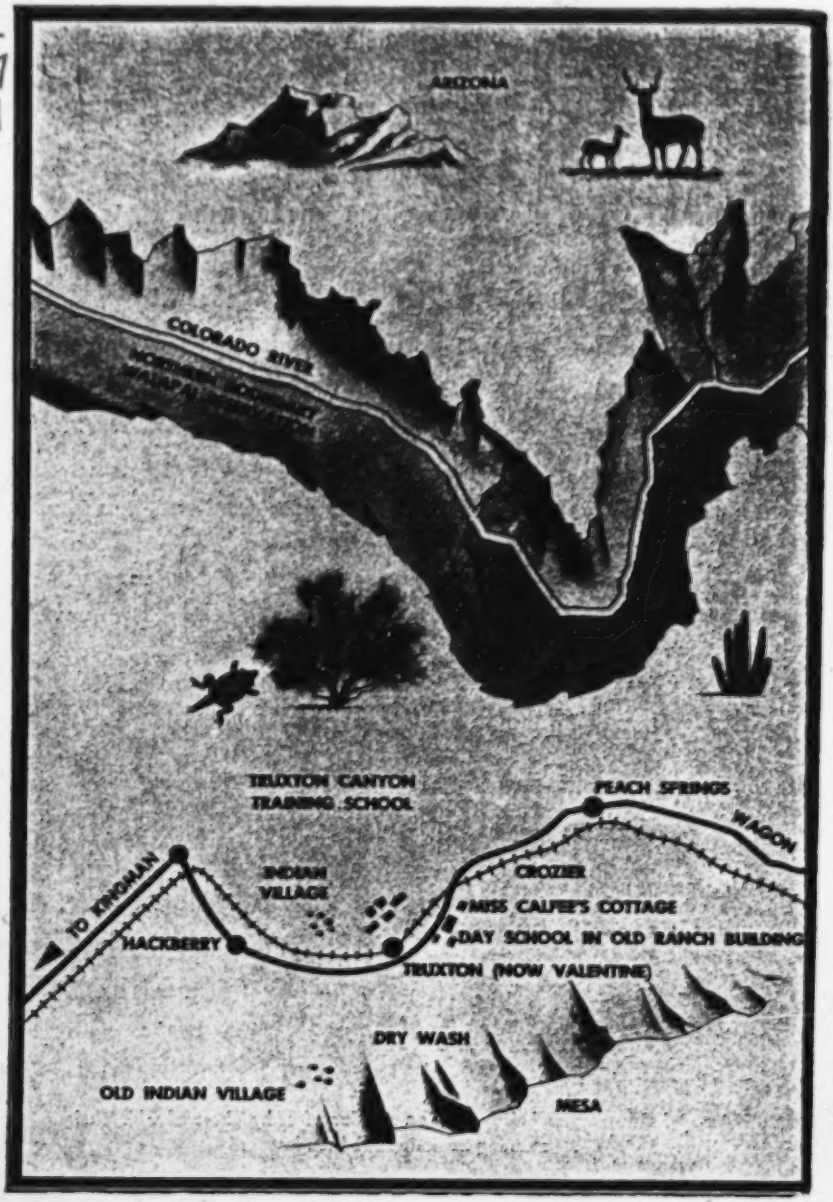

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2-HHF Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1944 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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[p. 116 I]

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

487 - We had heard rumours of a secret crack in the canyon wall through
133 which the Indians fled to the outside when pressed by enemy invaders. Immediately we planned to investigate. When Vesnor learned that we intended to go through the passage, he shook his head gravely and cautioned, "Indian moccasin walk trail all right. Think white man shoe no good." Before we were through with the experience we agreed with him.

After a walk of several miles, we stood in a side gorge and gazed up at a long triangular crevice that split the wall to an incredible height. A ledge of stone, fifty feet above the canyon floor, seemed to form the base from which the crack rose to an apex. We realized that this might prove a little more dangerous than some of our other ventures—but if the Indians went through, so could we. It would be worth the climb to stand under the open sky free from sharp, enclosing walls.

[41] Two Indian ladders (logs on which crosspieces of heavy sticks were tied with leather thongs) took us up to the stone ledge. The loose rungs, giving under our feet, swayed the logs threatening to spill us. Shaky from our tussle with the ladders, we pulled ourselves up, single file, onto the stone ledge and faced the entrance to the crevice through which ran the old Indian trail. And behold! this was not the base of the crack at all, but its center—the fissure continued downward so deep into the earth that we could not see the point where its sides met. The trail, a mere edge of stone clinging to one of the close-set walls, ran through the narrow crevice midway between the top and the distant bottom.

Mr. Burnett took one look at the precarious trail, then scrambled down the ladders as fast as he dared to solid ground, where his dog anxiously awaited him. How deserted we felt when he left us to face the dark passage alone! I began to realize that we might encounter unsurmountable difficulties in that thin crack before it landed us somewhere "up above." We stood peering into its darkness, wondering what force had cut this vertical chasm through solid stone. Had a river come in from the plateau, carving its way through the sandstone wall, then disappeared? Or had an earth tremor split the stone apart? A few yards ahead the jagged walls

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

seemed to reach across and touch, but the entrance was fairly wide. Rather than turn back, we started the climb.

The trail grew narrower as we advanced toward the earth's interior, the light from the entrance dimmer, the walls damper. Then, in the darkness, we came to that tricky section that is dreaded by those who use the trail. The ledge we followed disappeared. There were only rounded knobs on the wall for footholds, slippery with the slime and water that oozed over them. Oh, what a fall we might take! We did as the Indians must have done, leaned across the narrow chasm, pressing our hands against the opposite wall to brace ourselves, and cautiously stepped from knob to knob. We tried to keep our nerves steady by refusing to look down at the close-set, ragged walls which fell away to such terrifying depths. I wanted to get down and crawl, but the knobs were too small, spaced too far apart.

Vesnor had warned us, so we had put on shoes suitable for climbing, but I kept thinking of the moccasined feet that had worn this path, and the surer ease with which they walked. I knew that one misstep would plunge me to those sharp points far below, or farther down to the bottom of the slimy crevice.

After what seemed endless hours, a dim light appeared ahead. It grew brighter as we worked our way toward it. Presently we emerged in a deep, bowl-shaped depression, but a stone roof above the bowl shut out the sunlight.

Miss Goenawein used the Indians' footholds, while Frances and I boosted her up to the surface. Then she pulled and Frances boosted me out of the hole; together, we pulled Frances up. We were bent double under a boulder that would have completely covered the bowl from which we had just climbed, had not this section of its base been broken away. Crawling out into brilliant sunshine reflected from miles and miles of sparkling sand and red bluffs, we were careful not to stray far from this boulder that hid the mouth of the crevice, for there were thousands of others like it strewn over the barren land. We lacked the Indians' instinct to mark a spot so surely that it could never be lost.

Over at the rim, we looked down into the canyon we had so recently left, trying to locate the farmer and his dog, but they were not within sight. We stood about, discussing the Indians' frantic escapes through the crevice, and the fact that now it was a short cut for men who had a few ponies grazing on this level. Then one of the girls, just to hear the racket it would make, pushed a small boulder over the edge. Others followed. As they clattered over the wall, striking projections and bouncing far out into the canyon, the farmer came into view, running for his life, his dog leaping at his heels. We were as frightened as he, for we still could hear the falling stones crashing their way down, and knew that if one struck him, the blow would be fatal. We returned, as fast as the slippery crevice would permit and descended the wobbly ladders to the canyon floor.

The farmer confronted us with blazing eyes. "Those stones you rolled down would have killed me and my dog if we hadn't run with all our might," he exploded.

We tried to explain and apologized, but realized we could never again persuade him to accompany us on an exploring trip.

At our cottage, old Gentle Annie in her accustomed place at the foot of the cottonwood, waited for me. She wore a strawberry-red dress, my dress. She had wanted clothes, but could no longer see well enough to make them. So each time I came within reach, she grabbed my skirt and begged, "Dress, you give 'em." I was obligated, in a way: hadn't she shared her mescal slab with me? So I had given her the brightest dress I owned. She had been effusive in her appreciation, put it on over her other dress and walked proudly home. As I watched her, aged and tired, making her slow way down the path, I thought of the young wife she had been, standing by her man's side, fiercely defending their possessions, their home and her own body from the grasping hands of the enemy. One of these battles was particularly vivid in her memory.

In their younger days, Annie and her man had lived for a time in a cave high up on the canyon wall. In the dark hours of a summer morning, they were awakened by the soft scuff of moccasined feet.

133 a "draw," the real head of the trail was reached. We walked in the closing dusk of day to the edge of the precipice and looked off to where our guide told us we must shortly be travelling. Far below, almost a thou-
133 sand feet, without the sign of a trail, it seemed as if he
491 must be hoaxing us. Soon, however, as we followed him,
487 we found ourselves on a rocky shelf, and then began the most stupendous series of zigzags I had ever been on. Back and forth we wended, our trail a mere scratch on the rocky slope, here descending rugged steps, where a misstep meant sure and awful death. Higher and higher the walls rose around us; darker and darker grew the night; more weird and awesome the wind and weather carved figures sculptured on the sides and summits of the walls, and still down we went. At last we reached a vast cavernous-like place where Topocobya Spring is located. A small flow of water comes from the solid rock, and there we watered our horses and filled up our canteens prior to advancing on our seemingly never-ending descent. At last we reached the level, and there, lighting a fire, made camp and rested before penetrating farther into the deep and mystic recesses of the Havasupais. Early in the morning we began the farther descent. Mile after mile we traversed, first riding on the dry bed of the winter stream, then entering the narrower walls formed by the erosion of centuries through first one stratum of rock, then another. Now we were riding on a narrow shelf, on one side of which was a high wall, and on the other a deep, narrow ravine, in the bottom of which the erosive forces have cut a number of holes,—small troughs or bath tubs in the sandstone, where during the rainy season pools of delicious water may be found. In a short time

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mes-quite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpour-ing of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 layers are of differing thicknesses, wind in and out, as
361 if following the meandering course of the stream, and over this the perfect blue of the Arizona sky. These make the most marvellously picturesque dwelling-place of America. Even Acoma's mesa heights and Walpi's precipice-surrounded walls are not more picturesque, and when you add the charm of the verdure nourished by the sweet waters of the Havasu, the picture is complete in its unique attractiveness.

Not even in the Green Emerald Isle, or the county of Devonshire, or the vineyards of France, is richer verdure to be found than fills up the open space between these great walls. Willows reveal the winding path of
133 the Havasu, and everywhere else are the fields of the
241 Indians. Patches of corn, watermelons, squash, cante-
311 loupes, beans, sunflowers, chili, onions, and alfalfa, with here and there peach, mesquite, and cottonwood trees, abound. As a rule these patches are protected and set off one from another by hedges of wattled willows or
● [487] fences of rudely placed cottonwood poles. Through
[312] the fields trails meander in every direction, and they are also "cut up" by irrigating ditches. Some of the better irrigated fields are divided into small sections — like the squares of a checker-board — in order that the water may be more systematically distributed.

342 The peaceful *hawas* of the Havasupais nestle here and there among these verdant growths. Themselves covered with willows, it is often hard to distinguish them from the trees, were it not that at our approach small
[291] groups of men, women, and children, some clad in flaming red, others in all the colors of the rainbow, and some in even less than Mark Twain's descriptive smile, stand forth and reveal the dwelling-places. Now and again

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

system on the north and west. From the top of the San Francisco Peaks to the bed of the Colorado River, and within a span of about 60 mi., there is a difference in elevation of roughly 10,000 ft. Elevations on the plateau are between 6000 and 7000 ft., while the Havasupai farmlands lie on the floor of Cataract Canyon at an elevation of 3200 ft. This altitudinal range is accompanied by a change in climate with significant differences in flora and fauna. 133

Geology

The geology of the Grand Canyon, which contains one of the most complete stratigraphic exposures on earth, is a striking feature, but beyond that it is of particular importance in relation to the water supply.

The Coconino Plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which exhibits some karst topography and is extremely pervious. The mountains to the south and east are mainly basalt, being of volcanic origin, and a number of smaller cinder cones dot the landscape. The San Francisco Peaks have no permanent surface streams draining from their slopes, and it has been speculated that subsurface drainage from this area may be one source of the springs which emerge from pervious geologic strata in Cataract Canyon.

The Cataract Canyon drainage system, one of the major tributaries of the Colorado River, drains a region roughly rectangular in shape, approximately 50 mi. wide and some 60 to 70 mi. long, comprising an area of about 3500 sq. mi. Its southern boundary extends from Mt. Floyd and Bill Williams Mountain on the west to the San Francisco Peaks on the east. The area includes a major part of the Coconino Plateau.

Although, in this semiarid climate, the thirsty soil with its struggling plant cover and the underlying pervious limestones of the plateau absorb much of the precipitation, the torrential rains and sudden winter thaws so characteristic of desert country produce flood conditions in the lower canyons, an ever threatening hazard for the Havasupai. [132]

The Cataract Canyon drainage system originates in shallow valleys and deeper arroyos eroding the surface Kaibab limestone. The trellis pattern of arroyos on the plateau channels all run off into two canyons, Lee's and Walapai, which are the major tributaries of Cataract Canyon. The two main horse trails entering Cataract Canyon also follow these two tributaries. [487]

Cataract Canyon is formed by a broad upper gorge defined by the massive Coconino sandstone standing in sheer walls 1000 ft. high. Locally designated the Whitewall (Fig. 1) this prominent cliff has a talus composed of the Hermit shale which gives way to the Esplanade, a broad shelf sloping gently to the rim of the canyon's inner gorge.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

132 slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until 30 or 40 years ago. The humidity of the canyon makes the comparatively warmer temperatures there less bearable than those on the plateau. This, along with the scarcity of fuel, combined to make the plateau the favored winter abode.
[361]
[221]

137 Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor represent the extremes within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper predominate along with stands of western yellow or ponderosa pine and pinyon pine. Nearer the canyons, trees give way to sagebrush, grasses, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants including mescal. Prickly pear, yucca, mescal, and some of the other food plants of the plateau,are also found on the Esplanade and at lower elevations. The change in vegetation is a gradual one from canyon rim to floor, with desert plants predominating at the lower elevations. Acacia and mesquite, Mormon tea, agave, prickly pear and other varieties of cacti, yucca, salt brush, and numerous grasses from which seeds were harvested, are found at elevations a few hundred feet above and below the [372] canyon floor. Dense willow thickets border Havasu Creek, and this was the predominant fuel plant in the canyon until introduction of the cottonwood as a winter fuel source in early reservation days. Watercress in abundance and many flowering plants grow along the creek bottom and the irrigation ditches. Below the farm area, in places where the stream is impounded behind travertine terraces, cattail and other marsh plants abound, while only a few feet [276] away the usual desert plants make a sharp contrast. Datura (jimson weed) is scattered everywhere in the canyon's sandy soil; the Havasupai have experimented with it as a narcotic but have rejected it.

133 Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, which is 1/4 to 1/2 mi. in
361 width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields
312 lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about 20 years ago, was well populated. The canyon floor drops in elevation about 150 ft. from south to north in a distance of approximately 2 mi. in the cultivated area.

● 487 Cataract Canyon formerly was accessible from three directions by means of a half dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topocoba and Walapai trails, which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

245 Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting n. d., 59), and
177 the similarity of the Havasupai term for them to that of the Hopi demonstrates their Hopi origin (Spier 1946, 124). This refutes a popular notion that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches in comparatively recent times. Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs,

125 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the
487 canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more
487 popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

from Peach Springs is a good one and the trail from Walapai Hilltop to the village is only eight miles long. It is this way that most visitors come. 487

The lasting impression one receives when descending any of the trails is one of almost overwhelming awe. The great walls rise higher and higher and as the gorge they enclose grows so narrow that sometimes the sky is scarcely visible, it seems that the canyon has claimed for itself the puny creatures plodding through it. The experience is inspiring, exhilarating and sometimes uncomfortable. To heighten the sensation a hot, dry breeze stirs constantly and except for an occasional desert plant that stubbornly remains green, everything looks as if it hasn't seen water for a thousand years. Just as one begins to adjust mind and body to this oppressive, dry heat, however, the canyon takes another of its endless turns and suddenly the air seems to cool and freshen. At first the senses only suspect this new presence, but after rounding another bend, the eyes and ears confirm it, for a luxuriant growth of small willows and cottonwoods appears and the welcome, singing sound of a stream can be heard. Here, seeping from the canyon floor about a half-mile above the village, is the water that makes Cataract Canyon habitable. As the tiny stream trickles along, many small springs add themselves to it until, a few hundred yards from its birthplace, Cataract Creek is full grown. 133

As the creek hurries busily on through it, the canyon widens abruptly to nearly a quarter-mile across and neatly fenced fields and orchards spread out between the great red walls. This is the village. This is Supai, the home of the Havasupai Indians. 133 361

The village is spread all over the canyon floor. The only concentration of buildings is that of the homes built by the government for the agent and a school teacher. Not far from them is the small schoolhouse, the mission, and the Indian store. The Indians have tended only slightly to cluster about this center of community activity. Many of the aboriginal dwellings have been replaced by small wooden frame houses which were first introduced by the government as a relief measure after the tragic flood in January, 1911, when five days of thaw on the plateau was followed by several more days of heavy rain and the accumulated water rushed through the canyon in a flood crest which utterly destroyed the village and most of the fields. Some of the old earth and pole houses may still be seen. Many of the families prefer them to the more modern ones for 361 (177) 177 342 342

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136 October. Quail and smaller birds, rabbits, squirrels, and a few burrowers constitute the sparse fauna, although along its unscaled cliffs still wanders the bighorn, or *Ovis montana*. No fish or aquatic animals, save the Gila monster and a few lizards, appear. Luxuriant
137 vines and shrubbery; willows, cottonwoods; flags, tules, and other aquatic plants, with a marked absence of grasses, save a kind of cane along the river, and of flowering plants, with here and there the amole, or Spanish bayonet, and agave, — these make up the richly growing but unvaried flora.

● 487
133 Only two trails descend this cañon: the one from the southeast, — by which we entered, — with a southern branch, over which the cavalry had passed; the second from the southwest, winding and climbing through a maze of side cañons, a wonderful example of Indian engineering skill, unsurpassed in grandeur, difficulties, or dangers. The passage of either of these trails, especially of the latter, requires the greater part of the day. From the entrance at the head of the little side cañon, tending down from the southeastward, through which the first-described trail leads, forty turns are made, each one leading further downward, and revealing entirely new views of the indescribably grand and beautiful rock scenery. During all this passage of more than twenty miles, scarcely a place is encountered that a stone's-throw or an arrow-flight would not span, notwithstanding the depth gradually increases to three thousand feet. In some places the rocks overhang the traveler's head on either side, leaving only a narrow strip of sky, while at others the opening assumes a funnel shape: the gray lime sandstone, which forms the upper half of the rock walls, gradually slopes back a quarter of a mile, where it suddenly ascends in a rugged series of promontories, buttes, and cliffs; the red sandstone, which forms the immediate cañon-border, more obdurate, re-

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133 tains its primitive narrowness and angular beauty, only here and there worn by the blasts of rain and wind and sand. These features are characteristic until the last turn reveals a bending plain, in no place exceeding half a mile in width, formed by the junction of the lesser southwestern cañon with the main southeastern, and reinforced by the wearing of the emerging river for ages, — and this is the sandy, loamy plain where the Ha-va-su-paí or Kuhni kwe dwell,
133 and the groves of cottonwood and willows grow. Below the little village,
[361] which numbers about thirty-five huts, are four beautiful cataracts, from which the stream derives its American name. The first two are inconsiderable, although beautiful, sheltered as they are
[137] by thrifty, irregular growths of cottonwood and willow, the forms of which are reflected, and torn into a thousand fragments of green and silver, by the rippling, boiling, surging, rushing waters. The geologic history of these two is repeated in a third and grander fall, a mile or two below the head of the village. Huge rocks have tumbled down to the very water's edge from the cliffs on either side, which here almost meet each other, leaving only a broken path on the eastern bank, difficult for the passage even of foot travelers. The unaided waters have built for their own adornment a horseshoe-shaped, overhanging dam of carbonate of lime, three hundred feet in height, filling in the basin above, to the very surface of the pool, with a confused jumble of petrified trees, mosses, ferns, flags, and what not, preserving only one deep, narrow, serene channel through the middle. And from their stony, dead ancestry spring ever fresh trees, mosses, ferns and flags; their rootlets and dead leaves continually changing to stone, their branches shooting upward to form a network so green and massive that it hides the waters which are at once their life and destruction. Over the top and very

133 edge of this rock-wall springs a dense grove of cottonwoods and willows, with branches so abundant and green and high that they challenge the blue, cloudless sky, which only here and there peeps through them into the waters. The whole Kuhni River spouts forth in a mass of snow and crystal blue from out this marvelous verdure, sprinkling the leaves with its spray in its downward course, — leaves which reveal only now and then the red and yellow of the rock-wall to which they cling. It flattens itself, splits, midway down, on a huge stalagmite of its own making, and sinks into the vast green pool at the bottom, one mass of spray and foam and mist. It is useless to try to paint these falls, with their crown of perennial verdure, their three hundred feet of crystal glory, their footstools of eternal, circling rainbows, which sink far into the clear green depths of the fathomless pools, or rise on the clouds of mist, and turn to ashes and lime on the leaves of the trees around them. You descend a series of niches cut into the vertical rock-wall, and, after slipping and grappling, and covering yourself with lime, skinning your shins and nose, and meditating for a moment on eternity, you find yourself at the bottom. A huge side-cañon comes in from the right, and, joining the main one, widens your view. But what care you for sky and clouds? Are you not face to face with a fairy grotto under the falls, white as snow and streaked with red and yellow? Are you not among the rainbows, even holding your breath to count the glories around you?

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You turn your face from all this, cross the stream on a crust of lime bridging it below the pool, climb a great mound of fallen rocks under the shadow of thick, lime-frosted trees, and make your way with difficulty along the deep, narrow, almost straight, but impetuous channel of the river, through a low, tangled forest, for a mile or two, when you

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221 silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and
439 various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

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331 The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

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491 Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

●487 491 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about [776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-pai; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-pai domestication is complete.

521 46 During intervals in the labor of the fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

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/97/

The Havasupai

133 [131] The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] 487 To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor 131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an 133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

101 1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

● [487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

*539 were birds but later turned into Hopi." The boy asked how to get there. His mother told him to cross the open desert, where he would first encounter a big herd of antelope in big open country. "When you see them you will know you are in the right country. Next you will see many rabbits in the brush; know you are going the right way. Next you will see many washes with mountain sheep. Know it is the right way. Next you will pass through wildcat country in cedars [junipers], one or two up in trees. Next you will run into a big herd of deer on a high ridge. Then you will come to lower country, an open valley with a big stream, but not deep, will cover your feet just to your ankles; the next river to cross will be up to your knees; the next will be above your waist, and the fourth will come up to your neck. You must cross four rivers and after that not far on is open desert and more level country. Stop, rest, look around, you may see women gathering grass seeds. That is where the two sisters come to find food." [Except for the reference to four rivers, this [487] constitutes a fairly accurate description of the country along the Hopi-Havasupai trading trail.]

The boy said, "O. K., I'll try to go that way and see if I can find those two ladies. You are all right, my mother, but you are getting old and can't get around like you used to. We need someone to keep house here".

His mother said, "O. K., but be careful. There are many enemies in that country you must cross."

The boy started out, saw Red Butte and antelope herds running in front of him in the desert. He knew he was on the right way, and saw many rabbits. The boy said to himself in song, "If I want to make camp I'd shoot rabbits for food, but my mother's fire would die down so I must make this trip fast and return." So he went on, came through mountain sheep, then wildcats which he saw in nearly every tree; then he came to deer. Each time he saw things he made a song, saying, "I'm on my right way. Next will be the river up to my ankles." He came to it and ran on to the next river. He sang, "I'm on my right way. My mother was right." He came to the third river. Then the fourth. It was deep and he took his clothes off and bundled them on top of his head and crossed. He dressed and traveled a long distance farther. He saw a lone tree on the desert and went to it and rested under it. He looked around the country. Before long he began to smell like animals do, and soon caught scent of people. He thought they were nearby. When rested he started on and went over a high ridge. From there he could see many women moving in his direction. He watched and saw two sisters in front of the others. He thought they were the ones he was looking for. He made a plan as to what

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 a "draw," the real head of the trail was reached. We walked in the closing dusk of day to the edge of the precipice and looked off to where our guide told us we must shortly be travelling. Far below, almost a thou-
133 sand feet, without the sign of a trail, it seemed as if he
491 must be hoaxing us. Soon, however, as we followed him,
487 we found ourselves on a rocky shelf, and then began the most stupendous series of zigzags I had ever been on. Back and forth we wended, our trail a mere scratch on the rocky slope, here descending rugged steps, where a misstep meant sure and awful death. Higher and higher the walls rose around us; darker and darker grew the night; more weird and awesome the wind and weather carved figures sculptured on the sides and summits of the walls, and still down we went. At last we reached a vast cavernous-like place where Topocobya Spring is located. A small flow of water comes from the solid rock, and there we watered our horses and filled up our canteens prior to advancing on our seemingly never-ending descent. At last we reached the level, and there, lighting a fire, made camp and rested before penetrating farther into the deep and mystic recesses of the Havasupais. Early in the morning we began the farther descent. Mile after mile we traversed, first riding on the dry bed of the winter stream, then entering the narrower walls formed by the erosion of centuries through first one stratum of rock, then another. Now we were riding on a narrow shelf, on one side of which was a high wall, and on the other a deep, narrow ravine, in the bottom of which the erosive forces have cut a number of holes, — small troughs or bath tubs in the sandstone, where during the rainy season pools of delicious water may be found. In a short time

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

we were riding up or down literal stairways cut in the rock, or rounding "Cape Horns," where we held our breath at the dreadful consequences that would ensue were horse or man to slip. Entering Rattlesnake Canyon our whole course was on a shelving slope of rock, over which even experienced horses tread gingerly. At last we came to the bed of the main canyon, and then for five or six miles we journeyed on, in the sand or the gravelly wash, for the stream that flows through this narrow canyon in storm times has no other law than its own wilful force. To-day we ride in one place, to-morrow's storm changes everything. After numberless twinings and twistings, all of which, however, gave a persistent northwesterly direction to our travelling, we came in sight of a score or so of large and fine cotton-wood trees, whose height far surpassed the smaller mesquite, cottonwood, and other trees that line much of the canyon's bed. These large trees told us our journey was practically at an end, for here begins the outpouring of the numberless springs that make the stream we can already hear rushing in its pebbly bed lower down. Without any premonition they spring out in large and small volume at the foot of some of these trees, and the Havasu — the Blue Water — is made. Every few yards adds to the water's volume, for more springs empty their flow into it. The first and only real buildings are the schoolhouse and the homes of the farmer and teachers, and then, at once, begin the small farms of the Havasupais.

Stand on the slope here, where a mass of talus rises from the trail side, so that we can survey the whole of the picturesque scene. Note its setting! Towering walls of regularly laminated red sandstone, though the

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and [137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep 132] the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of 491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer- 499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend 133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

silks of China or the shawls of Persia by ourselves. All this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has such celebrity among Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north, and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley.

The engineering skill and enterprise of this little nation are marvelous. Although their appliances are rude, they are able to construct large dams, and dig or build deep irrigating canals, or durable aqueducts, which often pass through hills, or follow considerable heights along shelves of rock or talus, at the bases of the rugged and crooked walls of the cañon. The acequias, which have their fountain-heads in these canals and viaducts, are wonders of intricacy and regularity; yet on uneven ground are laid out in nice recognition of and conformity to unevenness and change of level in the surface they are designed to water.

Most wonderful of all, however, are their aerial trails. Through the western branch of the cañon, down from the Hua-la-pai country, the trail for horses as well as foot-travelers is over promontories, up shelves, along giddy narrow heights, in and out of recessions, or over stone-pecked slopes, such as would dismay civilized man, with all his means of moulding the rugged face of nature. At times, so impossible does it seem for any living thing to pass further that nowhere can the trail be traced; when a turn to some crack in the rock, almost hidden by intervening bowlders, and hewn down with stone hammers to give precarious footing, shows where it goes up or descends. Great ingenuity is shown in continuing the trail along the

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-pai; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-pai domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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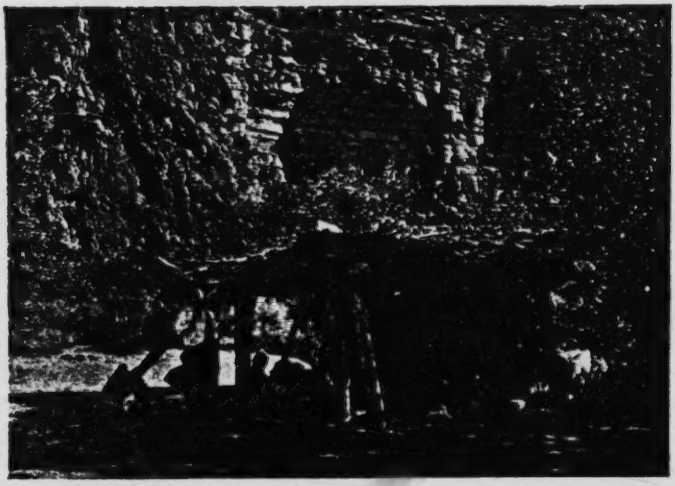

Fig. 34. A Shade or Open-Sided House.

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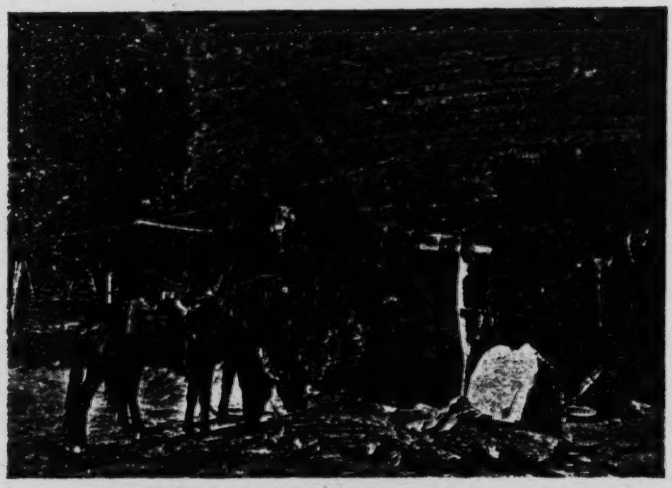

Fig. 35. A Rectangular Shade House.

2-Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Manakadja, late chief of the Havasupai, father of the present chief

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Pacific Stereopticon Co.

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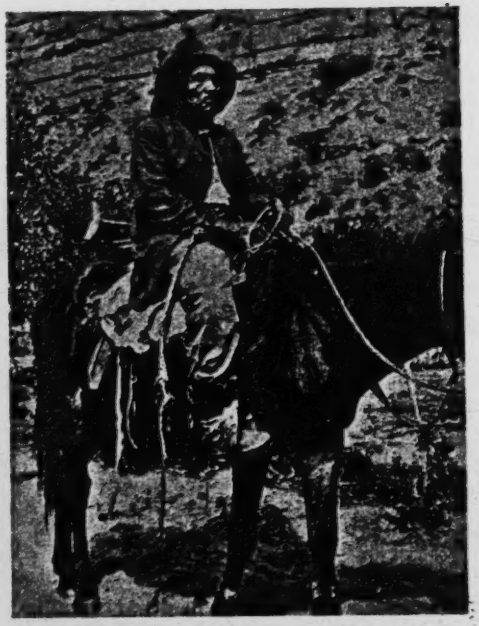

Old Ute, a Havasupai, blind in one eye, guided us over trailless country to the junction of the Havasu and Colorado Rivers

[p. 116E]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [231]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [514]

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 10. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck 35 mi. from Canyon to A, Topocoba Hilltop, where B, it is transferred to muleback and carried 14 mi. by trail to C, the Supai post office. When the mules come in sight, people drift toward the post office to wait until letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and 857 868 [562] [492]

older women ride astride.

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.
[535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

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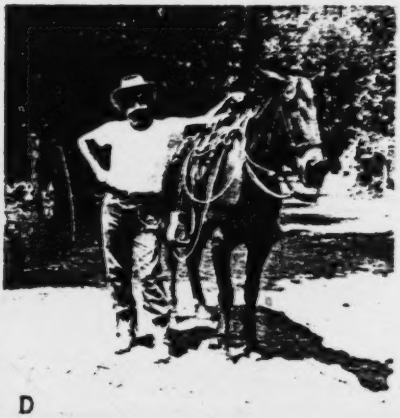

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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A, Linda Chick, age 12. B, Neil Uqualla, age 12. C, Lorena Marshall, age 17. D, Bert Jones, age 25.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

THE HAVASUPAI

sils, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practiced from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [212]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [164]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [237]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [137] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kä-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

● 492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su- [177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were formerly used, although now only to a [526] limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Hava-su-paí — least acquainted with civilization perhaps, of any Indians in the [177] United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very significant one in the consideration of the
614 [P. 550 B]

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision. [203]

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone ha[illegible]lked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the n[illegible]g. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere [illegible]cept to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

342 summer time and thus keep the canyon intensely hot both night and day. The large flow of water and
[137 the dense growth of willows and other verdure keep
132] the soil constantly moist, so there is a humidity in the atmosphere which, in hot weather, makes it very oppressive.

132 This moisture renders the canyon cold in winter, although the thermometer never ranges very low. Snow falls but seldom, and then disappears almost as soon as it lights. In 1898 there was snow that stayed on the ground for several hours, but this was one of the severest winters they have had for many years.

133 A hundred yards or so below where the springs commence to flow Wallapai Canyon enters from the left. It is similar in appearance to, though narrower than, Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, the walls being of red sandstone, the strata of which are as regular as if laid by masons. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of
491 the two canyons a remarkable piece of Indian engineer-
499 ing is in evidence, showing how the Indians ascend
133 from a lower to an upper platform. There is a drop here in the stratum of some twenty-five or thirty feet, and to overcome this obstacle the Havasupais built a cage with logs which they filled with stones, and then from this stretched rude logs up and across, to which other logs were fastened, thus making a fairly substantial bridge from the lower to the upper stratum over which their horses as well as themselves could safely pass. The trail from this point ascends through tortuous canyons a distance of seven miles to the territory occupied by the Wallapais.

133 Just below the entrance to Wallapai Canyon a vast mass of talus has fallen, and two hundred yards farther

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article. 157 181 685

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Hue-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track 157 181 541 574 499

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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157 181 541 574 499 just the same as the white men did, and, when it was completed, train their horses to run on it until they were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais came, they would be able to take all the advantages this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 181 The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwidágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagàtafá [Colorado River] a little below Hudltovôkyóvá [pine precipice, Mobo Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgInyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgamund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

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the custom among the Walapai. One day, in fact, I came upon a wickiup housing four generations. They were all assembled in the yard that afternoon: blind great-grandfather, sprightly grandfather, father and son—talking and laughing, the older men smoking their pipes. Near by, a partially blind elderly woman, who had lost her husband, kept house for her grandchildren. Others, childless and too old to work, were living out their lives comfortably in the homes of relatives.

This village with its abundance of food and carefree atmosphere formed a strange contrast to the Walapai community, where hunger nibbled at the edges, and poverty and sickness stalked within. Contentment, even happiness permeated the village. Secure in their homes, crop failures unknown, storehouses filled, the People of the Blue Water very naturally remained loyal to their gods, who, from the Days of Old, had watched over the Havasupai families and provided for their welfare.

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
●511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[425] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [591]

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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in 1897, less than 300[1]; 1899, 261[2]; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172.

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).
Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).
Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, and Zuñi. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.[4] There is a marked family resemblance within the group.[5] Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garcés, Cushing, and Smart.[6]

Annual Cycle

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details of this sketch more coherent.[7] Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

[1] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1897, 104; 1902, 163; 1903, 300, 1905, I, 104, 1906, 178; 1907, 177.
[2] *Statistics of Indian Tribes*, 37.
[3] This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child-bearing years (see p. 200). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their reaching
[4] Hrdlička, (g), 413.
[5] A peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear is common.
[6] Coues, 341; Cushing, 346; Smart, 418.
[7] See also Spier (d).

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most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it [826] across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

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[755]

blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

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By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

512 Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

000 If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.

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342 [177] The log house built in imitation of the Navaho is a polygonal structure of horisontally laid logs (Fig. 33). The roof is formed of lesser beams which are laid so that each consecutive tier cuts the angles formed by that below, thus drawing the walls into a very flat dome. This is covered with brush and dirt. Such houses are about 5 m. in diameter and about 2.5 m. high.

The second native type is simply the common rectangular flat-roofed shade which has been walled in (Fig. 34). The shade is built on four heavy forked posts (25 cm. in diameter) set in the corners of a square, about 3 m. on a side. Posts are also commonly set at the mid-points of two sides, and sometimes a third row of three is set down the center of the house. In setting such a post, dry sand is poured into the hole in which it stands, the pole is shifted up and down until the sand settles compactly about it, then the hole is filled with damp dirt, which is rammed home. Rafters (15 cm. diameter) lie in the forks of corresponding pairs or trios, about 2.5 m. from the ground. Poles are laid close together transversely on these rafters (or on an intermediate set), on which brush and then dirt is spread. This completes the shade as found in most camps, but if a house is desired three or four thatched walls are added (Fig. 35). Poles are set vertically into the earth along the sides about 30 cm. apart. Light poles are tied horizontally at about the same interval outside of these. This frame is then thatched in the ordinary fashion with long willow brush. Two or three poles are tied horizontally over the thatch to hold it in place. Soapweed leaves are usually used for tying all poles and thatch.

The dirt floor of houses is never treated in any way. In fact, the sand is generally thrown back from the center of the house against the walls in the course of time, so that the structure appears to cover a slight excavation.

[462] Practically all the work of house or shade building is done by men. At least, they perform all the heavy labor of cutting and setting posts and beams. Thatching and covering with earth are done by both men and women. There are no prayers or offerings made when building.

354 The interior arrangement of the dome-shaped house, the type most in use, is not rigidly prescribed. The fireplace (*otáwa*) should be in the center, i.e., not necessarily under the smoke vent. This consists of a slight depression, in which three stones are placed to support a vessel.

352 Beds were usually on the side opposite the entrance. These were slight hollows in which cedarbark mats and rabbitskin blankets are placed.

● 513 Beds are often located with the head to the east, for in this position the

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyd''d*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports,"A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 824

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.
[834]

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained,
[177] an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sŏltŏrĭtdkŏ*; *sŏl*, finger, hand; *ătdtă*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidlvlgd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 288).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

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345 The lodge (*tà'ólvo*) is a dome-shaped structure, 2 m. in diameter and 1.3 m. high, set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep. The frame (Fig. 57) consists of light poles set into the ground at intervals of 30 cm., arched and bound with strips of bark. Two horizontal braces are bent around these, one near the bottom, the other halfway up the sides, but leaving a space for the entrance. The frame is completely covered with several layers of blankets and buffalo robes, furnishing an air and light-tight

Fig. 57. A Sweatlodge Frame.

structure.[1] The floor is freshly strewn with green twigs, save for the space immediately to the left of the door (for one entering) where the stones are always placed. These are heated on a slowly burning woodpile nearby, and carried in with green sticks.

515 It is customary for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon; on each occasion four men may enter, but this is not fixed—there is hardly room for more. It is considered advisable to bathe in the stream first, taking copious draughts. The bathers crouch side by side, with legs crossed before them. The leader or host sits at the extreme rear with a basin of water by his side. It is pitch-black; the heat

[1]Cushing, (a), mentions a covering of grasses and dirt. I have not seen this; perhaps it is used on the plateau.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamt'dvldjd suvldlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgd*, race by two; *tanomdgwlgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-150° F. Cf. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" [(d), 48]. [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatjd'''l*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlicka, (c), 46]. [171]

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a [515] covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [684] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

2:IIIff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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812 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [56] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [34] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

514 Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the 413 237 duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a [532] buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

515 Necessity had devised this clever instrument, for even though 413 we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time.

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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515 136 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say, I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 [462] Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows [137] suitable for this work.

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

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Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-6). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn. [177]

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand. [386] [301]

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [783] [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports."A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [341]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 824

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [356]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [523] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horseman do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [17] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [15] 121

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

● 555 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

345

A sweathouse framework.

345
5W-

A completed sweathouse showing the nearby pile of stones which are heated and carried inside to produce steam when they are sprinkled with water.

[P. 45]

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

515 517 [755] blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512 By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather [515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate 181 to children and pets, and very hospita- 609 ble to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are never- 152 less passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

● 515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

[P.549A]

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat: drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

● 515 343 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure.

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead.

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahdnă*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit.

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together.

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of Navaho natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, U., 283.)

St James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

Chickapanagie's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A, Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B, Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C, Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D, Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

The blisters are treated

by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "He walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [892]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
[834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumpane NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 14. Adolescence and youth. A. Linda Chick, age 12. B. Neil Upualla, age 12. C. Lorena Marshall, age 17. D. Bert Jones, age 25.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 902 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 892 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

946 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[584] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
961 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

859 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

Fig. 18. Old age. A, Supai Shorty Moctoya, about 76. B, Allen Akaba, about 74. C, Spoonhead, age 86. D, Supai Mary Wescogame, age 88. Both Spoonhead and Supai Mary are now deceased. Allen is a shaman, and official adviser to the youthful head chief.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tarasco NT14
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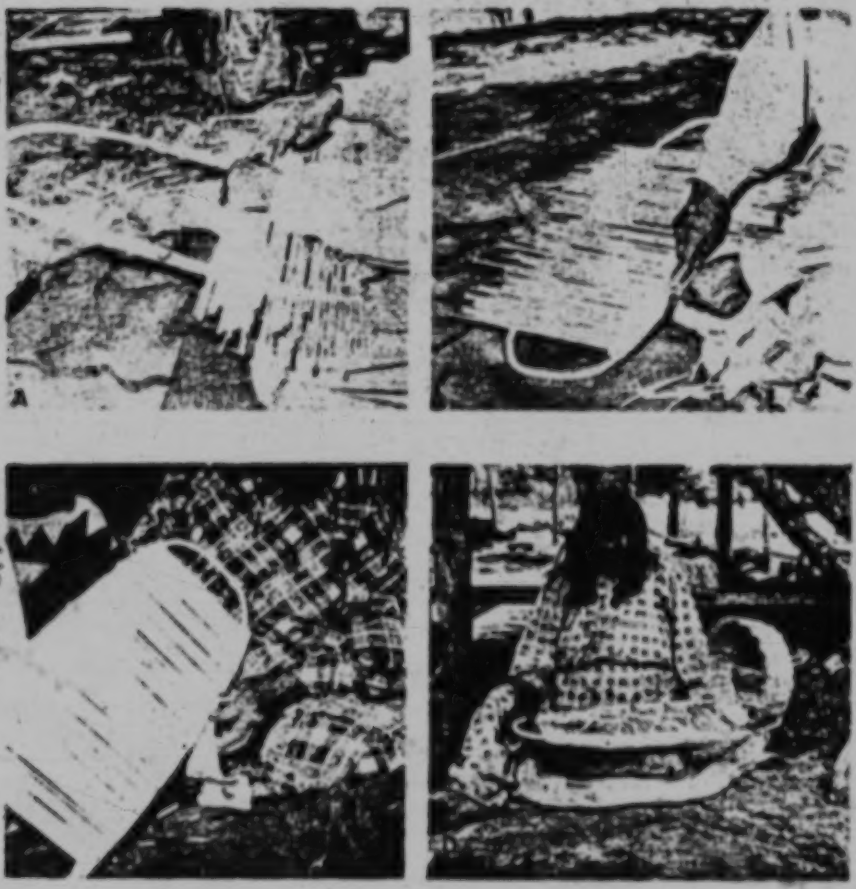

Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A. Binding willow slats to oval frame. B. Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C. Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D. Lina Idiconva displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

4. Smithsonian Misc. Coll. (1951-1956) 1959 NT14 Photos Tumaco NT14 Newspaper

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(231)
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Fig. 33. Women grinding corn. A. Edith Pelaez prepares green corn for juicy cake type of bread. B. Maria Chick grinds dried and parched corn.

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 524

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, muttongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, soliss (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1932, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-dji). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [514]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

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Though many Havasupai women use modern metal corn grinders, some still prefer the metate and mano.

Lena Mahone is one of the oldest as well as one of the best Havasupai basket makers.

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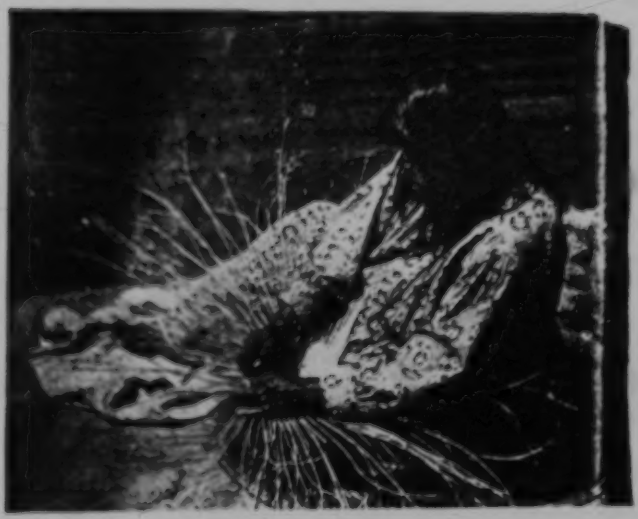

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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AN AGED PAIR OF HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

[p. 390-A].

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing. 158 787 159

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth: a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi. 517 181 517

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breecheloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter. 515 517 575 345 517 515 575

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2]

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*saka·mi'dAdji sa·dAlgi*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge.

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits forgather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten.

Footracing (*tnnomdgilgi*, race by two; *tnnomdgilgi*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:—

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 72°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 140°-150° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" (ed., 48).

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tnnal*) was a ball composed of wool and pinon gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood (Hrdlička, (a), 46).

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Vielle became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organisation. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [170] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

●517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon, by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[197] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

515 517 blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, [255] are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512 By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-pai; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-pai domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. -Ausl'd]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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539 horses so they did not bring many here. Some had two or three, others five or six. The Navaho up the canyon and those down at the creek thought what they might trade for corn and beans. So they killed some horses, dried the meat, and brought that down to trade. Some had a few sheep with them and they butchered these too. The Havasupai had many horses then; they ate their meat too. This is the way the Navaho traded, with horses, sheep, blankets, bracelets, necklaces, bridles, and all such things, until they had nothing more to trade with. So when some Navaho woman saw some Havasupai man alone, she proposed to lie with him, in exchange for corn and other things; the man gave just enough for one meal, not very much.

At that time I was about seventeen years old and I did not understand such things. An older man and I went up near the Walapai trail, where his corn was ripening. The Navaho were stealing corn all the time. We stayed there to watch it. After a little while, we saw a Navaho woman come into the cornfield. She wore bracelets; she wanted to trade them for corn, but he said, "No, I do not want them." She sat down and talked to him for a long time; he thought he would give her corn if he had his will of her. So he told me, "You go home a little while and then come back again," so I went away but after a time I went back. He was there alone; the woman was gone. I asked him, and he said, "Yes, we did pretty well," and he showed me the spot.[1] He had broken off a lot of ears and given them to her. He had a horse tied close to the cornfield, so he broke off the cornstalks, and I gave them to the horse, two or three armfuls.

Soon when the corn was ripe they gathered it. Those who had big fields got the Navaho men and women to gather it for them, and gave a little of it in payment. We were very friendly with the Navaho. They stayed here in the village. The Havasupai got the Navaho men to work for them. They did these things very well.

After a time one of the Navaho men found four or five big buckskins hanging on a pole stuck in a crevice. Those buckskins belonged to Jess's father's father. George's father had a bridle and other things hanging with the buckskins. A Navaho man stole them and climbing up on the upper canyon level, got away. Jess' grandfather did not know when the man went, whether he had been gone a day or only that morning. Jess's grandfather followed his tracks and then came back. Then he and George's father set out up the canyon, up Lee Canyon, and followed his

[522] [1]Humor takes this turn among them at least as freely as it would among ourselves.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children. Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, *'Hanatoopega!* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

9:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed 251
them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served [252]
as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw 887
a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave 291
me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the 576
rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat 522
bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so 114
focused my camera. The women threw their *sutamis* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

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its turbulent source to its end, where it tumbled into the mighty Colorado. So when Mr. James returned to his camp, Frances and I began assembling the supplies we should need for the two-day journey.

Early the next morning the supervisor of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve and a ranger arrived at the house. They had come to investigate conditions at Mooney Falls. Our trail would lead by the falls, so we invited them to ride with us that far.

Frances planned to ride the only trustworthy burro in our herd, a quick-stepping, sturdy animal. I intended to hire a horse in the village, so went down early to select one that could travel rough country. When the Indians learned that we were attempting the route to the Grand Canyon, trailless below Mooney, they shook their heads, declaring that no horse could make it. I suspected this was a buildup for bargaining as to price, so reminded them that old Ute had scouted out the way in order to serve Mr. James as guide. They admitted, "Maybe one, two Indians go; maybe horse break leg on rocks." As usual, a crowd had gathered to consider, craftily, whether or not the venture was feasible. As the leisurely discussion continued, the price asked for a horse soared until it almost equaled the value of the animal.

Then Walapai Bill, a square-shouldered man of middle age, spoke, "You take my horse. I bring your house pretty quick." He and I made a bargain, while the crowd murmured at his reasonable price of five dollars, which I quickly accepted.

When we were ready to start, I put Vesnor in charge of the school property until Mr. Burnett returned later that morning. Then I thrust my foot into the stirrup and sprang to the back of Walapai Bill's big, bony horse—only to discover that I was not being a lady! Ladies were assisted in mounting, I remembered, too late, when I glanced down at the cupped hand of the gallant young rancher and saw the surprised look on his face.

As we followed the trail through the village, the Indians were free with their comments. It was common knowledge that an Indian could endure hunger, thirst, and exposure. But Hicos were

522 soft. They joked, hilariously mimicking the picture we would make on our return—wilted as a squash vine severed from its root.

231 We jogged on until we came to the mile-long strip the Indians used as a race course. Without an instant's warning, my horse took the bit in his teeth and ran like the wind. At the mile's end, he stopped, heaving and gasping for air. He was, I discovered later, Walapai Bill's best race horse.

133 Our party of three and the two men from the forest reserve followed old Ute along the widening stream, which was so highly charged with minerals that every root, branch or leaf obstructing its flow was coated with solid stone. I gathered some of these leaves from the stream; each tiny vein and serrated edge was plainly marked in the stone coating. The debris along the banks had been transformed into a filigree of great beauty, concealing hollow places and deep caverns that became a danger when one walked too near the edge.

We passed Navaho Falls, so concealed in its jungle of tangled growth that we could not see it, but only heard its roar as it dashed over cliffs and boulders. This was the first large falls, and by some considered the most beautiful, perhaps because of its isolation.

The stream dropped rapidly, but we continued at the same level, traveling on a wide shelf that flanked the chasm. On the rim above Bridal Veil Falls we halted and looked down on the impressive scene two hundred feet below. Here the canyon formed a bowl or amphitheater, centering attention on the falls. The river spread across a high, wide cliff, dropping like a wind-tossed, gossamer veil into a deep blue pool. Thick mysterious folds of mist churned up from the pool, curtaining the gnomelike caves. Weird mineral formations, deposited by the water on shrubs and vines, covered the canyon walls on either side. Shaded by tall trees, the floor of the bowl was a tangle of bright green grass, climbing clematis, mosses, ferns and columbine.

In the past weeks we had visited this amphitheater several times and entered the caves back of the falls, finding giant stalactites and stalagmites and long stone-coated tendrils of maidenhair fern,

Their perceptive Faculties

are good, especially relative to simple ideas and actions, or to the ludicrous. They are capable of connecting words with any new idea which they comprehend, and are the most remarkably imitative human beings I ever saw, both by action and with the voice. They would repeat whole sentences, with marvelous truthfulness of sound, in Moqui, Zuñi, Navajo, Spanish, or English, and they manifested a universal passion for acquiring foreign tongues. All these characteristics, together with their striking powers of retention, were shown in the example following: One of them asked me to write the sentence, "Give it to me," in English, Ha-va-su-paí, and Zuñi. I wrote it, and carefully pronounced it in the three languages, showing him the order of the words. He ran over them a few times, and surprised me a day or two after not only by repeating every word correctly, but by pointing out the different sentences, and even words, which he pronounced. This seemed to argue an appreciation of form as well as of sound and its meaning; on attempting to copy any sentence, however, they would labor patiently, but present a scrawl in which not a mark could be detected that had the remotest resemblance to a single letter in the original. They did not seem either to be very curious about my writing, or to have the slightest comprehension of it; but would watch and mimic the motions of my hand and pencil in writing, and even the expression of my mouth, then take the pencil, imitate all these things very closely, produce a meaningless scrawl, and gravely read off a ridiculous, usually obscene, rendering of it; seeking my interpreter, and taking infinite pains to have their frivolities very carefully rendered to me in Zuñi.

They are skilled in manufacturing and using implements, especially in producing raw material, like buckskin, for which they have universal celebrity from the Colorado to the Rio Grande. The

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

[302]

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

[114]

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off in a foramen palatinum, the game is won. This game is played by four persons (men only?), two on a side. First, each member of one party swings until he misses, when it passes to the opponents. Three hundred or more counters are made of soapweed leaves split into narrow pieces, 10 cm. long. Some wider pieces have a number of slits in one end, six, ten, or twenty, corresponding to so many units. The side getting all the counters wins. 526

Possibly there is no conception of luck or supernatural aid resulting in success; at least, I recorded no expression of it and was unable to isolate the idea. In a myth the hero, who has repeatedly made a perfect score, says, "I am all right; I have good luck (*dhdnig'iu*, I am good)." To win big stakes is *mdd^{a}vigd* (*mdd^{a}vig^{a}wigd*, to carry big winnings.) 777

Basket dice (*wiðdvigd*) is played in winter; four women to a side. The dice (probably *sa'd'k*) are split wildcat hind leg bones, with red bands painted across the concave face. Four are tossed in a tray basket, about 40 cm. in diameter, flat-bottomed, with sharply rising sides. All convex faces up or all concave up scores one. The player continues to toss until two of a kind appear, which is a miss. The counters are ten little sticks in a general pile from which each player draws his score. When this pile is exhausted, they draw upon the opposing party's counters, until one party has all ten. 524

Stick dice (*tóhovigd*, also playing cards) may be played at any season. Four men or women are on a side: each member of one party makes one throw, then the dice pass to the other side. They sit about an incomplete circle of small stones, 60 cm. in diameter, with a larger stone at its center. One such stone is a fragment of mano with a red cross on its face. The three dice are flat wooden billets, 3 cm. wide and 8 to 13 cm. long, with all angles rounded. These are marked with red paint on one face; usually a broad median line, sometimes a waved median line. Two sets have all three differently marked: one (50.2–1618) has a zigzag line on one, the other two are colored over the whole face and in addition one has a continuous band of diamonds incised; the second set (50.2-1619) has a median line, a cross, and three cross bands. These lines are commonly painted with the finger tip. The three dice are held between the two palms and cast on the center stone end on, but a little diagonally to cause them to bounce beyond it. The scores are: all blanks, ten; all reds, five; two reds, three; and one red, said to count one but the marker is moved over two stones. Each party has one of these markers, a little stick. These are started at the gap in the circle and advanced in opposite directions. If a throw brings the marker on the space occupied by

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*nâhovîgâ*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*sâhúnâ*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-building the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[539] wi ga imai nu'u maga djawîd'ma tama wi'i ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'i ta Inîm ma yaga wi[2]
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[3] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[538] sâhunω'dj mavωgîgâna kavînyâyuyδ'[k]yûtê[ny]'ê
(I want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pîkîtâgî'nâ do wo wo wa (repeat)
pîkîtâgî'nâ dô'haaaa

524 857 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.

Dolls (*gweê'''ê*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*wîldvîâ*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Culin, (b), 300. I failed to note how the chance passes to another player.
[2] This was sung in unstressed syllable, so that it proved impossible to divide it into words.
[3] Culin, (b), 371.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 277; Trippel, 880; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

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171 526 *tso-e-ca*, Yuma *cha-tak-cak*, Navaho *ndaahdilhá'l*, and Hopi *ta-tats'-ta-ta-ctdh* (ball, *ta-tci*).[1]

The hoop and pole game is recorded in the Southwest for the Yuma, Mohave, Northern and Southern Diegueño, Gabrielino, Havasupai, Paiute, Navaho, Mescalero and Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Laguna, and Isleta. The manner of playing it is almost identical among the Havasupai, Walapai,[2] Mohave, Southern Diegueño, and perhaps Yuma. Southern Diegueño, Mohave, and Havasupai poles have one or two rings encircling the butt; the White Mountain Apache have many, but the ring nearest the butt counts highest. Apparently all these groups use the simple hoop without netting, except the White Mountain Apache, Isleta, and Paiute. It has a central core wrapped with buckskin among Gabrielino, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Wind River Shoshoni, while that of the Hopi is cornhusk. The White Mountain Apache and Southern Diegueño cast the hoop in the same way as the Havasupai. These two have the two poles represent the sexes.[3]

Culin and others give little material on the cup and pin game in the Southwest. Pima, Zuñi, and the Tewa of Hano use a form with one or more rings: Havasupai and Paiute use a rabbit skull.[4] The Moapa reckoning is identical with that of the Havasupai, except for the incisor hole count.[5]

171 524 Basket dice is a widely distributed game, and the Havasupai have no special form of it. It is generally a woman's game in this area, but played by both sexes among Navaho, Zuñi, and Mohave, although the first consider it especially a man's game. The number of dice varies, but not randomly: Havasupai, Maricopa, and Pima, four; Mohave, four but only three are used in play; Zuñi, four or five; Paviotso and Washo, twelve. These are all long wooden or bone dice. White Mountain Apache use thirteen or fourteen small chips; Navaho, thirteen or seven. By way of comparison, the Yokuts (of Fort Tejon and Tule River) use eight nut shells, the Tejon, six. In another form of dice game in this area the Zuñi use small chips, three lozenges and two squares, thrown from a board; the Wind River Shoshoni, three lozenges and three disks, tossed in a basket. The Mohave and Pima games are included here although no basket is used to toss the dice. The absence of the basket

[1] Culin, (b), 624, 634, 646-7; Tripp², 6; Curtis, XII, 49.
[2] The Walapai names for game, hoop, and pole, are the phonetic equivalents of the Havasupai (Culin, (b), 625).
[3] Culin, (b), 649-625; Tripp², 5; Reichenbach, 49; Franciscan Fathers, 482; Lowie, (i), 261; Spier, (c), 353; Reid, 15; Du Bois, (c), 167.
[4] The only other recorded uses of a skull are among Labrador and West Greenland Eskimo (Culin, (b), 646; Parsons, 227).
[5] Culin, (b), 648-649; Lowie, (i), 267.

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seems a local variation, for no basket is mentioned in connection with the Maricopa game. The White Mountain Apache and Wind River Shoshoni strike the basket on the ground. The latter sometimes throw the dice into the basket and the Yokuts always do. These resemblances may not be significant, but the answer lies in what the custom may be in the intervening areas. The scoring is variable, but there are identities. All four faces up count one for Havasupai, Mohave, Maricopa, and Pima. All faces down count one for the first pair, two for the second pair of tribes. Any other throw does not score for any of them. It is clear that they clearly recognize that all of a kind is necessarily the most infrequent throw.[1]

Stick dice is essentially a Southwestern and north Mexican game. Comparative notes are tabulated below. I have assumed that the essentials of this form of the dice game are (1) striking the sticks on something so that they fall on the rebound, and (2) noting the scores on markers arranged in a circle or square. A case is included here if either of these features appear.[2]

In addition to the groups below, Lummis notes its occurrence in the Pueblos of Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and doubtfully, San Juan. He did not see it at Jemez, Pojoaque, or Picuris. It may be played by Yuma and Mohave as a note by Ten Kate suggests. Mooney ascribes it to the Comanche and "Apache of the southern plains." Pawnee and Arapaho dice accompanied by a square of hide, which may have served as a surface on which to bounce them, suggest that this game may have been known to them also. Lumholtz says that it is played by all the tribes who live in or near the sierras of Chihuahua (and by the Mexicans), but is not known south of the State of Durango. The Opata and the Zuaque of Sinaloa may be added. It is unknown to the Cora and Tarasco.[3]

[1] Culin, (b), 91–224; Powers, 378; Lowie, (i), 288, 262.
[2] Culin, (b), 87–221; Franciscan Fathers, 481; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 167; Lowie, (i), 262; (a), 196; Russell, (d), 178; Curtis, XII, 42.
[3] Culin, (b), 91, 99, 127, 160, 181, 184, 192.

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	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score All back	Score 1 front	Score 2 front	Score 3 front	Score All front	Circuits per game
Wind River Shoshoni	4	×					10		to		5	
Lemhi	4	×										semicircle
Parietano	6		sticks									
Paiute	8	ground										
Yokuts	8		?	25		?	16		to		1	
Gabrielino	8	ground										
Northern Diegueño	4		board: square with wings	40 holes								
Pima	4	ground or struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	horse or slave	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	
Papago	4	struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	×	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	1
Walapai	2	×	×	30			10	1	2		5	semicircle
Havasupai	2	×	×	indefinite		×	10	1, 2	2		5	1
Oraibi	3 or 2	floor	inscribed stone with wing	–	animal		2				1	.
Hopi	2	×	×	4×10		×	10	1	2		5	1
Hano	2		×	4×10			10	2	2		5	.
White Mountain Apache	2	×	×	4×10		×	10	1, 2	2		5	1 or 2
Zuñi	2	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	2		5	1 or 4
							10	2	2		5	

	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score: All back	Score: 1 front	Score: 3 front	Score: 4 front	Score: All front	Circuits per game
Navaho	3	×	Circle or square	4×10			10	2	3		5	
							10	0	0		5	
Acoma	3		×	3×10	×		10	2	2		5	
Laguna	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3, 15		5	1 or more
Isleta	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3		5	
								2, 10	3, 15		5	
Sia	4		square	4×10			10	3	2	..	5	
Cochiti	3	×	×	40			10	2	2, 15		5	
Santa Clara	4 or 3	×	square	40	×	×	10	3	..		5	1
							10	1	3, 15		5	
Nambé	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	1	3, 15		5	1
Taos	3	×	×	16×10	×	×	10	1	1, 15		5	semicircle 100 points
Comanche	12	×										
Kiowa	4	×	marked blanket	4 ×10		×	10	1	2	3	6	3 or more 87
Caddo	4	board stones										
Tarahumare	4		square with wings	4×10 holes		×			quince			
Tepehuane	4		square with wings	4×10 holes					quince			

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The unity of this game complex is quite obvious. Ordinarily, three dice are used; the cases where there are more are by no means randomly distributed. Four are used by the Northern Diegueño, and all the Piman groups. This occurs again at Sia, Santa Clara, and among Kiowa and Caddo.[1] It is quite likely that all these form one group, since the game is called by its Spanish name (quince, fifteen) both in Mexico and in these Pueblos. We might be more certain of this if we knew the scoring in Mexico. It is, of course, possible that at least this special form was carried by Mexicans from one region to the other. The Wind River use of four dice is not clearly connected with these.

The use of eight dice by Paiute, Gabrielino, and Yokuts is an interesting case of coalescence of two games, for in this region the basket dice usually number eight.

Note also that the Paiute, Gabrielino, the Hopi of Oraibi, and Pima strike the dice on the ground. Pima and Papago share the custom of striking them upward from the hand with a flat stone, rather than the usual one of bouncing them on the stone.

The circle of stones, etc., which serves as a counting board is very general; even the diagram marked on a blanket by the Kiowa is of this pattern. The exceptional form is a square, from corners of which there are sometimes pendent lines or wings of stones from which the markers start. These are two or four in number and curved in shape. This establishes again a definite relationship between Northern Diegueño, Pima, Papago, Tarahumare, and Tepehuane. The inscribed stone used by some Hopi has a wing extending into the figure which also serves as the starting point. The use of the square at Sia and Santa Clara is further evidence of their connection with the Mexican tribes. The square is also used by some Navaho.

The number of points in the circle is quite uniformly forty, divided into quadrants of ten. At Taos the process has been carried one step further, each of these quadrants being again divided in four. The only aberrant cases are the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yokuts, and in the last case it is not certain that we are dealing with the same game.

The markers are commonly called horses. At Zuñi these are little figurines of horses. It is equally common to find that the marker is sent back to the starting point ("killed") if another enters the space it occupies.

The definite identity of the complex is clearly established by the scoring system. Almost universally, a score all of one kind counts ten,

[1] No description of the Caddo game is given, but they have a board used in connection with four dice and eight counters, which suggests an equivalent to the Kiowa game.

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its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks. 171 524

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring. 114 171 524

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place. 171 524

[1] Culin, (b), 233–262.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 228.
[3] Lowie, (b), 18.
[4] The Nootka and Kwakiutl hiding game in which four men are given four guesses shows how the same pattern has resulted in a different form (Culin, (b), 270).
[5] Kroeber, (b), 270.

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171 524 The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papagó both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+2, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

171 192 524 It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, (i), 238.
[2] Harrington, (b).

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sĕn-dŏ' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mulhaʦ̨ade (old mule)	tiʼiŋ (el hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	speckled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	posopeni	poyopeni	wihipeni	kopeni	
Pima	ma-atcovolt		old man	middle black	old woman
Papago	iná-ok ju ool		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorsh		old man	tok-gum-yorsh	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have transposed these names because the names as given in Culin's account (368) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington [(b), 351] has identified with the San Ildefonso analogs.

[2] Harrington, (b), 349-351.

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triangle with the fourth reed beside it, the Hopi in a square or row. (The Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho arrange the sand piles in a row). The latter cases suggest cultural connection, but this need not be true for the Piman and Tewan groups.

The discontinuous distribution of the moccasin game and the hidden ball game seems established despite the Navaho case. I do not find either game recorded for the Arapaho, Kiowa, Wichita, or others in the intervening area. There is, however, some similarity in the scoring. The Ojibwa player loses points unless he finds the object on the third trial, the Winnebago and possibly the Ottawa and Cree on the fourth, and the Santee in the second of three moccasins. On the winning trial the guesser gains points; a feature wholly absent in the Southwest. The value of points lost or gained in the successive trials bears no relation to the chances involved. In the Cheyenne game the guesser loses a point unless he succeeds on the first trial. Among the other tribes for whom we have data—Menomini, Omaha, Seneca, and Wyandot—the notion is rather of winning points by successive guesses. The scoring is quite variable throughout this area, but the principle of avoiding the object on the earlier trials is found only in one compact area, including at least Santee, Ojibwa, and Winnebago.

The question is whether this similarity is due to borrowing or convergence. I think it can be shown that the latter is involved. In making a choice of this kind, the guesser can either wager that he will find the object or that he will not. It does not matter how many trials are permitted, these are the only alternatives and they apply with equal force to each trial. Of these possibilities one must be decided on. Whether to lose points for a failure to find the ball or for finding it, or to win points for the same, or merely to win the right to hide the object, must also be decided, but this is in no way dependent on the decision to find or to avoid.

The Southwestern tribes have in general decided to avoid the object on all save one trial; so have the Ojibwa, Santee, and Winnebago. The Havasupai, Walapai, Cheyenne, and the other eastern groups have chosen the other alternative, to find the object. So much of the similarity is clearly accidental.

If the decision is to avoid the object it must be found on some other than the first trial. There are three possibilities. The Southwestern tribes, east of the Havasupai, have uniformly prescribed the third trial. On the other hand, the Eastern Woodland tribes have variously hit on the second, third, or fourth. The only real similarity then is in the case of the Ojibwa; this then may be set down to accident.

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Furthermore, there is no similarity between the values in the scoring systems of the Southwest and the eastern area. All include arbitrary values not dependent on chance. This is clearly the case in the east, where the Winnebago, for example, have the same number of points (four) lost or won in each trial, although the chances necessarily change. In the Southwest the order of the losses (10, 6, 0, 4) is dependent on chance, but not the actual values. If we consider the position of the guesser, who endeavors to avoid the ball until the third trial, we see he has three chances to one in his favor on the first trial, two to one on the second, an even chance on the third, and certainty of failure on the last. Taking 10 as the highest penalty, this should apply, as it does, on the first trial: the others should be in order, 7.5, 5, and 2.5. There are two arbitrary elements here; the actual values and the choice of the third trial for success rather than the fourth.

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness. 856 825

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home. 855

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly. 857 524

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together. 861

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting 889 224

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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854
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A

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231
142
241

B

Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Hers is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
●524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow. [524]

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

857 868 [535] Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgd*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days.

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced.

527 535 [789] [241] [648] [648] 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamł'dńdjd swddlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where connivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgd*, race by two; *tanomdgovlgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 130° F. (outside 73° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 140°-150° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" (d), 48). [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*ntpd'd*) was a lump compounded of wool and pinon gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlička, (o), 46]. [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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541 giéa giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gáčigánágóagó nóŋágábá isunéa hineyá
593
A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego ,hasiáŋá ,hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yóllgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiyágá*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a cornecb on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horisontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'ówigá*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Shinney (*ñdodedpd*) is played in the spring before the planting for stakes of future crops, buckskins, etc. The two companies of men or women, numbering five or six, hang their stakes separately over poles erected at the middle of the field. The field is 60 to 70 m. long; the goal posts being two sticks, stones, or trees. The ball is buried in the center

526
[325]

Fig. 88 (50.2-1610). A Shinney Ball.

Fig. 89 (50.2-1613a-c). Poles and Ring for Hoop and Pole Game.

of the field. The two leaders strike it out of the ground. Each company gathers behind its leader. Pushing, pulling, and kicking at opponents is allowed. The ball may be kicked, but not touched with the hands. In the characteristic driving stroke, the ball is lifted with the stick and then struck while it is in the air. When the ball is driven over the line of the goal posts, either between them or outside, the whole stakes are won. The shinney ball (*tamānā'dā*), 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, is made of a circular

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

526 piece of buckskin 13 to 15 cm. across. A thong is threaded through holes in its edge; it is stuffed with damp deer hair, and the thong pulled taut and tied. The long ends of this drawstring, tied in a loop, remain until ready for play, when they are cut off. This allows for shrinkage, otherwise, if the string were cut short before the ball is dry, it would pull out when it was struck. Some balls are decorated in red paint (Fig. 58). The stick (*tdcdvid*) is a branch with a short section of trunk for the crook. Children use smaller sticks.

The hoop and pole game (*t'údávid*) is played by men alone. The hoop (*tasádjúdá*) is a 2 cm. ring, 15 to 20 cm. in diameter, made of a bundle of buckskin strips about which another strip is spirally bound. The poles (*t'it'údávd*), 2.5 m. long, have a deep notch encircling the butt. The ground is carefully smoothed for 10 to 12 m. and a line to mark its boundaries drawn at each end, beyond which brush is piled.[1] Two men stand at one end: one flings the hoop down to roll along the course, and both running a few steps, throw their poles. In throwing, the loop is held vertically against the wrist, the back of the hand moving forward and down. The object is to have the hoop lie on the pole; this counts one. A sector of the hoop must rest wholly on the pole; if this is disputed, a little stream of sand is poured from directly above, which must clear both the inside of the hoop and the edge of the pole. In the next trial the winner rolls the hoop back along the course. The stakes are won when two points are gained in succession. If the ring lies in the notch (*p'ó'mágydgá*), it scores two and the game is won. An erotic interpretation is given when the pole pierces the hoop. The game really requires some skill.

[525]

[831]

Fig. 60 (30.2-1614). Cup and Pin Game.

The cup and pin game (*hugdód*) consists of a cotton-tail or jack-rabbit skull fastened to a sharply pointed twig, about 8 cm. long, by a slightly longer cord (Fig. 60). The base of the skull is cut away, the teeth drawn, and it is boiled free of meat. The cord is tied back of the incisors. Holding the stick, the skull is swung toward the body and caught on the point. Catching by any hole scores one; any tooth hole, six; ear hole(?), ten; incisor hole, forty; and if the stick splits

[1] There is no word to designate the course.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [23]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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54 is not so much difference after all in human nature, when one penetrates below the surface. The reserved Englishman, the excitable Italian, the vivacious Frenchman, and the so-called stupid and stolid native aboriginal American exhibit exactly the same traits of character under the excitement of a horserace. But in Havasu Canyon the conditions are quite different from Ascot, Doncaster, or Newmarket. Here are bucks dressed in the breech-clout and excitement, and women gesticulating and waving their si-dram'-as (our large flaming red or other "loud" colored bandannas, fastened over the shoulders and across the breast). Some suppress their excitement, others jabber like monkeys, and as the horses come to the starting-point there is just as much talking and din as after the start is made. One distinct feature is that many horses are raced without riders. They seem to understand, and when the signal to "let go" is given they dart off at full speed, just as if riders were on their backs urging them forward. Compared with our finely bred, beautifully chiselled horses, such as one sees, or used to see, in Lucky Baldwin's or the late Senator Stanford's stables, what ragged, scrawny, wretched creatures these are; and yet when they run how they surprise you, how those ugly limbs seem to limber up, and those sleepy eyes gain fire!

Gambling at these races is carried to an extraordinary extent. Men, women, and children alike gamble all they possess, or even hope to possess. This gambling spirit has grown wonderfully in the past few years, for, during the Kohot Navaho's lifetime he constantly used his powerful influence to discourage it.

Gambling, unfortunately, is not confined merely to

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe.

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time.

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive.

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [585] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [522] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
●525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

that's why she had the bone. She split one piece of the bone lengthwise and put it in the ground. She left it a few minutes and pulled it out and water came forth. She traveled on to the southwest until she was thirsty again. Again she split a bone, put it in the ground, and brought water out. A spring is still there on the Walapai Reservation. [Perhaps Rose Well.] She kept doing this until she had made four springs, all the while traveling southwest. Then she reached some people camping at a village in the afternoon. An old lady was on the edge of the village. Some of the men were out hunting. When they returned, one shouted that there was a runaway girl and that she was going to be his. Another man said no, we'll look into it and see whose she will be. The men ate supper, and about dark they built a fire a little way from the house where the girl was staying with an old woman. The men started playing the sixteen-stick game. [A gambling game, not reported by Spier (1928), wherein the sticks were used as counters. Probably borrowed from the Southern Paiute.] Every once in a while a man would slip away from the game and go to the girl's house but she would beat them away and throw dirt on them. Even all the birds and animals tried except the quail. Others told him to try but he said, "I'm not a good-looking man like some others she has turned down. So why should I try." But he finally tried. He put makeup on the feathers on his head and went in. She grabbed him and took him for her husband.

539* [823] [525] [177]

The men went hunting, all except the quail. He was lazy. Other men were jealous of him because he ate gravel and didn't hunt for meat. The men said they wouldn't give him any more meat.

Finally, the girl was expecting a baby. It was in the girl's thumb. When delivery time came, the girl went out and thrust her thumb in a forward motion and the baby stood up on the ground before her. After the baby boy was old enough, his mother wished for meat. She told him to go to Grandfather Squirrel who was a good hunter. The boy didn't say anything. After they went to bed, he got up, put a stick under his cover for a dummy, and went to his grandfather, the squirrel. The boy was approaching his grandfather's house when he came to some women picking pinyons. They gave some to him, and yucca juice to drink. When they set his food before him, he said, "This isn't good to eat, just good to soften leather of shoes." So he put it on his shoes. The juice was good for shampoo, so he washed his hair. Then he got his fine cornmeal lunch out and told them to eat. They said, "This isn't good to eat, just good for makeup." So they painted their faces with it. No one ate anything. Then they went to bed. The ladies were lying in a row. After they were asleep he got up and tied their hair together. In the morning he awoke and waited for the women to wake up. They slept on so he called out, "I never saw anyone sleep like that. I thought you wanted to work." One started to get up and all jerked each other, and laughed.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "hánlᵍa", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Mauka'ala, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 207). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2]

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamĭ'dvldjd swddlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge.

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten.

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgd*, race by two; *tanomdgovlgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:—

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 125° F. (outside 73° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140°" [(d), 48].

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tsjd''d*) was a lump compounded of wool and pinon gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlička, (e), 46].

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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541 giêa giyi giyi goldoŋ àvoŋhai isunéa honeyá (repeat)
789 gáêigánàgóagó nóŋàgàibá isunéa hineyá
533 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋá hasiáŋá hasiáŋàŋáŋá yóllgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'bwlgd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Shinney (*tdodsdgd*) is played in the spring before the planting for stakes of future crops, buckskins, etc. The two companies of men or women, numbering five or six, hang their stakes separately over poles erected at the middle of the field. The field is 60 to 70 m. long; the goal posts being two sticks, stones, or trees. The ball is buried in the center

526 [525]

Fig. 88 (50.2-1610). A Shinney Ball.

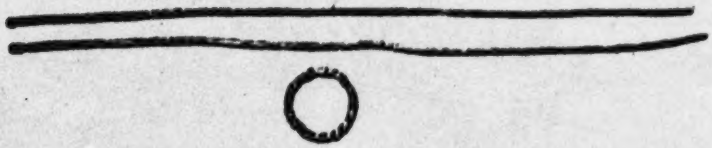

Fig. 89 (50.2-1613a-c). Poles and Ring for Hoop and Pole Game.

of the field. The two leaders strike it out of the ground. Each company gathers behind its leader. Pushing, pulling, and kicking at opponents is allowed. The ball may be kicked, but not touched with the hands. In the characteristic driving stroke, the ball is lifted with the stick and then struck while it is in the air. When the ball is driven over the line of the goal posts, either between them or outside, the whole stakes are won. The shinney ball (*tamdnd'dd*), 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, is made of a circular

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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526 piece of buckskin 13 to 15 cm. across. A thong is threaded through holes in its edge; it is stuffed with damp deer hair, and the thong pulled taut and tied. The long ends of this drawstring, tied in a loop, remain until ready for play, when they are cut off. This allows for shrinkage, otherwise, if the string were cut short before the ball is dry, it would pull out when it was struck. Some balls are decorated in red paint (Fig. 58). The stick (*ldcavid*) is a branch with a short section of trunk for the crook. Children use smaller sticks.

The hoop and pole game (*i'údávid*) is played by men alone. The hoop (*tavadjúdd*) is a 2 cm. ring, 15 to 20 cm. in diameter, made of a bundle of buckskin strips about which another strip is spirally bound. The poles (*i'it'údávd*), 2.5 m. long, have a deep notch encircling the butt. The ground is carefully smoothed for 10 to 12 m. and a line to mark its boundaries drawn at each end, beyond which brush is piled.[1] Two men stand at one end: one flings the hoop down to roll along the course, and both running a few steps, throw their poles. In throwing, the loop is held vertically against the wrist, the back of the hand moving forward and down. The object is to have the hoop lie on the pole; this counts one. A sector of the hoop must rest wholly on the pole; if this is disputed, a little stream of sand is poured from directly above, which must clear both the inside of the hoop and the edge of the pole. In the next trial the winner rolls the hoop back along the course. The stakes are [525] won when two points are gained in succession. If the ring lies in the notch (*p'ô'mágydgd*), it scores two and the game is won. An erotic interpretation is given when the pole pierces the hoop. The game really requires some skill.

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Fig. 60 (50.2-1614). Cup and Pin Game.

The cup and pin game (*hugdθd*) consists of a cotton-tail or jack-rabbit skull fastened to a sharply pointed twig, about 8 cm. long, by a slightly longer cord (Fig. 60). The base of the skull is cut away, the teeth drawn, and it is boiled free of meat. The cord is tied back of the incisors. Holding the stick, the skull is swung toward the body and caught on the point. Catching by any hole scores one; any tooth hole, six; ear hole(?), ten; incisor hole, forty; and if the stick splits

[1] There is no word to designate the course.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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off in a foramen palatinum, the game is won. This game is played by four persons (men only?), two on a side. First, each member of one party swings until he misses, when it passes to the opponents. Three hundred or more counters are made of soapweed leaves split into narrow pieces, 10 cm. long. Some wider pieces have a number of slits in one end, six, ten, or twenty, corresponding to so many units. The side getting all the counters wins.

Possibly there is no conception of luck or supernatural aid resulting in success; at least, I recorded no expression of it and was unable to isolate the idea. In a myth the hero, who has repeatedly made a perfect score, says, "I am all right; I have good luck (*dhánlg'iu*, I am good)." To win big stakes is *mád^{h}vlgá* (*mád^{h}vlg^{á}wlgá*, to carry big winnings.)

Basket dice (*wiθávlgá*) is played in winter; four women to a side. The dice (probably *sa'á'k*) are split wildcat hind leg bones, with red bands painted across the concave face. Four are tossed in a tray basket, about 40 cm. in diameter, flat-bottomed, with sharply rising sides. All convex faces up or all concave up scores one. The player continues to toss until two of a kind appear, which is a miss. The counters are ten little sticks in a general pile from which each player draws his score. When this pile is exhausted, they draw upon the opposing party's counters, until one party has all ten.

Stick dice (*tóhovigá*, also playing cards) may be played at any season. Four men or women are on a side: each member of one party makes one throw, then the dice pass to the other side. They sit about an incomplete circle of small stones, 60 cm. in diameter, with a larger stone at its center. One such stone is a fragment of mano with a red cross on its face. The three dice are flat wooden billets, 3 cm. wide and 8 to 13 cm. long, with all angles rounded. These are marked with red paint on one face: usually a broad median line, sometimes a waved median line. Two sets have all three differently marked: one (50.2-1618) has a zigzag line on one, the other two are colored over the whole face and in addition one has a continuous band of diamonds incised; the second set (50.2-1619) has a median line, a cross, and three cross bands. These lines are commonly painted with the finger tip. The three dice are held between the two palms and cast on the center stone end on, but a little diagonally to cause them to bounce beyond it. The scores are: all blanks, ten; all reds, five; two reds, three; and one red, said to count one but the marker is moved over two stones. Each party has one of these markers, a little stick. These are started at the gap in the circle and advanced in opposite directions. If a throw brings the marker on the space occupied by

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Naskapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

[1] Kroeber, (g), 84; Du Bois, (g), 185; Mason, J. A., (a), 120; Gatschet, (b), 82; Barrett, (a), 244; Francisco Pathers, 59, 240-3; Matthews, (d), 227; Mindeleff, 499; Stephen, (b), 361; Letherman, 209; Faye, 53; Chamberlain, (a), 567; (b), 184; Bourke, (b), 61.
[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 46; Lowie, (a), 217; Hagerlie und Günther, 84; Culin, (b), 606.
[3] Culin, (b), 712 f; Lowie, (a), 199; Dorsey, G. A., (a).
[4] Dixon, (c), 215.
[5] Russell, (d), 179, Culin, (b), 390, 394.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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mouth, while tapping it, to make an opponent falter. Northwestern and Southern Maidu shamans similarly hold a special bow to converse with spirits; the Northeastern Maidu use an ordinary bow for amusement only. For amusement, the Eastern Pomo tap a bow provided with two strings and held in the mouth. The San Antonio Salinan and Yokuts also use a special bow with the mouth as a resonance chamber. The usage crops up again among the Maya and again in western central Patagonia; the bow is held in the mouth while the string is tapped. The Tepecano place an ordinary bow on a gourd and tap the string as an accompaniment to the recital of prayers.[1] The other type of instrument has several strings, often tuning pegs and a bridge, and is described as a fiddle or guitar. This is on record for the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yokuts, Tule, "Pueblo" of New Mexico, and in South America among Busintana, Araucanians, Patagonians, and tribes on the lower Amason.[2] Musical bows of undescribed nature are credited to the Tepehuane, Cora, and Huichol of Mexico, and the Lencas of Honduras, the Chané, Choroti, and Mataco of the Gran Chaco. Saville also believes in their possible existence in Central America, Guatemala, and San Salvador.[3] Balfour holds that the musical bow was introduced into the West Indies, South, and North America by negroes.[4] Nordenskiöld favors white or negro sources for the South American examples. This may apply well enough to the multiple stringed affair, but there is no reason why the use of the ordinary bow should be viewed in this way. This is not a specialised instrument; it is not really a musical instrument at all; and the twanging of a bowstring with the mouth as a resonator, which can be appreciated by the player alone, must have repeatedly occurred. Its sporadic distribution as a regular usage bears this out. It seems unlikely that there is any historical connection between the several occurrences of the mouth-bow, with the exception of the Californian-Havasupai cases. It is doubtful that this is derived from the fiddle type.

Shinney is played generally throughout the Southwest. Havasupai and Hopi play it in the spring. Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai, Walapai, and presumably Mohave bury the ball at the center of the field. There is some similarity in the name for the game: Havasupai *tdeteigd*, Walapai

[1] Dixon, (a), 222; Pepe, 20; Mason, J. A., (a), 157; Kroeber, (f), 19, note 47; Saville, (a), 272; Ten Kate, 43. According to Dr. Edwin Loeb the Western Pomo do not have it.
[2] Bourke, (d), 10, 19; Mason, J. A., (b), 47; Hrdlička, (d), 488; Powers, Fig. 38; Mason, O. T., (b), 240; Nordenskiöld, 160, 182.
[3] *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, 980; Lumholtz, (c), I, 475, II, 153; Mason, O. T., (d), 156; Saville, (b), 280-284.
[4] Balfour, 30-32.

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171 526 *ina-e-ex*, Yuma *cho-tsh-auk*, Navaho *ndaahdiłhą'i*, and Hopi *to-tsiv'-la-la-wuh* (ball, *to-tcv*).[1]

The hoop and pole game is recorded in the Southwest for the Yuma, Mohave, Northern and Southern Diegueño, Gabrielino, Havasupai, Paiute, Navaho, Mescalero and Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Laguna, and Isleta. The manner of playing it is almost identical among the Havasupai, Walapai,[2] Mohave, Southern Diegueño, and perhaps Yuma. Southern Diegueño, Mohave, and Havasupai poles have one or two rings encircling the butt; the White Mountain Apache have many, but the ring nearest the butt counts highest. Apparently all these groups use the simple hoop without netting, except the White Mountain Apache, Isleta, and Paiute. It has a central core wrapped with buckskin among *Gabrielino, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho,* and Wind River Shoshoni, while that of the Hopi is cornhusk. The White Mountain Apache and Southern Diegueño cast the hoop in the same way as the Havasupai. These two have the two poles represent the sexes.[3]

Culin and others give little material on the cup and pin game in the Southwest. Pima, Zuñi, and the Tewa of Hano use a form with one or more rings: Havasupai and Paiute use a rabbit skull.[4] The Moapa reckoning is identical with that of the Havasupai, except for the incisor hole count.[5]

171 524 Basket dice is a widely distributed game, and the Havasupai have no special form of it. It is generally a woman's game in this area, but played by both sexes among Navaho, Zuñi, and Mohave, although the first consider it especially a man's game. The number of dice varies, but not randomly: Havasupai, Maricopa, and Pima, four; Mohave, four but only three are used in play; Zuñi, four or five; Paviotso and Washo, twelve. These are all long wooden or bone dice. White Mountain Apache use thirteen or fourteen small chips; Navaho, thirteen or seven. By way of comparison, the Yokuts (of Fort Tejon and Tule River) use eight nut shells, the Tejon, six. In another form of dice game in this area the Zuñi use small chips, three lozenges and two squares, thrown from a board; the Wind River Shoshoni, three lozenges and three disks, tossed in a basket. The Mohave and Pima games are included here although no basket is used to toss the dice. The absence of the basket

[1] Culin, (b), 624, 656, 646-7; Tripp', 6; Curtis, XII, 69.
[2] The Walapai names for game, hoop, and pole, are the phonetic equivalents of the Havasupai (Culin, (b), 624).
[3] Culin, (b), 646-650; Tripp', 6; Helmichmann, 49; Franciscan Fathers, 482; Lewis, (i), 261; Spier, (c), 355; Reid, 16; Dy Bois, (b), 167.
[4] The only other recorded uses of a skull are among Labrador and West Greenland Eskimo (Culin, (b), 646; Parnild, 277).
[5] Culin, (b), 646-650; Lewis, (i), 257.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE HAVASUPAIS

342 362 FROM the cradle to the grave the life of a Havasupai is practically an out-of-door life. Their *hawas* — *even* the best of them — are partially exposed and open, and in the summer hawas there is no pretence at what among civilized peoples is essential privacy.

526 The games of the Havasupai children seem very few. I have seen only three. Of the first importance is shinny, or, as they call it, *tha-ss-vi'-ga*. The goals are *go-ji-ga'*, the ball, *ta-ma-na'-da*, and the playing stick *ta-so-vig'-a*. The boys enter into this with the zest one would expect of such a time-honored game, yet, such is their general indifference to prolonged effort, they do not play it very often.

An easier game, but generally left to the girls, is, *hui-ta-qui'-chi-ka to-ho'-bi-ga*, which I have fully described in my book on the Grand Canyon.

[177] The third game is stolen bodily from the Navahoes, except the name, which with the Havasupais is *Tŏd-wi-ga*. It is the Nan-zosh, and is elsewhere fully described in these pages.

181 Such a paucity of games is indicative of low mental power, lack of imagination and invention, and results in, or perhaps *from*, a slow, heavy mental tempera-

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe.

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time.

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive.

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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confirms this. From earliest childhood they are expert swimmers, boys and girls alike learning the art often before they can walk. I have seen mere babies placed in the creek and ditches by their parents and older brothers, and one can scarcely say they are taught to paddle, for it seems to come instinctively. There is not a child in the village who cannot swim and dive expertly, and there is no greater fun than to expend a dozen nickels by throwing them into one of the reservoirs and having the children dive for them. Sometimes they can be induced to bring the coins up in their teeth, even picking them in that manner from the sandy bed of the reservoir. They are as expert swimmers as the children of the South Seas. No Kanaka going out to meet an incoming steamer could ride the billows more daringly than the boys and girls of the Havasu swim in the rapid currents of their little stream. I have been with them to-day for a couple of hours. The boys dived into deep water and rose and fell like loons. I amused myself by throwing a stone into ten or more feet of water, and four or five of the boys would dive for it and get it almost as quickly as I could throw it. It was no sooner in than it was out again. One of the little girls, a sister of one of the boys, stood watching the sport. She became so interested that, suddenly, without removing her calico dress, she jumped into the deep place and enjoyed the fun with the rest.

Then, a Havasupai man, riding a burro, brought the animal down into the stream where it was shallow and had a gravelly bed. For an hour he and the boys amused themselves by swimming back and forth through the deep pool, and every now and again one or another would jump on the creature's back and, hanging on,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time.

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 [535] him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

● [526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 423 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 71 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 127

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kă-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-[177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were formerly used, although now only to a ●[526] limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili-[177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig-614 nificant one in the consideration of the

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us [this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgi*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days.

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced.

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527 535 Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the [301] back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his [302] eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*dʃĭkádʃi'kĭgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. [533] The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps [533] marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdʃi'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white [302] horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hówi*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, hallowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaija, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Buck Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. Those two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [526] [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 207). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwesilk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwesilk̨ómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

ḥnyámátvĭ	ma'évàhag'I'I	dúyĭlniyúdjĭk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánlgwayúhag'I'I	ma'évàhag'I'I
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kuhá'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panámántà (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

A performance of masked dancers (*gîdjĭ'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid.*, 811, 812.
[3] James, (b), 256.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

175

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 514

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

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the canyon. Tourists always brought news from the outside—and how welcome that was! And, too, we caught some of their excitement in entering what was, to them, a wonderland. But, since my arrival, so few had come.

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One hot summer day, three lads from Princeton, spending their summer vacation hiking across the United States, had walked out from Williams and climbed down the Lee Canyon trail. They were full of fun—and short on food, so we sold them what we could spare from our supplies. They took a quick look around, then went gaily up the Walapai trail to new adventures, leaving me with the feeling that, compared to them, I was very much encompassed by stone walls. Later, the wife of the Governor of Arizona came down with a party of friends to catalogue the flora of the canyon. They camped under the cottonwood, eating their meals from a boulder, quickly finished their work and departed. Their visit heightened our interest in the delicate plants tucked away in cool grottoes as well as in the more abundant hardier ones. And we had met a governor's wife who sacrificed physical comfort for the advancement of science.

Then there was the family from Chicago. They had driven their team across the desert, climbing down the zigzagging Walapai trail and stopped at our door to demand shelter. The frail wife and sick daughter sat their horses, wanting nothing in this world but a bed on which to lay their aching bodies. While I assembled the beds, they rewarded me with a description of the Pacific Ocean as they had seen it that summer, a sea of pale blue fire. Too many fish had perished in some catastrophe in the deep, causing the phosphorescent glow.

Then there had been George Wharton James's visit to the Indian village.

Each one had brought his bit of excitement and information, leaving us the richer for his coming. But now, when we longed only to see again a face from a world that was beginning to seem so remote, to hear what its people were doing, no one but Indians came down the trail.

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After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional
796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the
527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing.
796 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former,
527 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja.
574 Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much
527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past
541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

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canyon keeping us awake until weariness deadened the sound. But with the announcement of the first race, the people surged forward, crowding for a place near the track, laughing, shouting and betting on their favorite horses.

Walapai Bill's bay lined up with a dozen other horses for the first race. Had I cared to bet I would have placed my money on him, remembering my wild ride on that same mile-long track. Riderless horses, always betting favorites, were also trained for these races. They started on signal, kept their places in the race and—on occasion—won. No doubt one or more of them had been entered today for excitement was at a peak.

The signal was given, the race was on. Women rushed forward waving their *sutaws* and screaming at the horse on which they had placed bets, "Win race! Win! Win!" Men tossed their hats into the air and shouted.

In the midst of the hullabaloo, I remembered the stack of letters that must be answered before the mail went out the next morning. Unlike the Indians I was not free to work only when it was "little light" and play when I felt like it. Unlike the Indians, too, I had no storehouses bursting with food. My subsistence depended on my efficiency. I had no choice but to leave the merry-making at its height, but not before I'd had a chance to watch Walapai Bill's horse nose up inch by inch and win the race.

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not evince professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

262 are all eaten raw, or dried, and prepared
252 for food by stewing. Squashes are either boiled or roasted, the latter most skillfully, the seeds being carefully preserved, dried, and made into food, much the same as the sunflower seeds.

263 A remarkable and at first unpleasant characteristic of all these foods is the absence of salt from them. Sometimes the corn preparations are sweetened by chewing and fermentation. The somewhat sweet fruit of the datila, or Spanish bayonet, is rendered sweeter by a
[251] like process, the pulp thus formed being spread out on large, closely-woven splint screens, and dried in sheets, often several feet in extent, though less than half an inch in thickness. The mescal of the
252 more southern tribes, the ak-na of the Zuñis, is prepared in its greatest perfection by the Ha-va-su-paí from the heart and inner leaves of the agave, or century plant. It is gathered by the women in great quantities throughout the gorges and upon the terraces of the cañon, and
[482] transported in large baskets, strapped across their foreheads, to the gravelly beds of dry streams. Pits being dug in the gravel and fuel collected by the men, huge fires are built in the excavations, and kept burning for several hours. The embers are then drawn forth, the pits lined with leaves and grasses, and the agave thrown in, a layer like the lining then being added, and the heated gravel and embers heaped above. These
● [527] burnings are occasions of great festivity and merry-making. When taken out, the agave is easily made into pulp, and dried, either on the flat rock surfaces or as is the fruit of the datila.

221 It is a remarkable fact that the Ha-
262 va-su-paí, possessing neither cattle nor sheep, are almost exclusively vegetarians during the summer months. With the beginning of winter, however, the tribe, almost as a unit, repairs to the surrounding plains, where they subsist
262 chiefly on the flesh of the game they kill. This is made ready for consump-

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285 some warps become superfluous: these are cut off short. A cap of rawhide, soaked in water and stretched into shape before it sets, is sewed on the apex of the burden basket with a through and through stitch

Three strand twining[1] is commonly introduced on all types of baskets 285 for decorative purposes. The strand usually crosses two warps, giving 531 a much closer stitch than diagonal twine. Three strands crossing three and sometimes four warps are also used decoratively. There is no great regularity in inserting these stitches; crossing threes often lapsing into crossing fours, and vice versa. The majority of water bottles are made in three strand twine over two warps; the beginning seems to be always diagonal twine. Why water bottles are usually decorated with contrast twine stitches is a mystery, because the surface cannot be seen under the liberal coating of pitch! The last row in both trays and burden baskets is almost invariably three strand twining; this often extends to the last two rows, and occasionally to the last three or four rows of trays alone (possibly because their peripheries are much less than those of burden baskets).

To finish the edge of the water bottle, burden basket or tray, the 285 ends of the warps protruding beyond the woven fabric are first thinned by splitting, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a coil stitch running around the rim. Split acacia or mesquite is used for this. The free ends of the two weft elements are included in this bundle of warps. A hoop of hard *amdvd'd* wood (which grows up the canyon, not near the village) about one cm. in diameter is bound on top of this rim in trays and burden basket with a coil stitch. Occasionally this extra hoop is omitted. Gaps are left in the binding of this hoop in some baskets: this has a certain degree of decorative effect.

Two loops to which the burden band is fastened are inserted in the burden basket and bottle. Each loop is fashioned of a thong which passes through the basket three, four, or five times. The loops on bottles are invariably horsehair, braided of two strands or bunches; those on baskets are said to have formerly been of the same material. The burden band was formerly made of soapweed. The longest leaves of this plant were dried until yellow, mashed between rocks, and soaked in water to remove the connective tissue. Three of these were braided into a band.

Trays intended to hold very fine seeds and parching trays are coated on the interior with the sticky connective tissue of mescal (or soapweed?) leaves. The leaves are crushed in the hands and rubbed over the basket.

[1] Some of this may be three strand braiding.

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285 of the knot (Fig. 14b). The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits: it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge.[1] In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anti-clockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same. There would therefore be no technical difficulty in a woman turning a tray into a bowl, but since the hidden face is always left somewhat rough, the decision to make a bowl must be made as soon as the basket is begun.

Fig. 14 (30.2-1063, 1064). Manipulation of Initial Basketry Stitches. *a*, Beginning of twine stitch; *b*, Beginning of coil stitch.

The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made 285 with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's 531 claw (*halá'k*^{a}). Two varieties are used: one, with hooks 15 to 20 cm. long is indigenous. The second variety, with hooks 25 to 30 cm. long, [177] was introduced by Pagadjahuda, a Walapai woman who married into the tribe years ago, and who obtained the plant from her elder sister who in turn got it from the Paiute. Although the wild plants are also used, it is customary to plant martynia at the same time as corn. The pods

[114]

[1] Mason misinterprets his Plate 200, (h), also 427: the unfinished face is not the interior.

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285 direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, 531 and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used (Fig. 15b). A third type (Fig. 15c–d) presents a braided appearance. In this case after the last coil was completed the three foundation rods were carried around for another row. The stitching on this is from right to left, working from the outside on the near wall of the bowl, that is in the direction in which the basket is coiled. A single binding strand is used in figure-eight fashion, the forward loop passing under all three rods and through the top coil, and the backward loop passing under the upper rod only; all stitches are diagonal. That is, the strand is brought down in front toward the left over all three rods, through the last coil, up to right in back, over the rim forward, down to right in front, through under the upper rod, up to left in back, and over the rim forward to repeat for the next stitch. The back loop crosses four forward loops.[1] Mason describes the same type of border stitch, but with only one lower rod and with the stitching from left to right.[2]

285 While the direction of weaving varies in these baskets, it has always the same motor basis, the actions of a right-handed weaver. At present there are no left-handed women whose peculiarity might affect the technique.[3] The direction of twine weaving is always from left to right, the active right hand ahead: that of coil weaving is from right to left, the active right hand following. Whether the coil is clockwise or anti-clockwise depends then on how the basket is held. In particular the change in direction on burden baskets, bottles, and coiled bowls results from the inversion of the fabric during the process. The resulting direc- [171] tion of the coil baskets agrees with that of other Southwestern tribes. These observations support Wissler's contention that tribal differentia [114] in direction are not based on physiological peculiarities, but are the subject of traditional habits. On the other hand, the apparent change in direction on a single basket suggests the necessity of a more refined analysis of types in determining their distribution. The desideratum is a record of the tribal hand positions.[4]

285 The decoration on Havasupai baskets is very simple. Twine baskets 531 are decorated by contrasting bands of diverse stitches. Usually bands of

[171] [1] This stitch is used as a method of fastening a Walapai basket in my possession, as well as one fro m the Aztec ruin and as a border of a bowl from the same place.
[2] Mason, (J. T., (b), 276, Fig. 87. Compare Matthews, (b), 208.
[3] There is one left-handed girl and one man.
[4] Wissler, (c), 494–501; Kroeber, (g), 49–51.

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plain twining alternate with wider bands of diagonal twining. Contrast is also obtained on the same baskets with three strand twining, since rows of this stitching are raised above the surface of the basket. The bands of three strand twine are uniformly very narrow; usually only one or two rows. Water bottles are commonly decorated in contrast twining, although they are subsequently pitch-coated to an extent which obliterates the decoration. I can see no other reason for this display of unfruitful energy than exuberant interest in utilizing a controlled technique and producing a pleasing effect for the moment. Only a very few are ever kept or traded without the pitch coating.

285
531

Designs (*tĕnyúdĭgd*, a so tattoo marks, face painting) are woven in twine and coil baskets with black martynia. These do not represent objects, and in fact, the women repudiated the idea that any meaning might be read into them.[1] There are no recognized design units nor design names: the women did not seem inclined to speculate about them. All the designs are extremely simple.

Twine trays are decorated with a single circular line, one row wide, or with the same line with short spurs, usually oblique, either on the inside or outside, resembling a cog-wheel with oblique teeth. The same series of teeth are used without the base line. Other decorations are a central circular area, filled solid; a horizontal zigzag line; or simple combinations of any of these. Burden baskets have one to three decorative bands around the upper third; using the same units (except the solid circle) and in addition a band of equilateral triangles, usually filled solid, and with basal angles in contact, or with bases or vertices touching a narrow line running around the basket. A band of two opposed dentate lines is frequent. Water bottles do not have design decorations.

One curious feature is a disinclination to decorate that part of the burden basket which will rest against the back and so will not be seen. The first, i.e., the lowest, band is usually carried around this portion as well, but subsequent bands are progressively executed with increasing carelessness or omitted entirely at this point. (Fig. 7.) This, of course, is contrary to the spirit which accounts for the decoration of water bottles in contrast twining.

A few baskets have the spurs of the dentate bands vertical, that is, following the warps. In all other cases observed, with one exception, the spur lies obliquely in the direction of twining, that is, with its lower end nearer the weaver's left hand and inclining upward to the right. Nearly all such designs are in diagonal twine. I think we have here a clear case of the influence of technique on design. In the first place, the

[1] This does not prevent them from providing interpretations for the tourist trade.

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285 531 right hand of the weaver twisting the wefts turns outward on the wrist (which is perhaps easier than turning inward), carrying the forward strand away and down, and the back strand forward and up. With the stiff wefts that are in use, each stitch inclines upward to the right both in the diagonal and plain twining. But more important is the overlap produced in diagonal twine of the rear end of each stitch with the forward end of that in the row below. This results in a diaper effect running upward to the right. This in itself would suggest that when decoration is introduced, the diagonal lines should move forward in the direction of weaving. Furthermore, there is no continuous diagonal line toward the left, for these stitches are separated from one another by short intervals of bare warp. Of course, it is no more difficult to weave the diagonal lines running toward the left, but the effect is not so pleasing.[1]

[177] It is difficult to say how coil baskets were decorated, since most of them are made now to conform to tourist demands. One tray in use has a single horizontal band, for the most part one coil wide but the width of two coils at regular intervals. Short lines appear at other points. The trade baskets have in part the designs found on twine wares, with the addition of units copied from the products of other tribes seen at the stores. As with the twine baskets, there is very little attempt at design composition and diverse units are crowded on the same basket without regard for their appropriateness. According to the Indians, baskets with much decoration sell better than others, but this is quite contrary to their own feeling that those which are sparsely decorated are preferable.

The hoods of the cradleboards (Fig. 55) and the seed beaters (Fig. 3) are also basket work.

Pottery

323 413 [177] [178] Clay vessels, more often used in cooking than baskets, were displaced by metal products about 1870. The only native ware is a small, unslipped and undecorated, coarse, brown pot of the type common to all the nomadic tribes of the Southwest and adjacent sections of California (Fig. 16). The pot (*hamdi*) is globular, with a slightly constricted neck turning out in a lip (*ya'*, neck and lip?) sufficiently large to permit lifting with the finger tips. The size is reported as usually 30 cm. in greatest diameter 23 cm. in height, and 23 cm. across the mouth, but ranging down to a height of 22 cm. and a diameter of 12 cm. These lack handles or lugs.[2]

[1] See O. T. Mason's diagrams, (k), Figs. 19 and 20.

[2] Fig. 16 represents a vessel excavated at the Lagoons north of Pine Spring. It is of the type described, but it cannot be certainly ascribed to the Havasupai because of its somewhat greater size and handles.

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322 is then 3 to 5 cm. through. Shaping proceeds without waiting for the
411 pole to season. A good bow should bear a dark streak (medullary ray?) along its inner face, not on the back: such a bow will not easily break. The pole is cut to the proper length for a bow, six spans (thumb to middle finger), measured three toward each end from the middle. Some bows are only five spans. After the bark is removed, the pole is trimmed to the lines shown in Fig. 22, leaving the back in its natural state. Frequent sighting along the bow keeps the trimming symmetrical. The
[412] cutting is done with a stone knife and finally rubbed smooth with a grit-stone. The width at the grip should be that of two fingers (first and middle fingers lying flat); at the ends one finger wide. Its thickness is not measured. Fiber tension in the green bow gives a marked curve opposite to that when strung. The bow is set aside to season for a month: if it is strung sooner it is likely to acquire a permanent curve. When ready for stringing the nock is cut into the edge at a convenient point. There is no wrapping for a grip, nor are decorative marks or paint applied.

411 Oak is used as well as ash for sinew-backed bows (*mĕsmᵃ*, sinewed?):
322 it is grown in the same way. Mesquite is also used, if it contains a dark
237 streak. The bow resembles the self bow, but it is somewhat shorter, five spans, and only half as thick, although the width is the same. After seasoning for two months or more until it is thoroughly dry, it is ready for the sinew reinforcement. Nocks are first cut. The back is scraped as smooth as possible and fine lines are scratched on it longitudinally,
[412] using a stone flake with a serrated edge. After glue is applied over half the back, a broad sinew is laid on beginning at the middle, stretching it toward the tip. This is rubbed in the same direction with a smooth stick in order to make it adhere. The process is repeated for the other half of the bow, the sinew layers lapping at the middle. Three more layers are similarly added, setting the bow in the sun to dry partially before each application. The sinew extends over the back quite to the inner face. The first two layers are brought over each end and down the face for about 1 cm. The ends of the last two layers are left free, but twisted together. A sinew is bound in the nocks to hold the sinew backing fast. When dry, the grip is bound with a buckskin thong, centering slightly
[439] below the middle. Red cloth, obtained from the Hopi, is passed back
●[531] and forth longitudinally through this binding on the inside face, to produce a checkered effect. Red paint is used in default of cloth. The
411 sinew layers part from the wood when the bow is old. This is checked by
237 binding at intervals with sinew. This bow is always kept strung, al-

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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife—which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamdlia*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjdtaûigd*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

411 322 [412] [782]

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a corncob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

411 324 [321]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdcd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vltal'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

411 531

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

237

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the nerve of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States [171]

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231 eagles and hawks are captured in the nest and raised in captivity until
237 the plumes may be plucked. A shade is erected over a replica of the nest
417 in which the helpless bird is placed; when he grows he is tethered. Preferably a cage is built which resembles the frame of a sweatlodge but is somewhat higher. Brush is placed on top for shade. Cross sticks inside support a nest, on a level with which is a doorway for feeding.

237 Feathers are split beginning at the tip, and the narrower vane discarded. The shaft of the wider vane is scraped thin and trimmed. The
411 whole length of the plume is used; these are about 13 cm. long for reed
531 arrows, 23 cm. for willow. The shaft is decorated as shown (Fig. 25) before the vanes are placed; the bands are 1 cm. wide on reed arrows, 2 cm. on willow. Sometimes the whole distance covered by the vanes (or most of it) is colored red alone, and occasionally the entire shaft is painted red. This painting is purely decorative: these are not property

Fig. 25 (50.2-1222). Method of Feathering and Painting an Arrowshaft. The colors used are indicated as follows: heavy black, black; heavy stippling, green; light stippling, red.

411 marks, for a man could always recognise his own arrows. Glue is applied at the points where the vanes are to be bound on, and also over the paint, where it serves as a varnish. Sinew is chewed and drawn between the teeth until it is soft, when it is wrapped several times around the nock end by twirling the shaft. A few barbs at the tip of the first vane are caught under the wrapping, then a few of the second vane under the next turn, finally the third, and the wrapping is then completed. The vanes are carefully straightened and the quills of all three simply wrapped with sinew. The sinews are not tied, the glue holding them fast. The edge of the vane is next trimmed back toward the shaft so that it is broader at the tips than the butt,[1] except that the last few barbs at the butt and the down are left long. The ends of the barbs at the tip are cut off square to the shaft. Flight is retarded if the vanes are left broad. Three vanes are always used. Many arrows have one of the vanes in the plane of the nock, but this is not essential. Arrows twirl in flight, but the vanes are never placed spirally. Arrows are left in the sun to dry for

[1] This is not properly shown in the illustration.

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is a coat, split down the front, and lacks the front flap (Fig. 37). All seams are sewed with a running stitch; the two raw edges of adjacent parts which protrude on the outside are slit into fringes. Two pieces to be cut into long fringes are inserted in the seam under each sleeve. The only other decoration is on the triangular flap (*mukkaipéa*, collar tail). Some of these are beaded (*sogoúla*, beads), the design having no significance. Others have a narrow green line (using a copper ore) painted around the margin and all are fringed. Another type of shirt was even more definitely a poncho. A buckskin was folded in half, a slit cut for the head, the legs cut off and sleeves added, and slit down the front like a coat. 291 294 [531]

Warmer shirts are made of deerskins, tanned with the hair on, and worn with the hair side out.

The breechclout is a strip of buckskin or cotton cloth obtained from the Hopi,[1] about 30 cm. wide, and with short flaps hanging over the belt cord fore and aft.[2] These flaps are never decorated. Breechclouts are worn at all times, even with trousers, when the flaps hang inside. [439]

Trousers (*ógdl mikídl*, buckskin trousers) are patterned ultimately on early Spanish models; short waisted, knee length, and open at the knees. One type is cut from a doubled deerskin (Fig. 38); one of the duplicate pieces, the front, is then cut in two from waist to crotch. The seams are down the inside and outside of the leg; the waist is gathered somewhat; and a separate belt, 5 cm. wide, is added. This garment hangs just below the knee; the outer seams being open for a short distance along the leg. The trousers are open in front, failing to meet at the belt by about 10 cm., but this is covered by the breechclout. A second type has a triangular piece inserted in this space; this is then split. In this type the sewing of the outer seam is not continuous, and silver buttons are also added for decorative effect. [177]

Some men affect Navaho dress; the knee length leggings bound with woven ribbons, the broad belt with silver bosses, the silver studded wristlet, rings, and the turquoises and shell necklaces of the Pueblo and Navaho. 177 291 301

The woman's dress is really two aprons; that in front reaching from breast to ankles, that behind hanging from the waist. These are belted with a Hopi woven belt. The front piece resembles a butcher's apron; a deerskin is hung from the neck by a broad loop, with a thong holding it about the waist[3] (Fig. 39). The neck of the skin is turned 291 294 [439]

[1] Neither the cotton sometimes grown in the canyon nor mountain sheep wool are woven. [286]
[2] The Havasupai state that the Mohave use long flaps.
[3] Cushing, (a), 548.

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back on the breast in a broad decorated flap; the sides of the apron are fringed and the bottom slit into long fringes. Both the neck loop and waist thong are fastened permanently, so that the garment must be put on over the head. The woman's dress is made by the men. 291 294

The skin is worn flesh side out. It is laid flat on the ground and lines drawn with the aid of a bow, the back furnishing those for the curved bottom and the string the straight lines. Lines are marked with a wet stick or charcoal; formerly paint was used as well. The length of the dress is measured on the woman for whom it is intended, so that the breast flap may be turned down at the top of the sternum. The fringe on the breast flap consists of short broad tabs; the line delimiting them being heavily scored and wetted on the wrong side, otherwise, since the skin of the neck is thick, they do not swing freely. The fringes at the bottom are first cut in broad strips; these are drawn and cut parallel to the median line, not radially. Subsequently these strips are slit into narrow fringes while resting on a block of wood. The two at the ends however are not slit lengthwise, but their edges are cut obliquely in short fringes. Each edge of the apron is similarly cut into short oblique fringes. A neck loop, 2 cm. wide, is adjusted on the woman's person and sewed in place with a thong. The tab ends of this loop which hang over the breast flap are sometimes slit into strings on which short bone tubes or dewclaws are hung as rattles (*sdwôt*). On old women's dresses these jinglers include deer eyes (which lack special significance). They are prepared by cutting a tiny hole to drain the fluid within, blowing them up to dry, inserting a kernel of corn, and tying the aperture. Similar rattles are also threaded on the side fringes for a short distance down from the belt. The scored line on the breast flap is sometimes filled with paint; other ornamental lines are sometimes painted on it. The loops in the edges of the neck skin formed by the tanning pegs are also ornamental. A thong is tied between the forelegs of the skin to go in back of the waist. The outside of the garment then receives a liberal coating of red paint. One such dress took five hours to make. 291 294 301 531 [237]

The back piece is an apron hanging from waist to ankles. Like the front piece, the fringes at the bottom are long and those at the side short and cut obliquely. A long extension at each side of the waist line, cut from the length of the skin, serves as a tie-string. Two long horn-shaped pieces, with their edges serrated, are added at the middle of the waist line so as to fall down over the outside of the garment by way of decoration. The rear apron is put on before the front apron which then laps the back piece at each side. A buckskin belt of semilunar shape, slit in fringes 291 294 291

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

woman's moccasin. This differs from the woman's type only in that the ankle piece is short. Two sets of tie strings are furnished in the older style of fastening as shown in Fig. 42; a short thong ties into a corresponding hole, a long thong is wrapped several times around the ankle before tying. The tops of moccasins were sometimes turned down inside to present a finished edge. Porcupine quill decoration (*gwawa tapé*) was then added in a band encircling the top about 1 cm. from the edge. The band was 1 to 2 cms. wide, the quills standing vertical, black, red, and green alternating. The quill (*gătŏčnyamtd*: *gătŏta*, porcupine) was

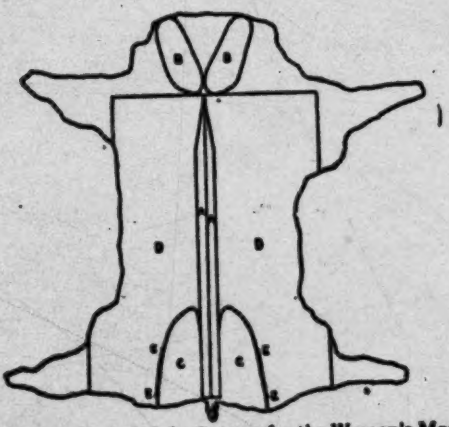

Fig. 44. Distribution of the Pattern for the Woman's Moccasin.

flattened before it was applied.[1] Men's moccasins were usually painted red, but there was no other decoration, appendages, etc.

The woman's moccasin (*pak'emahdnyŏ'*) has a two piece upper, a toe piece and tongue in one, and a long ankle flap.[2] This flap is worn wound around the ankle, not the calf as Pueblo women wear it. The single tie-string is wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. The pattern is distributed as shown in Fig. 44. The deer hide is folded lengthwise and split from tail to neck. Tie-strings (A), 2 to 3 cm. wide, are cut. The contour of the sole (B) is marked on the folded, thick neck skin but each sole is cut out separately. The toe and tongue piece (C) are marked on the next thickest part of the skin, the withers, using an old upper as a pattern. A leaf of narrow-leaf yucca is chewed into the edge of the sole,

[1] The method of coloring them is forgotten.
[2] This is in general the Hopi pattern described by Wissler, (a), 146.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

apron is always worn under the long garment. It seems probable that this is the original form of front apron perpetuated by the strong force of habit after the longer form was evolved. And it may be that the long garment was only infrequently worn, perhaps only in cold weather. An ornamental fringe worn in front as a belt looks like a further repetition of the apron idea.

Yavapai dress is identical. Two aprons are worn; a buckskin hung in front of the belt and another behind, and in winter

> a third one suspended from the neck by strings, and bound at the waist by a belt to protect the chest.

Even the decorations are alike; in both jinglers are put on the fringes, including bone tubes on the tabs of the neck straps.[1]

Powell illustrates a Kaibab woman's dress which is of the Plains variety, a long skin affair with a fringed yoke. Yet there appears to be a short fringed apron over this.[2]

The older Navaho dress is a more direct imitation of Plains costume in cloth. Two blankets, which hang well below the knees, are sewed together over the shoulders, sewn from the bottom to the waist, and belted with a woven girdle.[3] This may be taken to be an adaptation of the Pueblo woman's cloth dress to the Plains pattern.

The Mescalero and Western Apache women are credited with an upper garment which may be an approximation to the Plains dress or perhaps to the man's shirt. It "had an opening for the head and two large square portions which fell in front and behind to the hips." This may also be true of the Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Southern Diegueño, who wear a poncho garment like that of the men; the first two a skin slit for the head and sewn under the arms, the last a rabbitskin blanket.[4] The Klamath have both the long dress and the skirt of bark strings.

In addition to these two general types, there is the dress of the Pueblo women. This is a garment formed of a square of cloth folded lengthwise and sewed into a tube. This hangs under the left arm with two corners fastened over the right shoulder.[5]

A woven belt similar to that worn by Pueblo women is used by the Havasupai (who derive them from the Hopi) and by the Navaho, Pima, and Mohave.

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[1] Corbusier, 282.
[2] Powell, Fig. 44.
[3] Stephen, (b), 365f; Letherman, 209; illustrated by Matthews, (a), Pl. 34 and 36; Lipps, facing p. 48; James, (d), Fig. 130.
[4] Goddard, (c), 2nd ed., 151; Dixon, (a), 209-210; Spier, (c), 340.
[5] Hough, (a), 247.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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171 291 These specific comparisons show that Havasupai and Navaho alike have one pattern (No. 14) used by both sexes, which differs only in the length of the upper.

Moccasins in this area, like other articles of skin, are frequently [531] colored brown or red. Those of the Zuñi and Navaho are brown; those of Havasupai and Pima are red. In this they differ from the Southern Plains, where, if I recall correctly, the prevalent color is yellow.

Sandals may have occurred more generally in earlier times. They are known to have been in use among the Pueblos, in southern California, and in the regions to the south[1] through western South America. In our own day fiber sandals of identical pattern are made by Southern Diegueño and Shivwits, fiber sandals of undescribed types are made by Cocopa, Cahuilla and doubtless by their neighbors, and low slippers of tule by Paviotso, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Klamath, and Modoc. Sandals of hide are made by the Pima, Papago, Cocopa, Southern Diegueño, and Chemehuevi. Those of the Yuma are not described.[2]

Long fringed skin leggings of Plains type are worn by men throughout much the same area as the Plains shirt. Something of the sort was used by Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Uintah Ute, Jicarilla (by implication), Taos, Picuris, Pecos, Mescalero, Mimbreños (?), Western Apache, Yavapai, Havasupai (?), Kaibab, Paviotso, Achomawi, and Atsugewi. The Navaho men, and the Havasupai in imitation of them, have a short legging reaching only as high as the knee. This distribution does not extend as far to the southwest as that of moccasins. There is less information about women's leggings, which in the Plains cover only the lower leg. Leggings are noted for Wind River and Lemhi (?) Shoshoni women, and Mimbreños. They were not used by the Paviotso nor the Havasupai. The footless knitted stocking worn by Pueblo women, as at Zuñi, may be a local adaptation. It also seems possible that the puttee-like women's moccasins of this area may be copies of the boot-like moccasins of the Southern Plains.

Overshoes worn over the moccasin when in snow are reported for the Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Zuñi.[3]

171 281 286 291 Rabbitskin blankets are perhaps universal in the western plateaus, and used in California and throughout much of the northern part of the continent. My notes are somewhat random, but will help to define the distribution: Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave,[4]

[1] E. g., Hutchinson [Lumholtz, (a), Pl. I, II.]
Spier, (c), 344 f; Kroeber, (l), 61; Mason, O. T., (g), 362; Trippel, 365; Barrett, (a), 255; Chittenden, 304.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 47, 308; Stephen, (a); 123; Mason, (l. T., (g), 405.

[3] The weaving of a rabbitskin blanket is illustrated by James, (d), Fig. 2, but according to Kroeber, these are obtained from the Paiute and Walapai, (k), 277.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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854 at one end. The weft consists of two or three slender twigs which are first passed together under alternate warps; each end is then brought back and passed under the other warps, and so on. The other ends of the warps are similarly bound side by side with sinews, and the ends of the hoop are then lapped and bound together. The hoop is tied to the frame

Fig. 55 (50.2-1216). A Cradleboard.

in the open space at the top and also to the upper cross sticks. Two stay cords extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop.

Dewclaw rattles are sometimes fastened to the hoop. In modern [53] examples a string of beads, blue and white in alternate lengths, is tied back and forth diagonally on the periphery of the hoop. The baby's first

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The baby's first

854 [852] [827] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] [732] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 853 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; 862 when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

3-James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai
Walapai

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A Wallapai Woman pounding Acorns.

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Chickapahgis's Wife, a Havasupai, parching Corn in Basket.

[Facing p. 210]

3-James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

142
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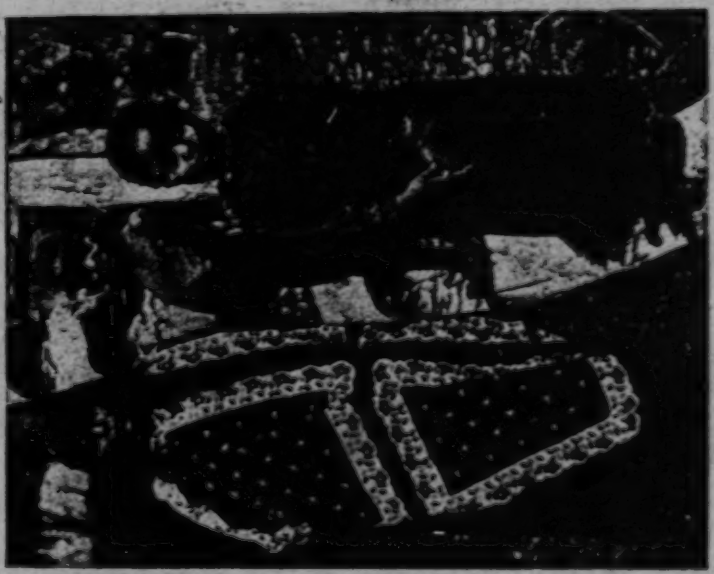

A Family Group of Havasupai.

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Havasupai Mother and Child.

[Facing p. 216]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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LAGOMAR'S WIFE. A HAVASUPAI.

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WALUTHASCA'S DAUGHTER, WITH EBUWA, GOING FOR WATER.

[FACING p. 230]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 543

881 343 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 887 869 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 262 [263] During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, sllĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 [237] [531] Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] [842] [841] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] [826] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

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Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them, or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back. Spier (1928, 127) notes that this was common practice. In coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration, but no distinctively Havasupai style has emerged. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation, all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but geometric designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver rather than traditional in the tribe. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover, creating a well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to learn the weaving art consulted a book on Papago basket weaving to borrow designs.

[171]

Spier (1928, 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai."

[114]

Spier (1928, 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them; and only additional observations will be recorded here.

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For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the back separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her.

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 437

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 284 [462] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 315 [482] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the acacia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [324]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 531 [482]

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[415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
537] then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[207 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
[437 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

7: Spier E.-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hua-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

● 531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556B]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 535
The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man stops to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

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The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

Mohave Dance

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Havasupai. The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the 177 535

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 535 [534] tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the *Naroya*, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

171 535 532 Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

171 535 The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2] Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *nurupinaru*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

171 533 The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp. In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 263, 269; the Mohave have no masks [Kroeber, (a), 762]. The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones [Russell, (d), 107]; *Ghost dance in Arizona*, 67.
[2] Lowie, (i), 292–301.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (a), 219.
[5] ". . . . Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . . Read upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 5).

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

Necessity had devised this clever instrument; for even though we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

a view of the ceiling. It had been polished smooth, then completely covered with pictures, doubtless the key to the tribe's history, the handwriting of Those of the Long Ago.

Several animals which we could not identify were artistically outlined; also done in outline was the buckskin-clad figure of an Indian. Two small right hands, evidently those of a child, had been placed palms down on the ceiling and outlined with white native paint. There were circles, divided into segments which contained symbols. We twisted our necks until they ached, tracing and studying, but the pictures were as meaningless to us as the written words of our language would have been to the people who placed them there. In various other parts of the canyon there were hieroglyphics in strategic places on stones or walls, some depicting the Great Serpent, which must have played an important part in tribal legends. The tribe's old men explained these paintings by saying that when the Apaches and other enemy tribes slipped in and drove the Havasupai out of the canyon, the Havasupai hastily placed them there as messages. These gave the direction the tribe was traveling and its destination for the guidance of those separated from the main body. That may have been true of some of the pictographs, but those on the under side of the boulder were the work of a painstaking artist, possibly created for a hunting shrine, where men offered prayers for success in the chase.

The sun had long since dropped below the rim and deep shadows filled the gorge. We had tramped six miles and were dreading the walk home. Then we saw an Indian pony nibbling at the sparse grass. It lifted its head, gave us a questioning look and came toward us. I took off my petticoat, tore it in strips which we tied in a rope. One of us rode while another led—the gods had been kind to us too! When we released the pony at the school he went running back to his pasture.

Our next exploring trip wasn't just a jaunt by three women; we had an escort, Mr. Burnett, the farmer, and his constant companion, a big yellow dog.

We had heard rumors of a secret crack in the canyon wall through

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 282-3) reported for the Walapai.

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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527 Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who
535 carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground.
Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the
[301] back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his
[302] eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*dj̇ikhidj̇i'kipa*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed.
[533] The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps
[533] marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least know the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gl̇idj̇'ad*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white
[302] horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hinly*", meaning "after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamicka, a chief, delivered a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers completed with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 2:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; their food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakidge, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the assembled crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Everything in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had wands hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 8 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief exhibited the sunbeam about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes transually crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwaflíjdéwá*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwaflíjdéwáčí'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 597 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Ikyámátvi	mi'dvúhag'ÍÍ	dúyÍnikyédjÍk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

ihánigwayóhag'ÍÍ	ma'dvúhag'ÍÍ
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kakí'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kakáta*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamiks at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1900 Jones saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance adventist, acting as a song leader, (b), 283.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Ech, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have resemblance in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Shoshone which I have heard.

iniyō'kā ne he he ha iniyō'kā ne' e' e 533 ●
he' remains still 539

iniyō'kā ne he he ha iniyō'kā ne' e' e
yoviqówa ste'e'e iqyówā ste'e'e

He dreamed he was in another country, where a cooling wind blew and girls in a little circle danced:—

mātwiyōcwatnowé'e
A fresh wind in that land

mātwiyōcwatnowé'e
mā·ldjāhalyanyowé'e
girls circle around

mā·ldjāhalyanyowé'e
mātvādjima'wāvowé'e

He dreamed he went to a strange land, where men continually danced while singing this song:—

wiyāmā[h] wiyāmódjaiyā[h]
go away somewhere hungry

wiyāmā[h] wiyāmodjai'yā[h]
wiyāmodji[h] wiyāmodjioma'anā
wiyāmodji[h] wiyāmodjioma'anā

The same man also composed the two songs which follow:—

ai'iwi ai'iwi'i'i

aa'ādjódja djigānamé hādjāwiyō'māwāmāmé'e
girls alongside circle around
aa'ādjódja djigānamé hādjāwiyō'māwāmāmé'e

n,adjāwi'i hin,adjāwu'i hin,adjāwi'in
I do it

hāmdā'adja hagan,an,owi
I am the man who names (himself ?)

hādjan,aqa haviyin,ówā
girls stand alongside

The following song, typical of a class, is thought to be of Navaho origin:

ya'o'o'o
neya'o'o'o (repeat four times) neya'o'iqwé
'Ineyōq
neya'o'o'o (repeat twice) neya'o'iqwé
'Ināyuqā hoéwinā hoéwe

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533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

527 535 In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

530 At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

177 535 769 There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a 177 769 775 Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Mannkadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'ns*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 820, 991.
[2] Ibid. 811, 818.
[3] James, (b), 256.

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] 177 It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. 535 It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died 765 of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his [648] oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance 177 takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger 535 men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from [533] fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kâ'âdâ, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 68.

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171 tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is
535 specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it
[534] used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the
Navaga, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum
is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho
171 ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the
535 south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons
532 with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is
171 known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2]
535 Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *saraipinara*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is
171 in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp.
533 In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

[1] Pueblo Indian Fathers, 309, 388; the Mohave have no masks (Kroeber, (a), 768). The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones (Russell, (d), 167); Chief Dance in Arizona, 67.
[2] Lowie, (i), 209–301.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (n), 219.
[5] "... Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One person is provided with grotesque clay images . . . Head upon poles and carried high in the air by young braves. An old squaw walking back wards and handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 6).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] De Huis notes a similar suppression among a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish ritual (b), 127.

[2] Lowie, (f), 279. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 366, 384.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2]

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*saksmt'dvédjd suddlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge.

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten.

Footracing (*tsnomdjelgd*, race by two; *tsnomdjeelgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1800 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:—

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[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 132° F. (outside 79°F.). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 160° [345] (id., 494).

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the nerves quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*sqol*) was a lump compounded of wool and piñon gum. The Pima use a ball of pomegranate gum or a gum coated core of straw and wood [171] (Hodge, id., 44).

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541 giña giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gíñiŋkaŋgiagó nóŋágúbá isunéa hineyá
593 A second song is:—
[539] ai'i'i'ike'igo hasiáŋá hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yóñgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydga*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strike the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*giguel'ôwigá*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

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[1] They do not choose pebbles.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *toholwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *toholwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *toholwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good 854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

● [533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [5] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

581 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [223] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

561 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, 177 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 568 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters [82] very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [528] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [53] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Palute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalised culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7, 1921.

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

763 125 143 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

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The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 378) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Qimnî dem gen wî va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai îî gen wî va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[89] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[155] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756-787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533● 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
●[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Hiff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[723] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[750] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would 343 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 633 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription 343
ll was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush"[Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. [834]
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 137° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 88° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs 763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätahʔiyih, was sung, either by the [533] ●
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would [178]
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 13 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
● 633 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices [537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hónaga, Hónaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs.

765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [71]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck.

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About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

About 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Tiva gal ga?," ("What is the time?").

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About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 281-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 281-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gütégáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Hiff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 281) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 286; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 This indication was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a cen-
533 ter pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
177 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost
dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

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"A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Wescogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

4/4 [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 ● 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 33 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Cátágima's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Cátágima also was singing his own songs."

796 533 177

Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 331): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
●[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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"One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this[north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy[who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 288) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidiiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

535 [014]

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

535 789 [533] [177] 201 535 789

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

535 [532]

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

535 526 [177]

539 The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [823] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai village. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

12. Turkey (version II)

*539 [This is a shorter version of the previous story.]

Turkey built a big house where he lived with his wife. Turkey's wife said her grinding stone was no good. "I can't grind corn here. I'll have to go over to that neighbor's place. (The neighbor was a small bird with a white throat.) He has a stone that is rough and will grind good." She went to that place. Turkey followed her saying to himself, "I wonder what she does over there every day?" Turkey's wife went inside where Thu-tit was. Turkey peeked in through a hole and saw his wife and Thu-tit making love. Turkey returned home. Two or three days passed by and Turkey walked off toward the south for a long way. He looked around and saw that his wife was following. Turkey's wife caught up with him and Turkey began to sing. His song said, "I have to go to bad places. It is cold there. What are you doing, you follow me all the time? You've got to go back and see your friend. You told me Thu-tit has a good place, nice and warm. You've got to go back." He walked on toward the south but his wife still followed. A storm came up, windy cold. Turkey flew up to the middle of a pine tree. His wife stayed down below.

Turkey built a fire in the tree and made himself comfortable. His wife called out, "Come and get me." She kept calling this. After awhile she was quiet so he thought she was asleep and came down to get her. He tried to wake her but she was already dead, frozen. Turkey gathered wood and built a fire. He placed her body close to the fire. After awhile the heat expanded her belly and it burst open. Many birds and animals came out: lion, rattlesnake, lizard, snake and others. But there was just one turkey. Turkey got this little turkey and the other animals went off somewhere. They lived there for awhile and the young turkey grew up and flew away.

13. Fox and the Giant Bird

●[533] [This story is sung first, then spoken.]

In the beginning, when animals were human, there were two boy foxes. They lived in a camp without a mother, because their mother had been killed or carried off along with other people by enemy raiders. But the boys had been overlooked.

The boys wondered where their mother had gone. Along in the evening the boys were hungry. The smaller one was still in the cradle. The older one was looking in all directions wishing for his mother to show up. The

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15. Gila Monster and Hunter Hawk

(The entire story is sung first, then repeated in speech, sung again, and spoken a fourth time. Sometimes it is referred to either as Gila Monster or Hunter Hawk.)

The hawk was camped alone. A small bird came to tell him that Gila Monster had killed his relatives. Mountain Lion and Wolf and other relatives. The relatives were sharpshooters, but they were killed. South of Walapai Mountain (South of Kingman) was Gila Monster's home. The small bird crossed the desert and came to the edge of some timber where Hawk was living on a high ridge toward Hackberry. The bird cried to the hawk. The hawk asked what was wrong. The bird didn't reply but kept crying with tears running. He finally told him, "All of your uncles were killed by Gila Monster." The hawk didn't believe anyone had nerve enough to touch lions or wolves because they were powerful and he didn't think Gila Monster had killed them with rain. So the next day he went on as usual hunting like nothing had happened. The bird was there when the hawk returned at evening, wanting Hawk to say something so he could take the word back. One morning Hawk asked the bird how come Gila Monster had been able to kill lions and wolves who were so much stronger than Gila Monster. But the bird was still crying as he was afraid of the hawk. The bird told him that one morning Gila Monster had rounded up his men and told them if they ran into any deer he wanted them to make a deer drive and chase them so the lions and wolves would follow the trails. Sharpshooters would wait there and kill the deer so they wouldn't have to pack the meat home. The lions and wolves were sharpshooters, so Gila Monster told them to wait along the trails for the deer, but Gila Monster wanted the main trail for himself because most deer came that way. He told the lions and wolves when they saw the deer coming they should leave it up to Gila Monster to do the shooting. A big buck came along the edge of the timber. They all saw it come up toward where Gila Monster was waiting. But somehow one of Lion's or Wolf's boys hid out in front of Gila Monster and when it came close they had first shot at it. When it ran close by Gila Monster it fell and died. They butchered it and had a fuss over the hide. They stretched it. Gila Monster claimed the hide and said he owned the place so it belonged to him and he put it to one side. Wolf's or Lion's boy went over and took the hide away from Gila Monster. They quarreled and got into a fight and killed the Gila Monster. This is what the small bird told the hawk. After Gila Monster died, Lion and Wolf packed the meat and hide back home. Just before they reached home a dark cloud appeared and spread over the sky; rain and hail fell. The hail was twice as big as a thumb. It knocked them down and killed or drowned them all. The small bird told the hawk this.

*539 So Coyote built a rock house and said, "Snake, I'm through. I think this is the kind you want." Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind. I want one where the shade moves from one side to the other."

Coyote thought hard but didn't know what kind Snake wanted, but said he would try again. Coyote went to a cottonwood tree, dug it up by the roots and took it over and planted it. The sun moved across the sky and the shade shifted from side to side. Snake said, "This is the kind I want." Snake began to move to that tree and the people assembled. Snake said he was ready to start the song, but his body was still moving far away. Somewhere someone saw it was still moving. Coyote started to cut the snake in the middle so someone could pass through. Snake knew they were cutting him in half. So Snake made up his mind that he wouldn't sing the good songs he knew but would pick out the top parts of songs. So he made a salt song to begin with. [These salt songs were Mohave. They could be sung at any time although today few Havasupais know them. Some are funeral songs sung by, but unintelligible to, the Havasupai.] The people all sang together with him. [533] [177]

Then the chief of the people got sick and died. Before he died he said he wanted the people to burn [cremate] him.

While the people were singing, everyone liked the songs, and women came, too. The kids at home were crying because their mothers had gone to hear Snake. Some people were quarreling. Snake said, "This is a round dance song. It looks like people are going to have trouble and be mad." The chief told them not to bury him, but burn him. The chief said, "I am afraid of Coyote. He is a person-eater. If you bury or throw me away he will dig me up and eat me. South of here is a mountain with a fire in it. Ask Coyote to go there and fetch a burning coal to start my funeral fire. But you keep the fire here and burn me while he is gone so he won't know. I'll burn until I am ashes and I'll turn into a plant. Where my body is burned, pour water on the ashes and keep it wet. Then the plant will grow and will be called corn."

When the chief died, the people sent Coyote off for coal. People started the funeral fire when Coyote was a little way off. People stood around and poked the fire to make it burn faster so it would be gone before Coyote returned.

Coyote ran about halfway, then looked back and saw smoke. He guessed what it was so he ran back. All was burned except the heart, lungs, and liver. People were poking it around as the chief had told them. It smelled good to Coyote, who ran up to the circle. Two short men were in the circle so Coyote planned to get over them. He said nothing, but jumped over them, the badger and porcupine, and grabbed the heart. He went off still running and ate the heart.

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The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*guoflljdmid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*guoflljdmidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	ma'évahag'Ti	dúyllniyúdjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live
áhánlgwayéhag'Ti		ma'évahag'Ti
I want always to live well		ground, hear me.

The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahá'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kahota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two elder brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 252.

[2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Soft, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi: on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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It is not clear how frequently other
171 tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is
535 specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it
[534] used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakia* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the
Nareya, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum
is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho
171 ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the
535 south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons
532 with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however,
that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and
Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although
there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors.
The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is
171 known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2]
535 Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the
Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to
Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My
information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave.
There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in
two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples
or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at
least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only
one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line
formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro,
save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are
chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind
River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the
Wind River *narupinaru*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Hava-
supai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is
171 in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp.
533 In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears
it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

[1] Pueblan Pathers, 200, 288; the Mohave have no masks (Kroeber, (a), 788). The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones (Russell, (d), 107); *Ohsal dance in Arizona*, 67.
[2] Lowie, (i), 200–201.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (a), 219.
[5] ". . . . (opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images . . . fixed upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 6).

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earned they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

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The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinas, Kawelles, Luiseño, Diegueño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

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Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 2, note 17; (g), 95; (a), 254; Hinton, J. A., (a), 169; Sparkman, 241; Spier, (a), 318-321; Harrington, in Robertson; Chilcott, (a), 1906; Hooper, 243; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 302-7.

[2] Stevenson, (a).

[3] Kroeber, (d), 168; (e), 446; Stallard, 288, 289.

[4] Lumholtz, (f), 20; Palmer, 1878; Hinton, J. A., (d), 142.

[5] Hough, (a), 278, 284; Chilcott, (c), 2nd ed., 1906; Hinton; Russell, (d), 137, states that only an infusion is used; Lumholtz, (b), 315; Lowie, (a), 206; Freudenberg Fashion, 290; Curtis, (c), 206; Matthews, (b); Spier, (c), 346.

[6] Freudenberg Fashion, 289; Kroeber, (e), 446; Stevenson, J., Fig. 261. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 6, Plate 9.

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:— 756 [539]

sakâbdtaqa áná
eagle eagle
ñyáhâtêqe ñyanyáhâtâ
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaiñqe yuwañá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwi'nâqa hu
head head

Descumalsua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavá, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), halwi'tá, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwihalái'dái'dá, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3] 752 755

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die. 755

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties. [439] 756 534 [428]

[1]The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave information, Bourke (a), 179). [171]

[2]Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3]These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *sipaiñta*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), *kwapaiñta*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *kwidwidá*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus ochrorhyncha* Cope).

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●534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a 756 thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact 757 knowledge of curing.

Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special 758 provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who 752 knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is [755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 39–82.]

[2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies [Bourke, (f), 126]. This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies. [171]

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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 754 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Uckáyúgálliga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*U'igágwaáwa*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind [534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed [821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to [825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

[827] A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígalyúg sada'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

825 Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 338.
[2] See Mantandon for an account of these.

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [181] [182]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Tripp, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Harper, 339; Powers, 254, 340; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 468; Lowie, (i), 202, 204.
[3] Tozer, (b); Hough, (e), 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 102; Carlander, 232; Tripp, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (a), 349.

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Haeberlin und Günther, 83.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 305–306; Bourke, (c), 302; (a), 439; Mason, J. A., (e), 18; Russell, (c), 82, 100 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").
[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 124, 197, 303–309; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (e), 249; (d), 131.
[4] Dixon, (a), 344. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99572). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.
[5] Curtis, 238; Dixon, (a), 266.
[6] Hough, (c), 394; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (e), 16.
[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Dieguefio use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Dieguefio reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 329; Lowie, (l), 237; Kroeber, (h), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (o), 324-330.
[3] Hough, (a), 393; Stevenson, J., Pig. 261.
[4] Russell, (a), 270; Curtin, I. 56; Goddard, (b), 262; (c), 170; Franciscan Fathers, 402; Hrdlička, (a), 4; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 100; Lumholtz, (c), II, 155, 438; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (l), 209, 302; Reagan, 30; Lowie, (a), 210, 220; Sapir, (e), 206; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 56; Mason, J. A., (a), 186; Kroeber, (o), 277.
[7] Brown, 680; Spier, (o), 346.
[8] Lowie, (a), 222; Dixon, (a), 266.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (a), 186; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 240).

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541 giôa giyi giyi goidoq ávoqhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 giéigánaigóagó nóqágábá isunéa hineyá
593
A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáqá hasiáqá hasiáqáqáqá yóllgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiyágá*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horisontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigut'ówigá*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

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Wherever described, the shape of the lodge is given as hemispherical with the exception of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. The Navaho lodge is sub-conical, which parallels the departure of their hogan from the usual dome-shaped house of this region. The Cahuilla structure is somewhat like a rectangular pyramid; the Luiseño gable-shaped. But although these are of such size as to suggest the assembly house to the north, they were not used for ceremonies. The Salinan have both the small lodge and the large dance house.

Salinan, Luiseño, and Cahuilla had a fire in the center of the sweat-lodge; others carried heated stones inside (Havasupai, Navaho, Yuma, Southern Maidu, Klamath, Paviotso, Southern Ute, Wind River, and Kutenai). The Western Apache custom is not stated. The stones are placed to the left of the entrance (as one goes in) by the Havasupai and occupy a similar position in the Navaho lodge, where they are always on the north side, the lodge usually facing west. Water is sprinkled on the stones by all these groups, except the Southern Ute and perhaps some Navaho.[1]

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The regular Havasupai pattern for a race is to a point and return. I do not know how general this may be, for the only other references found are widely scattered: Huichol, Northern Shoshoni, Puget Sound Salish, and Alaskan Eskimo.[2]

Such references as occur to ball juggling in this area uniformly ascribe it to women alone: Havasupai, Zuñi, Paiute, Uintah Ute, Wind River Shoshoni (where women walk about as among Havasupai), and Bannock. It is a girl's pastime among the Naskapi also, but this is not specified as the Eskimo and Achomawi usage.[3]

Archery games are perhaps so common that only specific details can be accepted as defining analogs of the Havasupai customs. Achomawi and Atsugewi shoot at a rolling target, a disk of bark.[4] The game of shooting at a hidden cactus is very similar to one of the Pima, and less so to those of Zuñi and Hopi.[5]

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The question of the aboriginal nature of the musical bow in America excited considerable interest years ago. There seem to be at least two instruments involved which should not be confused. The first is hardly a musical instrument; the Havasupai hold the ordinary bow in the

[1] Kroeber, (g), 64; Du Bois, (g), 183; Mason, J. A., (a), 126; Gatschet, (b), 82; Barrett, (a), 245; Franciscan Fathers, 58, 240–3; Matthews, (d), 227; Mindeleff, 499; Stephen, (b), 361; Letherman, 289; Faye, 53; Chamberlain, (c), 567; (b), 184; Bourke, (b), 61.
[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 48; Lowie, (a), 917; Hagberlin und Günther, 64; Culin, (b), 803.
[3] Culin, (b), 712 f; Lowie, (a), 199; Dorsey, G. A., (a).
[4] Dixon, (c), 218.
[5] Russell, (d), 178, Culin, (b), 390, 398.

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mouth, while tapping it, to make an opponent falter. Northwestern and Southern Maidu shamans similarly hold a special bow to converse with spirits; the Northeastern Maidu use an ordinary bow for amusement only. For amusement, the Eastern Pomo tap a bow provided with two strings and held in the mouth. The San Antonio Salinan and Yokuts also use a special bow with the mouth as a resonance chamber. The usage crops up again among the Maya and again in western central Patagonia; the bow is held in the mouth while the string is tapped. The Tepecano place an ordinary bow on a gourd and tap the string as an accompaniment to the recital of prayers.[1] The other type of instrument has several strings, often tuning pegs and a bridge, and is described as a fiddle or guitar. This is on record for the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Yokuts, Tule, "Pueblo" of New Mexico, and in South America among Busintana, Araucanians, Patagonians, and tribes on the lower Amazon.[2] Musical bows of undescribed nature are credited to the Tepehuane, Cora, and Huichol of Mexico, and the Lencas of Honduras, the Chané, Chorotí, and Mataco of the Gran Chaco. Saville also believes in their possible existence in Central America, Guatemala, and San Salvador.[3] Balfour holds that the musical bow was introduced into the West Indies, South, and North America by negroes.[4] Nordenskiöld favors white or negro sources for the South American examples. This may apply well enough to the multiple stringed affair, but there is no reason why the use of the ordinary bow should be viewed in this way. This is not a specialized instrument; it is not really a musical instrument at all; and the twanging of a bowstring with the mouth as a resonator, which can be appreciated by the player alone, must have repeatedly occurred. Its sporadic distribution as a regular usage bears this out. It seems unlikely that there is any historical connection between the several occurrences of the mouth-bow, with the exception of the Californian-Havasupai cases. It is doubtful that this is derived from the fiddle type.

Shinney is played generally throughout the Southwest. Havasupai and Hopi play it in the spring. Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai, Walapai, and presumably Mohave bury the ball at the center of the field. There is some similarity in the name for the game: Havasupai *tdeleigd*, Walapai

[1] Dixon, (a), 222; Faye, 38; Mason, J. A., (a), 137; Kroeber, (f), 19, note 47; Saville, (a), 273; Ten Kate, 93. According to Dr. Edwin Loeb the Western Pomo do not have it.
[2] Bourke, (d), 10, 18; Mason, J. A., (b), 47; Hrdlička, (d), 488; Powers, Fig. 38; Mason, O. T., (b), 300; Nordenskiöld, 168, 183.
[3] *Handbook of the American Indians*, I, 960; Lumholtz, (e), I, 473, II, 155; Mason, C. T., (d), 156; Saville, (b), 292–294.
[4] Balfour, 36–37.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

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A scalp dance is also common in this area. Details are lacking, but we can note the distribution of at least one feature. Kroeber observes that in California (e.g., Maidu, Wintun, and a Mission group), it is usual to hang the scalp on a pole about which the dancers move. This is also the case in the Southwest (Havasupai, Navaho,[1] Zuñi, Papago, Opata), in the Basin (Paiute, according to the Havasupai; Uintah, and Lemhi Shoshoni), and in the Plains at least among Pawnee and Omaha.[2] On the other hand, in the northern Plains the scalp is hung from a stick in the hands of the dancers (Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Cheyenne,[3] and to the northwest the Klamath and Wishram), which appears in the Southwest only as one of the Navaho practices. Both usages have a wide distribution.

[1] Gearing, 320; Pettie, 164.
[2] Pettie, 44; Fletcher and La Flesche, 422.
[3] Winter, (b), 433; Lowie, (c), 226; Grinnell, (c), 208-210.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdga*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Mamakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [527] [571] [621] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground. Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*dĭ̄kădjĭ'kĭgd*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed. The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least knew the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gĭdjĭ'nd*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hówig*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panaxiela, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; later food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakinja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gueelikómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gueelikómidi'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'évahag'i'i	ddyilniyódjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánigwayóhag'i'i	ma'évahag'i'i
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamints at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Sufi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid*, 811, 812.
[3] James, (b), 258.

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and to make crops grow. Six, ten, or more men prepare within a house. 595
The leader, stationed before the door, demands "Are you ready?", whereupon they proceed to the dance ground following the leader in single file. Each second man steps to the left of his predecessor in line, forming a file of twos. The leader and his partner face about and dance twice between the files and back, then to the bottom of the files where they take up positions (much like a Virginia reel). The next couple, now at the head of the files, repeats this performance, taking stations below the first couple, and so on, as long as desired. They return to the house in couple formation, singing the while, but stopping before they enter.

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The mask is a sack with eagle feathers tipped with eagle down fastened to the upper edge. Eye and mouth holes are cut; the nose is painted on the mask. A leather tube, 10 cm. long, is sewed into the mouth hole; its outer end is deeply notched, so that it resembles a bird's bill. Designs are painted on the masks to "look pretty or to make people laugh" (Fig. 52). Some masks have chicken hawk or owl feathers tied to the upper corners and vertical wavy lines in red and black painted on the face (Fig. 52b). Another has a single eagle plume tipped with eagle down, with the painted design shown in Fig. 52c. Another is covered with down to simulate hair. The body of the dancer is painted white. Horsehair (never one's own hair) is arranged to fall to the middle of the back below these masks; horizontal bands are marked with white paint across the hair. Green branches of cottonwood or willow are carried in each hand. These are shaken as they dance.

Fig. 52. A Masked Dancer and Masks. After a native drawing.

Mohave Dance

The Mohave dance, which is said to have been borrowed from a 177
Walapai mourning ceremony, has not been fully adopted by the Hava- 535
supai. The older people object to it because of the sentiment of the

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kâθâdà, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 99.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgatá'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise steps) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosumte,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1890 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 170.
[6] Lowie, (i), 305.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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171 535 Uintah Ute, to the Wind River,[1] Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni,[2] Crow,[3] and probably the Yakima, but not the Wishram. The Crow Owl dance differs in that the performers have their arms about each others' waists; the Uintah Squaw dance in that men and women are not interspersed and the step is different. The Pima also have a dance which may be related.[4] In this the dancers stand in a circle with arms across their neighbors' shoulders, stamping their feet and bending their bodies.

Several of the details have parallels among other tribes. The central pole is recorded from the Kaibab, in the Wind River *Naroya* dance, and in the Ghost dances[5] among the Karok, Klamath, and the Plains tribes. Its use in the Ghost dance when men climbed to the feathers tied at the top suggests the *Notish* mourning ceremony of the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, where rivalry is shown in climbing a painted pole to which crow feathers and baskets are attached.[6] But there is a more suggestive relation in the tale of the Gabrielino which describes a visit to the land of the dead by a man who in a test is made to climb a tall pole to bring down a feather tied to the top.[7] At Taos clowns climb a pole for food, but I do not know that there is here any association with the dead.[8] The very characteristic way in which the dancers stand singing softly, then circle about to stand again, between songs, has been noted for the Gosiute by Reagan, the Kaibab, the Walapai, and in the Ghost dance by Mooney.[9] Lowie has also observed the curious reluctance of the Lemhi dancers to begin, and the whipping of Crow Owl dancers and those of the Moapa and Southern Ute who are slow to join the Bear dance.[10] The dropping out of women partners from the circle between dances is the custom in the Lemhi *Nuakin* and the Gosiute round dance. They are paid by the men and sometimes reciprocate in the Cree dance of the Lemhi and presumably the Fort Hall Shoshoni, in the Wind River Women's dance,[11] and in the Navaho war dance.[12] The foxskin worn [301] pendent from the back of the shaman's belt in the 1918 dance has its analog in the costume of the masked dancers among the Pueblos, as at Zuñi, and among the Navaho.[13] It is not clear how frequently other

[1] Lowie, (f), 822, 817, 820.
[2] Lowie, (a), 217-222.
[3] Lowie, (d), 208.
[4] Russell, (d), 170, 288.
[5] Mooney, (b), 650, 921; Powers, 42
[6] Du Bois, (c), 208, 148.
[7] Reid, 24. (Reid's account, published in 1852, is earlier than the period at which the ghost dance reached the Havasupai).
[8] Lumholtz, (c), 2nd ed., 105.
[9] Mooney, (b), 920; Dellenbaugh, 172; *Ghost Dance in Arizona*, 66.
[10] Lowie, (f), 301; (f), 820.
[11] Lowie, (f), 822.
[12] Parsons, (b), 467; Franciscan Fathers, 270.
[13] Tozzer, (a), 150; Franciscan Fathers, 277.

[Text continues on p. 272]

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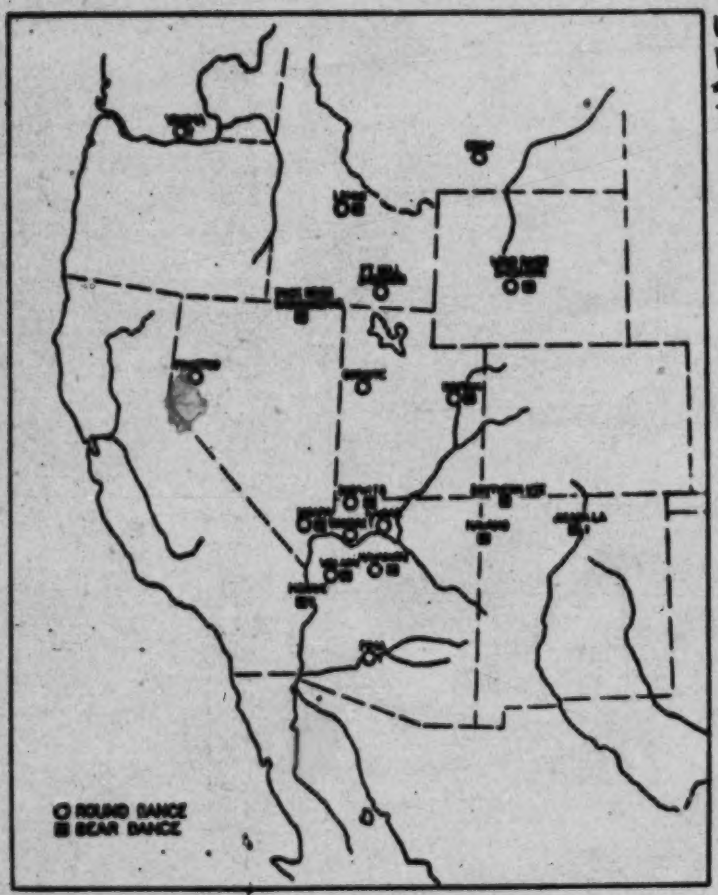

Fig. 53. Distribution of the Round and Bear or Mohave Dances.

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tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the *Naroya*, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

It is not clear how frequently other

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2] Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *narupinaru*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp. In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

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[1] Franciscan Fathers, 283, 285; the Mohave have no masks [Kroeber, (a), 782]. The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones [Russell, (d), 107]; *Ghost dance in Arizona*, 67.

[2] Lowie, (f), 292–291.

[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.

[4] Lowie, (a), 219.

[5] "... Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One group is provided with grotesque clay images .... Bound upon poles and carried high in the air by young bucks. An old squaw walking backwards cast handfuls of corn upon the images .." (Trippel, 6).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] Du Bois notes a similar expression closing a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish rites (b), 137.

[2] Lowie, (i), 279. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 355, 356.

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171 535 corned they may have obtained the dance from the Mohave at a much later date than the mourning practices.

171 276 The trifling use to which the Havasupai put jimpson weed hardly suggests its place among the southern Californian tribes. It is essential to the initiation ceremonies of the Yokuts, Salinan, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Diegueño, Juaneño (or Gabrielino), Cupeño, and Cahuilla.[1] But it is not confined to use in the toloache cult even in southern California: the Mohave and Chumash know it and the Yokuts and Cahuilla use it for curing broken bones. This suggests the Zuñi who apply it externally to wounds.[2] They also use it as a narcotic, to commune with the dead, and to obtain visions of thieves. The Navaho also evidently use it for detection.[3] Walapai shamans prophesy while under its influence and the same applies to the Aztec, who also used it ceremonially, if Safford's identification holds.[4] It is also known to the White Mountain Apache and Paiute, and is a source of power for the Tepecano.[5] Either of two possibilities is open; that the Southwestern use represents an attenuated form of the Californian initiation ceremonies, or, as seems more likely, that it is part of a general use of the plant which was locally connected with the boy's initiation rites in southern California.

171 534 Some facts suggest that the double-headed drum of the Havasupai has a limited distribution. The Zuñi, Hopi, apparently Nambé, Pima, Maricopa, Huichol, and Wind River Shoshoni make similar double-headed drums of cottonwood logs. In the same area the Navaho use only a cooking pot with a skin stretched over its mouth or an inverted basket. At least the drum is not a Californian instrument.[6]

The looped drumstick is not universal. It is recorded as used by the Navaho, Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Shoshoni, Mandan, and Tlingit.[7]

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[1] Kroeber, (f), 8, note 17; (g), 85; (s), 314; Mason, J. A., (a), 183; Sparkman, 231; Spier, (e), 318–321; Nuwaxe, in Robinson; Clifford, (a), 126; Hooper, 343.
Stevenson, M. C., (b), 535–7.

[2] Parsons, (a).

[3] Bourke, (d), 183; (e), 455; Safford, 550, 553.

[4] Trilleha, (f), 23; Peinado, 550; Mason, J. A., (d), 143.

[5] Hough, (e), 278, 294; Goddard, (e), 2nd ed., 108; Brown; Russell, (d), 167, states that only an inverted basket is used; Lumholtz, (b), 319; Lewis, (a), 209; Franciscan Fathers, 299; Guerra, 306; Matthews, (b); Spier, (e), 348.

[6] Franciscan Fathers, 299; Bourke, (e), 462; Stevenson, J., Fig. 551. A Zuñi specimen is in the Anthropological Museum, University of California, a Shoshoni one is in the Museum of the American Indian, and a Tlingit in the Washington State Museum; Densmore, 8, Plate 9.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

2:1liff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

857 868 [535] Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[117] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

194 The grammatic structure of their language, though inferior to that of the Zuñis, is nevertheless quite regular. Intonation, as with the Chinese, repetition, as with the natives of Australia, are employed to vary the shades of meaning in words. Most of the consonants not occurring in other Indian tongues are common in the Ha-va-su-paí, which is strikingly soft and rapid. Just as the music of the Zuñis has caught the spirit of the desert winds, so have both the music and the language of the Ha-va-su-paí been infused with the sounds of the rushing waters by which they are surrounded. As I listened to the weird song of a doctor, one night, it seemed more like the echoes of water in a cavern, or in resounding nooks of the deep cañon, than like the music of a human being.

It is, indeed, an interesting question how far man's environments, climatic, physical, even biologic, have influenced the sound of his music and language. Possibly of the same family of Indians as the Zuñis, there are, nevertheless, elements of sound in the music and words of the Ha-va-su-paí unpronounceable by the Zuñi, never heard in his music. On the other hand, the music of the Hua-la-pai, on the plains to the westward, the undoubted fathers of the Ha-va-su-paí, is as strangely different from that of the latter as is the Zuñi itself, and as strangely in keeping with the wild, dry, forest-clad hills and valleys of his native land.

531 Possessing nothing but a rude architecture, their art is correspondingly crude, being mostly confined to the patterns on their basket-work and the paintings on their bows and arrows. [285] The basket-work, by virtue of the regular arrangement of the splints, is often beautiful. But few people live, however, whose appreciation of art seems so great, compared with their limited practice of it.

● 535 They are mimics, but their dances —

[P. 556B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy
674 the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the
[855 861] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange
721 frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come
648 when I see this is wrong, and my peo-
177 ple will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving [178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more [535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were [177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones [766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial [178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764
[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
●535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs. 765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [171]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck. 765 535

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal we?," ("What is the time?"). 765

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame
● 535 and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The
765 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the
152 boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

965 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gătágăma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the *songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked* him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gătágăma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gătágăma also was singing his own songs."

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Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies [who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man [for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

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informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear. [114]

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The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

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At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

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Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

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Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

[114]

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ŏ?wi?gath?ɣwä (rock split apart) and ŏ?ih?ga'č? ɣwäv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I [648] [537] 554 756

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointeaa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointeaa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[6] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a story-teller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[7] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 108, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (e), 309; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (c), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 66; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (c), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (c), 286.
[6] Lowie, (i), 294; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 309.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

> divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialization was general in this area.

At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribution. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 116, 128.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 236, 318.
[3] Powers 334; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly Californian tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (d), 120, 202.
[7] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 50; Barrows, 80; Hoffman, in Reid, 29; Trippel, 577; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 98; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 231.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 206.
[9] Bourke, (b), 89; Lowie, (i), 246.
[10] Spier, (e), 284.
[11] Means; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 602.

[Text continues on p 258]

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgt*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*Adaly*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamita, a chief, hallowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [526] [648] [537] [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*gwełlk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section 534 of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwełlk̨ómidi'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'évahag'i'i	dúyíiniyúdjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live
áhánigwayóhag'i'i		ma'évahag'i'i
I want always to live well		ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kaha't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 233.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to." 796 152

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future. 796 [781] [782]

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out 796 537

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Hotouta, Chickapanagie, Spotted Tail, and one or two others who had been the leaders in thus countenancing the whites, and administered to them severe rebukes. After this, referring to the offer of the whites to give them farming implements, food, etc., if they would send their children to the Indians' school at Mohave, he urged his hearers to listen to no such proposals. He said in effect: "Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving of willows by their side. He will rob you of your corn-fields and of your peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting-grounds are now all occupied by him, the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of 'Those Above,' and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten." In other words, he endeavored to make it perfectly clear to the assembled Havasupais that the school proposition was a white man's scheme — a dodge — to get their children away so that eventually they

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
●[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. An attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practise.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, Mamakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[1] The Pima have the same custom (Russell, 4th, 136). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Stevenson, 14th; Parsons, (1), 9). Smoking is connected with superior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Pueblans of Shumakolik Kohn a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the kidneys to his father, who cooks a thorny bush from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hodge, 6th). A Shumakolik boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Mason, 4th, 486).

[3] Hodge, 6th, 402, notes that San Carlos girls are taught to hand weaving first, later coiling.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [734]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlŏ́ŋ*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Talking Stones

An evening with an old storyteller sitting by his outdoor fire, pipe in hand, means a tale worth remembering. In this setting, the old men passed on to the children the legends of the tribe's wanderings. Of course each narrator spiced his tale with a little of himself, his imagination, his whimsy or his logic. But the theme never varied: always the gods led the Havasupai. When memory grew dim, these storytellers need only tread again an ancient trail, peer into a long-abandoned cave, or read the messages on boulders and stone walls to recapture the story's flavor and sequence of events. Of these legends, one, at least, certainly had the ring of truth.

Evidence other than Indian lore indicates that, generations back, the Havasupai lived in the region of the Little Colorado River. They may have settled there after the god Tochopa, on account of the crowded conditions in Mattawedita Canyon, dispersed the tribes. However, this new location again placed the tribe within raiding distance of the savage Whajes (Apache), who relentlessly drove them from their cliff dwellings and gardens to wander in an unfriendly wilderness. The tribe crossed the desert to the San Francisco Mountains, but even here they could not live in peace, so again took the westward trail, seeking the home to which their gods would lead them. A canyon cut across their path. They worked their way down its rugged walls to the floor—an oasis of greenery cut by a rollicking stream of blue water.

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773
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[p. 167]

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her older brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 538 867

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ʔɔ̈ʔwiʔgaʰʔ ʧwä (rock split apart) and ʔɔ̈ʔihʔgaˈčʔ ʧwävʔ (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnograph is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [125] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [126] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

*539 The teller can lengthen the story by repeating the day by day journey
● 539 of the villagers. The same thing happened each day for a year. The teller doesn't repeat for four days. It is up to his whim, depending upon whether he wants to make it long or short. He usually tells it two or three times with full repetition, then says it happened like this for one year. On the husband's journey to overtake the villagers, the first day is told in detail, as is done again on the day he caught up. If the teller gets tired he can omit some details all through any story.)

10. Bear's Wife

*539 Bear and his wife had a number of children, half grown, mostly girls. They lived at one camp. Each day Bear went out hunting; he never failed to go out. He started in the mornings and returned in the evening with a bunch of bones wrapped in shoots from Mormon tea plant. He brought them for his wife and kids to eat. The only other food they had was grass food gathered by the wife and the big girls.

Bear kept bringing this. His wife would pound it up on a grinding rock. Before it got too fine, bones would fly up and scatter around the ground rock. The larger girls would sit around and fight over the bones that flew up. They wished for meat, and ate every scrap, even if it fell on the ground.

Bear went to the country where there were many badger holes. He worked all day to dig out a badger, one or two of the biggest game he found. He built a fire, roasted it, ate the meat, and every day brought home only the bones.

The wife and kids were starving for meat. Finally one day the wife thought to herself whether it would be wise for her to go to her nearest neighbor, Lion, who was a good hunter. It was quite far. She wanted to marry him, not visit. She was starving. So after a few days she went to Lion's house. He had piles of fresh meat, fat, dried meat; much of it. She went in and wanted to see if he wanted to marry her. He saw her and said he wished to have a wife as he had much meat to cook and prepare for storage. He had to hunt and it kept him too busy trying to hunt and cook too. The lady was feeling just right the way the lion treated her.

Next day the bear hollered outside to see if his wife was there. He wanted her to come down and come home. The lady was in a high building, four stories, and was on the top floor cooking meat. She told him the doors were closed.

flared up. They saw his face, very ugly and hairy. They could see his teeth but not his eyes. He couldn't see very well and tried to look around for a place to hide from the flames. But they, the wives and children, saw what an odd person he was. The children said, "This is not a man we have for a father. He looks odd." They jumped up and ran off toward the east crying out, "We don't want him. He is not our father. It is a ghost or something to scare us." 539*

The bat ran after his wives and children hoping to catch them and bring them back. They ran on to edge of the world where the sky and the edge of the world met. The bat had to stop when he came to the edge of the sky. He prayed for them to keep on going until they turned into stars. They ran up along the inverted dome of the sky. The bat blew out [exhaled] and said, "I want you to turn into stars." They became stars close together. Now this is called the Little Dipper.

(There is no song in this. When adults want children to sleep, they make the story long by saying it over and over. They make it long by repeating parts such as saying "Next morning he goes out and comes back. Next morning he goes out and comes back," etc. This story should not be told in summer, only in winter.) [538]

19. Coyote and His Family

(A children's story.)

They lived in the desert where cactus and soapweed grew. There were many rats in the desert. Coyote had one son and the rest were daughters. The boy was small. Coyote was getting old so part of his upper and lower teeth had fallen out. He had only a few left. He wondered how he could replace his teeth. His daughters were grown and ready to marry. They were good-looking. Coyote tried to think how he could marry one or both of his own daughters.

They went hunting with the boy in the desert all day for rats, and returned in the evening.

Coyote took shiny jasper rocks and thought he would make himself some teeth. They came back from hunting. One evening Coyote pretended he had a bad headache. He had two wives. The next day he said it was worse and said he didn't think he would live. He pretended to get worse. He told his wives and daughters that the daughters were big enough to marry, and told them if some man came around at night after he was dead not to whip him or chase him away but let him come to them.

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]

mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána		owi
growing	corn	good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[1] Coues, 345. A later statement (435), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave. [114]

[2] Cushing, (a), 580, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[3] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting [Cushing, (d), 178–179]. [171]

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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guugiilla*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

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224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

nyí·ĕn,ákídjà	pá'ámáhágà	tyúdjŏ
Sun, my relative	look at us	that is why I am here
pá'ámáwíwúkà	djipaimûh ttovà	má'dvukà
you should gives us	your domestic animals	let us see them quickly
inné'ºdja°àkà		
we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer,

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*ámauldjuwóvigà*, *dkwagádjuwóvigà*, *ámudjuwóvigà*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

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281 [412] have been cut along each border of the neck, aids in stretching this tough section of the hide. Excess moisture is scraped off.

281 237 Tan has been previously prepared. Fresh deer brains are roasted and mixed into a ball of yucca fiber. The raw marrow from the spinal canal is mixed into another ball. After being dried on the coals, these will keep indefinitely. The brain is used before the marrow. The brain and marrow of a single deer is ample to tan its hide; half is sufficient, but if the skin is not soft enough, more must be used.

281 One of these balls is worked up in cold water into a soapy liquor. Spraying mouthfuls of this over the hair side, as well as the flesh side at the ends, the skin is rolled up from the neck and tail inward. The legs which protrude from the double roll are wrapped around it to prevent drying out. After being set aside long enough for the tan to soak through, it is spread in the sun, hair side up, to dry somewhat. Now it is straightened, hung over a rail in the sun, and vigorously rubbed and pulled until soft and pliable. The seated tanner catching the skin under his feet stretches it in every direction. Rubbing and working with the fingers creates considerable friction which presumably melts the grease well into the pores. After a second working over the whole surface, it is laid flesh side up to dry in the sun. While rubbing the skin, at which [476] several friends may help, they sing:—

[539] Wâtim'a wa'a'agadj ahâwamuhavi
(a hero's name) he walks up in the water (i.e., the Colorado).

ya'i'vu'i'wlθa'

This completes the tanning, which occupies the day. During the whole process care has been taken to prevent the white skin from being soiled, resting it on an old blanket or heap of leaves. Skins are traded while yet [438] a little stiff, i.e., without the final rubbing, presumably because the fineness of finish depends solely on the amount of labor one wants to expend on it—and this is left to the ultimate consumer.

If it is desired to stretch the skin somewhat, little slits are cut entirely around its edges, and it is buried in damp earth over night, and pegged out in the morning. Moccasins, etc., which stiffen after a wetting, [294] are similarly buried over night and worked pliable in the hands next day.[1]

Mountain lion and deerskins are also tanned with the hair on. The skin is fleshed, after a little water is blown over the flesh side to soften it. (It must never be soaked.) After brain tan is sprayed over the flesh

[171] [1] The Navaho bury moccasins in the earth to make them pliable (Franciscan Fathers, 308).

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*gweɬiɬ̣ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section 534 of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gweɬiɬ̣ómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'éváhag'i'i	dúyiiniyúdjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

áhánigwayóhag'i'i	ma'éváhag'i'i
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 252.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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iniyŏ'kà ne he he ha iniyŏ'kà ne' e' e
he remains still

iniyŏ'kà ne he he ha iniyŏ'kà ne' e' e
yovàŋówa ste'e'e ìŋyówá ste'e'e

He dreamed he was in another country, where a cooling wind blew and girls in a little circle danced:—

mátwiydewasínowé'e
A fresh wind in that land

ìmátwiydewasínowé'e
másidjáhaiyanyowé'e
girls circle around

másidjáhaiyanyowé'e
mátvádjíma'wévowé'e

He dreamed he went to a strange land, where men continually danced while singing this song:—

wiyámŏ^k wiyámodjaíyŏ^k
go away somewhere hungry

wiyámŏ^k wiyámodjaí'yŏ^k
wiyámodji^k wiyamodjíoma'anŏ
wiyámodji^k wiyamodjíoma'anŏ

The same man also composed the two songs which follow:—

sí'iwi sí'iwi'i'i

sa'ádjúdja djígánamé hídjánwiyŏ'máwámümé'e
girls alongside circle around
sa'ádjúdja djígánamé hídjánwiyŏ'máwámümé'e

n,adjáwi'i hín,adjáwu'i hín,adjáwi'in
I do it
hímulá'adja hagan,an,owí
I am the man who names (himself ?)
hídjan,aŋa haviyín,ówŏ
girls stand alongside

The following song, typical of a class, is thought to be of Navaho origin:

ya'o'o'o
neya'o'o'o (repeat four times) neya'o'áŋwé
'Ineyŏŋ
neya'o'o'o (repeat twice) neya'o'áŋwé
'Inŏyoŋá heówiná heówe

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakàhútaŋa àsá
eagle eagle
ŋyàhátẽŋe ŋayanyàhátà
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaiẽŋe yuwaíà
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nõŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., àluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), àluwlhalàl'dàl'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave informants, Bourke (a), 172).
[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.
[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyallia*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), *hanpaiàva*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatàmàlà*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhyncha arizonae* Aynchus).

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782 778 ●539

Inyáin,ĭkádjădj máhánĭg mĭdjálĭgĭg gwipagávà'ámàwĭwŭg
sun my relative be good coming out do something good for us

pámatáhatáhódŏg gwégavà'awĭ'k
make me work so I can do anything I wish in the

matšnyúvĭg ĭ'ĭ'nyúg teyădjáhwálĭg ha'askă'lĭgà.
garden I hoe I plant corn I irrigate.

Inyán,ĭdj má'ahánĭg miyámĭg ŏŏmádópmĭg
you, sun be good going down at sunset

iyágĭgàsmávĭdj túyà áhánàhag'ĭg'ĭ
we lay down to sleep. I want to feel good

àsmámĭdjàálĭgĭg. vamà'ámàmiyúdjà
while I sleep you come up. go on your course many times

áhánàpa màwĭwug.
make good things for us men.

tuĭ'nyàvávà'áyúg In,údjĭgwa'yóhag'ĭ'ĭ.
make me always the same as I am now.

171 778 782 Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style. Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

778 Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*sdadodau*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-
539 778 meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—
782

àhapŏ'k Inyahávà matŏ'kmidjálĭgà atiyéhag
spring I drink plenty more come I feel glad

àŏĭha.
I use it to drink.

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àswŏ'gà	gwewâlà	wi'và	mà'ûg	539
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matŏ'kmidjpágàhŏgwíg'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

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541 giẽa giyi giyi goldoŋ ȧvoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gáčigánágóagó nóŋágábá isunéa hineyá
533
A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋá hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yóllgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a cornecb on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'dwlgd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*náhovigd*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*sdhúnd*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-building the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[539] wi ga imai nu'u maga djawid'ma tama wi'i ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'i ta inim ma yaga wi[2]
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[3] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[539] sáhunω'dj mavωgigána kavinyáyuyẽ'ẽyútẽ'ẽ'ẽ
(I want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pikitági'ná do wo wo wa (repeat)
pikitági'ná dó'haaaa

524 857 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.

Dolls (*gwedi''ẽ*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*witdvid*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Culin, (b), 300. I failed to note how the chance passes to another player.
[2] This was sung in unstressed syllable, so that it proved impossible to divide it into words.
[3] Culin, (b), 371.

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HISTORICAL TALES

A Yavapai Raid[1]

●539 A little way above Lee Canyon in Cataract Canyon were some Havasupai camps. Three Yavapai[2] men came down the main canyon. Just a little way from the camp were some horses. A boy was sent to look for them early one morning. He could not find them. "I saw tracks where someone has driven the horses up the canyon," he said. My paternal grandfather, Big Jim's father and another man[3] followed the tracks up the canyon. They thought those men would go out by the Moki trial, but they did not; the tracks led on up Cataract Canyon. They thought that the three men might go out by another trail far up the canyon. Perhaps the enemy did not know that trail, for they kept right on up the canyon. When they were far up, the Yavapai stopped a little while. They were famished; they were going to kill one of the horses and roast the flesh. They gathered wood in a big pile. The three Havasupai came up and saw them. When the Yavapai saw them coming, they were afraid and ran off and climbed up the cliff. The Havasupai reached the horses, where the Yavapai had tied them. They untied them and led them off a little way. Then the Yavapai on the cliff said, "We got your horses, but we did not kill any. They are all alive; now that you came and got them, it is all right again. Just go right home." My grandfather said, "You are no good; if you had come down to our houses, it would have been all right. But you did wrong; you stole all our horses. We are going to kill all three of you. You made us run afoot and we are very tired; now we have got you here. I will send one of my men on a good running horse down to the village, to tell more to come. Then we will kill you three.'" So he sent one on a fast horse.

He got down here at the village very quickly and told the people. Some of them had good horses which they got ready, with some buckskins for shields, and rode up there where the enemy were. The Havasupai big chief, my grandfather, said to the enemy, "You Yavapai are no good. You stole all our horses; you are pretty bad men. We will do just as you intended; we will fight you—but we will kill all of you." Then they

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[1] These historical tales were told by Slayello. The first apparently dates from the first half of the last century.

[2] These raiding parties were probably throughout comprised of both Yavapai and Western Apache. They were described as tirikwt, meaning specifically Yavapai, but generically enemy. This was translated as Apache, which is used interchangeably with Apache-Mohave for the Yavapai when speaking English. [701]

[3] The narrator's interest seems to lie throughout in stating precisely who took part. The dead are rarely called by name.

[4] The colloquy between enemies is quite characteristic. One wonders if, despite their seriousness, these affrays are not in a sense blustering games.

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began to shoot at each other. There were many Havasupai; some of them went around and climbed up to the cliff; some did the same on the other side of the enemy; and some went right straight up the talus slope toward them. They kept shooting; all shot at once, and each time a lot of arrows flew at the Yavapai. In a short time, those three were wounded all over, but none of the Havasupai were wounded. After a time the Yavapai hid behind a big rock and built up a wall there. They were badly hurt, so they climbed up the white cliff where there was a somewhat better place to stay. They kept shooting down from there. The Havasupai big chief said, "Do not shoot too many arrows up there; just one or two of you shoot once in a while. If a lot of arrows are shot there, they can use them to shoot back." The three Yavapai kept shooting until they had no more arrows. Right up there where they were there were some small rocks. They rolled them down, until they had no more; they had nothing left. By this time the sun had set and it was dark. All the Havasupai were down at the foot of the cliff; they camped there, watching the Yavapai to prevent their escape. So they stayed all night. 539

In the morning the Havasupai cooked and ate until their stomachs were filled tight and they felt strong. My grandfather said to Panamida's father, "You are the man: I want you to climb up." Just two men climbed up; the other was Manakadja's father's father. The enemy threw some little stones at them. The latter parried the stones with buckskins hung from their left arms. They kept on climbing until they got there. Then Panamida's father seized one of them by the hand and pulled them down after him. Then he led the other two down similarly to where the other Havasupai were. All of them walked together down to the bottom of the canyon. They gave them some food to eat. Then they killed them one at a time. They cut around their heads just above the eyes and ears, and pulled off their scalps, throwing the bodies aside.

The Havasupai big chief said, "Let us take the scalps of these three men home with us to show the women and children and the old men." They brought the three scalps to the camps above Lee Canyon to let the women and children there see them. Then those people moved down here to the village. They showed the three scalps to everyone. They gave them to an old woman, who washed them with soapweed and cleaned them. A man got a good straight pole and tied all three scalps to its top. Some of the men cleared the ground and set up the pole; then everybody, men and women, came to see the scalps hung up there. Everybody felt glad and wanted to dance. Everyone danced around and hollered, clapping their mouths. The Havasupai said to the three scalps, 539 727 539

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539 "A long time ago some Rokiydgitig[1] were bad men. You came down here to steal and kill as though they had come to life. So we killed all three of you. You know we never go over to your country. We stay here and are good. You three were pretty bad men, so when you came down here we killed you all."

The Yavapai Raid of 1858

When I was ten years old [about 1858] the enemy came down into the canyon. There was one Havasupai camp where Smiley's house is now [see map, Fig. 50, no. 58]. Doctor Tommy's father, a Walapai, who had a camp near Pine Spring, came down to see his relatives near Smiley's place. After he had been here a few sleeps, some Yavapai came down and killed a Havasupai man and Doctor Tommy's father. They killed two. I saw them. It was just at dawn; after they killed the two, they went right back. They hollered when they killed the men; we heard them and were scared, so I ran and climbed to the top of the red cliff [the upper canyon level]. I was living on the west side just where the canyon turns above Navajo Falls. Then all the Havasupai followed the enemy. The Yavapai got a lot of things, buckskin, food, etc., and carried it on their heads and backs. The Havasupai followed and caught up with them a little above the head of the creek. The Havasupai called to them; the latter looked back, saw them coming and threw off their loads. They shot; pulled out their arrows from their quivers and shot at the Havasupai. They lined up on one side of the canyon bottom, the Havasupai on the other. Each party shot at the other: the Havasupai kept right on up the canyon, while the enemy stood their ground, shooting. The head chief, Captain Navajo, had a gun; Big Jim's father and another man also had guns; there were just three guns. Those three men were sitting close together; one shot first, then his neighbor, then the third. When the enemy saw the guns, they were scared, and ran off. They said, "I wonder what that thing is they are shooting with. We never saw guns" [!] They kept on going.

I did not go with them; I did not see the fight. I was only a little boy; I was scared and ran away, and then I stayed at home.

The enemy went a little way and stopped to fight again. They hit Barney's father in the bridge of the nose. They went on again. Six or seven Havasupai climbed up on the west side of the canyon where a trail led along the lower cliff face. Where they climbed up, the canyon is very narrow. There they waited until the enemy came up the canyon. These

[1] The animal-men characters of the myths.

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Havasupai held their fire until some had passed this narrow place. One 539
of the Havasupai following in the canyon bottom could see those men standing on a point of the cliff. He called up to them, "They are right below you now. Now is the time to shoot." One of the enemy heard him shouting and looked up to where the Havasupai were standing with drawn bows. Then the enemy cried, "ex ha"; ran across the wash to the opposite cliff and then on up the canyon. The Havasupai on the cliff ran along and waited for the Yavapai to come. But the enemy saw them, because they now knew they were there. So the Yavapai stopped a little while and shot up at them. They hit one up there, making a flesh wound in his thigh. Then one Yavapai stood and spoke to the Havasupai. One of the Havasupai had a little pistol which he shot at the man, hitting him under the ear, the bullet lodging at the back of his head. I saw him long afterwards, when he was a good man; he told me the bullet was still there.

The Yavapai went on without stopping until they were far above Lee Canyon, when they stopped again. They shot at each other. None of the Yavapai were hit. Then two or three Havasupai came back to get more buckskin and arrows and some black powder, percussion caps, and bullets. The enemy went on again up the canyon. After they had gone a long way, they stopped on a little brush-covered, isolated hill. It was nearly midday and the enemy were tired, so they rested there. The Havasupai surrounded it; they kept shooting. Some of the Yavapai were wounded. One of them had a bullet wound; he died there. They fought all afternoon. Then the Havasupai said, "We feel hungry now. Two or three men should go back to the village and bring something to eat." So two or three came back and got pumpkins, squash, beans, cornmeal mush, water melons—everything was ripe about that time—and some water which they carried to them.

After that they felt stronger. Then the head chief, Navajo, said, "We feel strong now; we will go right up to the enemy. Grab them and kill them." They said, "All right." Two of them went in front, each holding a long stick from which hung a buckskin. Panamida's father, a chief, had one and Jess's mother's father had another. These two went in front, while the others followed close behind. They advanced up the hill, while the Yavapai stood up there. The two with buckskins carried iron hatchets in their free hands. When the Havasupai were within a few feet of the Yavapai, the latter shot right through the buckskin and stuck Jess's mother's father in the left shoulder, so that his arm got weak. He said, "My arm is getting weak. I cannot hold it up much longer;

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539 we had better go back." So they walked back, while he held the skin up. Again they went up the hill with two men in advance with buckskins, until they were within a few feet of the enemy. When Panamida's father, who carried a skin, lowered his arm to look over, the Yavapai shot again. They hit him above the left eye. Again the Havasupai walked back with the arrow still sticking in Panamida's father's forehead. They walked back a long way and pulled the arrow out. By this time the sun had set and it was dark. They built big fires all around that little hill, where the Yavapai still stayed. Near midnight the Havasupai shouted to the enemy, but no answer came back because they were gone.

In the morning they saw where the enemy had come down the hill, walked across the wash, and climbed up the lower red cliff. They were gone. They carried off the one who had died on the hill. They took the body up on the cliff and hid it away before they ran off. Two Yavapai had been badly wounded; they went with the others but both died on the road. Later their bones were found on the plateau just beyond the Moki trail, with their arrows, blankets and a little water jug near a little fire that had been made for them. There were about twenty Yavapai.

The Paiute Residence among the Walapai

When I was about eight years old a lot of Paiute came down here; that was the only time they ever came to our village. Not long after, when I was twelve years old we heard that a lot more had come to visit around Pine Spring. The Paiute were afraid of the Mormons.[1] They had been their friends. The Mormons had new guns. One of them had said he would give his gun to a Paiute man in exchange for a Paiute girl as a wife. The Mormon gave his gun to the Paiute: the latter gave a young girl to the Mormon. That girl did not like the Mormon, so she ran away and hid. Then the Mormon had no wife, so he wanted the gun returned. But the Paiute would not give it up. The Mormon wanted to get the gun back, so he fought the Paiute man and beat him with his fists. The other Paiute were very angry, so they killed that Mormon. There were a lot more Mormons living there and the Paiute were afraid they would take revenge, so they fled to the Colorado River (*hagdiold*).

The Walapai living near Pine Spring came down to our village and told us all to go to meet the Paiute. The Havasupai all went: I was with them. The Walapai and Havasupai stayed together on the plateau while the men of both tribes went down to where the Paiute were gathered on

[1] The white settlers of Utah were adherents of the Mormon faith.

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the north side of the river. There they saw that the Paiute had built a raft, a gridiron of poles lashed together. They saw them put their belongings on the raft and push it into the water. Men got on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. Then they threw the things off and went back to ferry more, until all the women and children were across. This is what the Havasupai and Walapai told when they returned. 539

Next day the Paiute came up on the plateau. I saw them; there were a great many. They came and camped with us. I saw that they did not wear many clothes. The men had bare bodies, breechclouts, but no leggings. The women wore only rabbitskin blankets on their bodies, tied over the right shoulder and down the right side; for skirts they wore deerskins with the hair on; some wore skirts of mountain sheep skin with the hair on. The skirts came down to their knees and hung even all around. All wore sandals of soapweed, which extended up around the foot only a little way. The women wore conical basket hats; the men had headbands of soapweed; some had their hair in a knot tied with yucca strong. Their arrows alone were pretty good.

They stayed with us. After a time all the Paiute went hunting deer. When they killed some, the Havasupai traded blankets for the buckskin. The Paiute would give the skins of two good-sized bucks for a blanket measuring about two and a half by four feet.

We all stayed together for a short time; then a little snow fell. Two or three sleeps after that, the Paiute cleared the ground. The Paiute head chief said, "We are going to dance." He said this after the sun had gone down and it was a little dark. The Paiute man who had killed the Mormon had his body painted entirely with red such as our women use. All he wore was a breechclout. He had a stick, about a foot long, with one eagle feather hung from the end and another from the middle, thrust upright in his headband on the right side. That man stood in the center of the dance ground; everybody formed a circle around him to dance just as we do here, but only the women sang. They sang two songs. I did not understand the words, but one was "Mormon." They felt glad about killing that Mormon. When the women had sung four songs, they stopped for the Paiute men to sing. The men sang while they all danced in a circle. The women danced first before the men joined them.

(I never saw those mythical (*Ikkáyápa*) times; the old folks told me of that. But these things of which I tell, I saw. I tell you about them; I give them to you.)

The Paiute who was painted red stood in the center for a little while only; then he joined the dance. It was just the same as we do

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539 here; they would sing a song and then stop; sing again and stop again; all night long, until the sun rose. When the sun had risen a little, they finally stopped. The next night when it was dark, they danced again until sunrise. They did this for many nights; they did not stop at all. They stayed there for quite a long time, but the Havasupai all came back to our canyon.

We stayed there until the spring planting. Then the Paiute men came down here, but no women, bringing buckskins to trade for blankets and other things they wanted. After they traded they went back and stayed there until our corn was ripe, when they returned, bringing their women with them. They came to stay as long as they wanted. There was plenty of corn, squash, sunflower, watermelon, and other good food. So for several years [ten or fifteen?] they lived up there and visited us when our corn was ripe.

The Paiute stayed with the Walapai around Pine Spring. Two Paiute men married Walapai women. Manakadja got the daughter of one of the Paiute men for a second wife; he brought her down here. He was not a big chief then. That Paiute woman had four children.

The Paiute brought more buckskin and mescal every time they came down here to trade, and they stayed here as long as they liked. Not very long after this time, when I was a young man and was married, the Paiute heard that it was all right in their country; that the Mormons were no longer angry; so they went back. All went back at one time: they have never come back since.

The Navaho among the Havasupai

A few years after the Paiute visit I saw the Navaho for the first time. I was then about sixteen years old. I heard the Havasupai say that a great many Navaho were coming this way. They did not know just where they were coming from. I heard that these Navaho were encamped on both sides of the Little Colorado River (*hagầel'lâ*). It was about this time of year [October]; the piñon nuts were falling to the ground. They grow plentifully at Moho Canyon[1] (*hùwdìlovâk,ôvd*, pine precipice): all the Havasupai went over there. Some Walapai were there with them.

Some of the men there said they wanted to go to Oraibi. They would take piñon nuts and buckskins with them. So they went by a direct route, crossing Cataract Canyon at *glicẖud* (near its head), where they

[1]Only an approximate location is given on the map, Fig. 1.

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camped. Next morning they went straight on, passing a little south of the present Anita, camping again a little beyond Red Butte. The next morning they went on. When they were halfway to the Little Colorado, they came on the fresh tracks of many men, so they stopped there while two or three scouted ahead to see what kind of men these strangers might be. They followed the tracks along the plateau above the Coconino Basin, where they found several camps of Navaho. The Navaho gave these scouts something to eat; then they returned to where the others were waiting. They said that they had found Navaho. The others said, "That is good; we will kill them all. Are there many?" Those who had seen them said, "Yes, there are not many. We are many more than they." 539

Early in the morning they packed their horses and went forward until they got to where the Navaho were encamped. Those Navaho had told others and they had collected at that camp; they wanted to do just as the Havasupai had done, to go to kill the enemy. The Navaho said, "Our big chief[1] is right below here, down in the Basin. You just go down there to our big chief's house." The Havasupai said, "That is all right" and they went down to his house and camped there. Then these Navaho sent word to all the Navaho for a long way around, and these came in great numbers to see the strangers.

This was the first time that the Havasupai had seen the Navaho. They did not know how to talk their language. When they first met, each people spoke their own language and used signs for eating and trading. At first one of the Navaho talked to them in his own language, but they did not understand. Then he talked in Hopi, and the old men understood that, so they used this language to converse in. The Navaho said, "Many of us are living in this country; some along the rim of the Grand Canyon, others far over to the San Francisco Mountains, and some far up the Little Colorado. There are only a few living here. Many white men came to our country far to the east of Oraibi; we do not know whence they came. They came little by little. After a few came we Navaho thought that that was enough: that no more were coming. The Navaho stole mules and horses from the white men, and killed some of them. We had done this many times, but more white men kept coming until there were a great many living back in our country. There the white men gathered together about half the Navaho—we are only half the tribe over here—and drove them to the east and south.[2] Those

[1] Navaho chieftaincy is here envisaged in Havasupai terms.

[2] In 1863 Col. Kit Carson invaded the Navaho country, killed many sheep, and took the greater part of the tribe (some 8000) as prisoners to Ft. Sumner at the Bosque Redondo on the Pecos in New Mexico. They were released in 1867. (*Handbook of American Indians*, II, 411.)

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539 white men are friends of the Ute, the Zuñi and all the Hopi pueblos. They wanted those people to fight too and drive us out, or kill us. All those people fight with us. We are afraid and so we came westward. That is why we are camping here where you see us."

The head chief of the Navaho said, "All you Navaho men listen to me. I think some of our men would like to kill these Havasupai. I think this is wrong. If you do not listen to what I say but kill all of them, other Havasupai living over there in their own country will come to kill us. That was what you did in our country and a lot of men came to kill us, so that we were afraid, and had to leave. Now we must be friends with these people. This is what I think; leave them alone and we will have a pretty good country. The country about here is pretty good. I want you to listen to what I say and be good to the Havasupai. If you do not heed and kill even two or three of them, things will be different." Then the Havasupai, who saw these Navaho, came back to Moho Canyon and told what they had seen. Then I came back home here in the canyon, and the Navaho came down here, and I saw them too.

Before those Havasupai came back, the Navaho big chief said, "Be good friends with them" and the Havasupai big chief, Panamida's father said the same thing, but the Navaho persisted, "We want to fight them." The Navaho big chief went around among them saying, "No, do not fight: that is wrong." The Havasupai stayed over night and in the morning the Navaho big chief said to them, "I will go back with you," and that morning they came back. They got as far as Grand View, where another Navaho big chief had his camp. The Navaho said, "You are our chiefs; do not hold us back. We want to kill these people." Those Navaho like to talk of going to fight all the time. One of them said, "These Havasupai are not good men. A long time ago some of them came to a place a little east of the present Tuba, where I had some horses. They killed all of my family, my wife and children and some other women. I was not home then. They killed them and stole all my horses. That is why I want to fight." The Navaho chief said, "Do not talk about old things like that to fight about. You say you have no wife: you can have my young daughter for a wife; but do not kill these Havasupai: let them go. Be good friends," and he gave him his daughter. Then that Navaho man said, "All right; that will settle it."

The Havasupai stayed another night at Grand View and the next morning the Navaho head chief gave them something, saying, "I am glad to see you people We will be good friends to you and you must be friendly to us; then all will be well. Back in my country those people

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are not friendly. They would like to kill all of us. They hunted me, and are still coming. All right. You Havasupai go back home and tell the others. We Navaho will camp near here. You tell the others that. After a time we will move slowly toward your village. When we arrive down there some time you can see us again." The Havasupai said, "All right; that is a good way. You come down to see our village." Then they came back the way they had gone and reached Moho Canyon. When they got home they said, "We have not been to Oraibi; we met the Navaho. After we saw them, we turned back. The Navaho chief said that they would move westward slowly and soon would all come down to our village." 539

After a short time we came home [to Cataract Canyon] from Moho Canyon bringing lots of piñon nuts. A little while after this, a few Havasupai were camping above the Moki trail. We heard that the Navaho, who were living a long way off, had ridden this way and found those Havasupai up there. The Navaho visited these people repeatedly. When we heard of this, the Havasupai down here wanted to go up on to the plateau to wait for the Navaho. They wanted to see them. So a number went up there and I went with them. We all camped together. After a few sleeps the Navaho men began to drift in, but none of their women. The Navaho said that they brought blankets to trade for food. We gave corn for blankets, about one tray full of shelled corn for a saddle blanket; if the blanket was big, we gave the shelled corn to the amount of a good-sized small burden basket (*gaθδkk'ê'djd*) full. Two bundles of dried squash, about two feet long, were traded for a big blanket. Beans were valued high; only one small tray basket full, just level, was given for a good-sized blanket. The biggest burden basket full of shelled corn was traded for a horse. When we traded buckskin, the skins of two big bucks with a little corn in a sack to boot, were given for a horse. Those Navaho came from the country around Grand Canyon and Red Butte to trade for corn.

When it was spring, after all the snow had melted, and there was no drinking water up there, all the Havasupai and Navaho moved. Some came down by Lee Canyon; others came by the Moki trail (*itcihud'gdwdwagwod*, enemy scalp place). They camped up there in Cataract Canyon where the little springs are. Some of them came farther down and camped near the village at the head of the creek. It was about planting time. Most of them stayed up at the little springs and gathered mescal to bake. When the corn and beans were ripe, they wanted to trade. Those men in the east had stolen most of the Navaho

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539 horses so they did not bring many here. Some had two or three, others five or six. The Navaho up the canyon and those down at the creek thought what they might trade for corn and beans. So they killed some horses, dried the meat, and brought that down to trade. Some had a few sheep with them and they butchered these too. The Havasupai had many horses then; they ate their meat too. This is the way the Navaho traded, with horses, sheep, blankets, bracelets, necklaces, bridles, and all such things, until they had nothing more to trade with. So when some Navaho woman saw some Havasupai man alone, she proposed to lie with him, in exchange for corn and other things; the man gave just enough for one meal, not very much.

At that time I was about seventeen years old and I did not understand such things. An older man and I went up near the Walapai trail, where his corn was ripening. The Navaho were stealing corn all the time. We stayed there to watch it. After a little while, we saw a Navaho woman come into the cornfield. She wore bracelets; she wanted to trade them for corn, but he said, "No, I do not want them." She sat down and talked to him for a long time; he thought he would give her corn if he had his will of her. So he told me, "You go home a little while and then come back again," so I went away but after a time I went back. He was there alone; the woman was gone. I asked him, and he said, "Yes, we did pretty well," and he showed me the spot.[1] He had broken off a lot of ears and given them to her. He had a horse tied close to the cornfield, so he broke off the cornstalks, and I gave them to the horse, two or three armfuls.

Soon when the corn was ripe they gathered it. Those who had big fields got the Navaho men and women to gather it for them, and gave a little of it in payment. We were very friendly with the Navaho. They stayed here in the village. The Havasupai got the Navaho men to work for them. They did these things very well.

After a time one of the Navaho men found four or five big buckskins hanging on a pole stuck in a crevice. Those buckskins belonged to Jess's father's father. George's father had a bridle and other things hanging with the buckskins. A Navaho man stole them and climbing up on the upper canyon level, got away. Jess' grandfather did not know when the man went, whether he had been gone a day or only that morning. Jess's grandfather followed his tracks and then came back. Then he and George's father set out up the canyon, up Lee Canyon, and followed his

[522] [1] Humor takes this turn among them at least as freely as it would among ourselves.

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tracks up tovŏk,óvà canyon. They continued after him where the old road follows the rim; his tracks seemed to be one day old. They went a little further, but a summer rain had washed out his tracks. So they followed the trail and after a little way, they heard someone coming toward them. They met a Navaho mounted on a mule. They stopped and talked a little while. First the Navaho said, "Back in my country some white man gathered us up and took us back east. When we got to the place where they kept me, they said to us, 'Are you going to kill or steal any more?' and we said, 'We are all right now'. We are all home again now, and all our other people are down in your village. That is why I am going to see them; some are my relatives." Then the two Havasupai asked him, "Did you meet any Navaho man back on your road?" and he said, "No." The Havasupai said, "All right; you come home with us. That is good." So they brought the man with them. He had a lot of things packed on his mule. 539

The two Havasupai were very angry. When they got to the head of tovŏk,óvà canyon, the sun set. They came down the trail a little way; then the two Havasupai said that they would like to sleep right there. So they built a fire and ate there. The Navaho could not understand their language; with him they used gestures. These two wanted to kill him while he slept. "A Navaho stole our buckskins and other things, so we want to kill him," they said. They watched him, but he did not sleep because he suspected. It was nearly daylight before he began to snore. One of the Havasupai had a little pistol. He held it to the Navaho's head, but it only snapped; again he tried without success. The Navaho heard the slight noise. A third time the Havasupai fired it, shooting him in the forehead, and killing him. They took off all his clothes, took his pack, and divided the spoil. There was a pistol, nearly new; Jess's grandfather took that. They said, "What are we going to do with that mule?" "I think it is better to kill it. We will lead it to our house in the village. I will shoot it from one side, and you from the other, and kill it quickly." So they brought it down to Jess's grandfather's house. They killed it with arrows there. Everybody came and skinned it. Every man cut off a little meat and took it away; the Navaho did so too. Then other Havasupai asked those two, "Where did you get that mule? What did you do to the man who stole the buckskin and fled?" They said, "That man got away; we did not catch him. We met another Navaho riding that mule and brought him with us. We camped just below the rim on the trail; we killed the man there. He had some blankets and other things; we took those and hid them up in the canyon. All we brought

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539 was the mule, so you people could have some meat." That day the Navaho recognized the mule, and those living here in the village became frightened and fled. Next day they traveled fast; all went back toward the east.

The Walapai and Havasupai raid the Yavapai

I never saw the Yavapai and Walapai fight, but heard of it when I was a little boy.

Some Walapai were camping at Pine Spring where the Paiute had danced. Some of the enemy came to fight and killed many of them. A Walapai came down here to Cataract Canyon and told the Havasupai that he wanted some to go to war. Some agreed. Then they told the Walapai to return to his camp and tell the Walapai to come down. When they all came, they asked for some corn, beans, and other things for provisions, for they had nothing to eat. The Havasupai said, "All right." Then the Havasupai chief talked: "We do not want to go to war, but if you need men very badly, then you can take some of them with you." There were lots of Walapai. The Havasupai said they did not want to go to war; they did not know how to fight. So the Walapai all returned home.

The Walapai chief said that all his people were going to war. But I did not see him; I just heard of it.

When the Walapai were ready to go, three Havasupai went with them: Rock Jones' father, Kaſoda's father, and Teskimalauwa's mother's brother. They were going to the Black Hills [near Jerome] where quite a number of the Yavapai lived. They found them in the night. Then the Walapai chief said they would send half their number to encircle the enemy camp. Early in the morning some of the Walapai rushed on the enemy. One Yavapai was just starting out to hunt antelope; he saw the Walapai about to start. He shouted and ran back to tell the others. Then the Walapai halloaed and ran after them to fight. The Yavapai scattered. There were a great many Yavapai; they had all gathered at this place. They said the Walapai were but few, so they had intended going to kill them. When the sun came up, the Walapai, who had surrounded the camp, went in to fight. They fought and chased the enemy. The Walapai, running behind, caught the Yavapai by the hair and beat them down with clubs. They ran along, killing many of the enemy. When they killed several of them, they returned to their camp and then set out for home. One Walapai, a chief, had been killed.

After the Walapai had returned, the Yavapai said, "We are going to war again." They went over to Walapai Mountain, where many Walapai

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were camped. They fought, killing many of the Walapai, just as the Walapai had done. This was perhaps a month after the first foray. When the Yavapai returned home they said that one Walapai chief, a big man, was the one who had killed so many. The Yavapai chief said they ought to go to war again in order to kill that man. So they went to raid at the same place on the eastern side of Walapai Mountain where some Walapai were camped. They saw there the big man whom they wanted to kill. He picked up a baby and ran. Some Yavapai ran after them and shot him in the thigh. When he was hit he threw the baby away. The Yavapai chased and shot him again. They shot him several times before they killed him. That Walapai big chief, Watelmôdâmâ, had killed so many of the enemy at their camp; that is why they wanted to kill him. 599

After they killed him they returned to the Walapai camp. The Yavapai chief took a Walapai horse, and rode off a short distance where some Walapai were grouped. He stood there and spoke to them: "This is the man I wanted to kill." Then a Walapai, who rode a race horse, circled around into the little canyon where the enemy were, and chased them as they ran, and shot at them with arrows. He hit the Yavapai chief right in the side, killing him. Then the enemy all went home.

Then a Walapai chief said, "We do not want to fight any more. So many of our people get killed, that it is not good." So the Yavapai agreed, and they and the Walapai never fought again.

The Ute Residence among the Walapai

When I was a boy, after the crops were gathered, the Havasupai went up on the plateau for the winter, because there was not enough firewood down here. They stayed there to hunt in the snow. I remember that when I was about seventeen years old we camped on the plateau near the Moki trail. There were plenty of deer there, of which the others killed a great many, but I did not get any. There were a good many men in this camp. Four Ute[1] men came there; they said they came from tănyăkâ [the canyon leading north to Pierce Ferry on the Colorado River in the western part of the Walapai reservation]. They said there were many more Ute staying there with the Walapai. One Walapai man who knew the road led them to our camp. Each of them had a gun which he traded to the Havasupai for blankets. They stayed for three sleeps.

[1] These are clearly Ute, not Paiute although they came via Paiute territory.

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539 One of the Ute, their big chief, traded his gun with Jess's mother's father; another gave a gun to Captain Navaho; another to [his older brother], Manakadja's father; and the fourth gave his to a young man. They received one big blanket for each gun. They also gave ten charges of black powder—not much in each—ten bullets, and ten percussion caps; for all this they got one skin of a fair-sized buck from the Havasupai. Ten silver shoe buttons made by the Navaho, were also given for the same amount of ammunition. After three sleeps, they started back when the sun was nearly down. They went down the Moki trail and got into Cataract Canyon when it was dark. They went on up a trail leading out on the west side, and then north along the rim of the plateau until they reached Wasákwiyamă's camp on the Walapai trail. They hunted around there for his horses—he had many of them—and stole them all. When they had driven them halfway to Pine Spring, they killed one right on the road. They camped on the other side of Pine Spring. Next morning they went by the same road they had come on and finally got to the Ute camps.

There the Ute said they wanted some food: their provisions were gone. The Ute said that they wanted all the Walapai to come to their camps. They wanted the latter to make provisions for them to carry home. The Walapai brought some for them. The Ute said, "We want all of the Walapai; tell more to come. Tell them to bring some buckskins with them; we have lots of horses to trade." The Walapai said, "All right," and then they all came bringing buckskins. Then the Ute big chief said, "Our people should get ready, saddle their horses, and pack them. Then we will kill all the Walapai." One Paiute man who was with the Ute heard this and told the Walapai. But the Walapai said, "We are good friends of the Ute; we do not think they want to kill us."

One of the Walapai had a pistol. A Ute said to him, "Let me see your pistol. Let mesee if I can hit something. If it is pretty good, I will give you a horse for it." He gave it to the Ute, who shot at a mark. Then he re-loaded and asked the Walapai for a bullet, which was given him. The Ute first put it in his mouth and put it in the pistol with a patch. Then he put on a percussion cap and gave it back to the Walapai. Then the Ute big chief shot a Walapai man and the other Ute began shooting, too. The Walapai ran away, the Ute chased them; they had good horses. They killed a great many Walapai. Then they turned back home toward the north. The Walapai spread the news everywhere: some men came with it to Pine Spring and then further east to the Havasupai. Then ve who were up the Moki trail heard of it.

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This was in the spring. There was still a little snow on the plateau 539
when we moved down into the village. They were playing shinney down here then for buckskins and other things, blankets, powder, and percussion caps. Half the Havasupai went up the trail above Austin's house (no. 41, see map, Fig. 50) to the upper canyon level; the other half went up the west side of the canyon with Wasákwivámă, a big chief, to wigàsŏlà [the springs west of the canyon]. I went with the first group out the east side to wigàllàllà [pointed rock, the peak at the corner formed by Cataract and Grand Canyons] to gather mescal on the red sandstone bench in the Grand Canyon. We camped at ahágàmàhŏnŏ'tà spring [cottonwood knob; these were little trees with rounded tops] north of the peak. We roasted mescal, pounded it, and spread it out to dry in sheets. Wasákwivámă was camped in the angle between the next canyon west and the Colorado River. One of our men went down to the point between the Colorado River and Cataract Creek (havàsŭ), making a signal fire at short intervals, so that Wasákwivámă might see it. Wasákwivámă came down to the point in his angle. The two canyons (Cataract and the next one) which came together here are very narrow, so that they could talk across. Our man said, "We are going down to our houses in the bottom of the canyon. We are going to live there again." Some said they would go down above Navaho Falls and live up on the cliff to the west of it. Supai Jack's father, my father, and Jess's mother's father said, "We think we had better camp right up here on the ledge [above camp no. 42]. We know the weather is not good." It was cloudy and rainy, and the wind blew hard. They heard the screech owls and the big owls hoot, *gàwĕvĭkyûg* hun hun hun (something comes from the south), and they were afraid, for owls mean something very bad; perhaps an enemy is coming when the owl hoots.[1] We camped up on the ledge. We were there three sleeps, when early in the morning the Yavapai came down that trail. Jess's mother's father saw them first, and woke the other two camps: *Ucàhudvĭdj vamdmlgiu* (enemy are going by), he whispered.

The Third Yavapai Raid[2]

The enemy came from the south straight across the plateau, from the Moki trail to the rim of Grand Canyon at Apache [?] point from which a canyon leads back to Lee Canyon. They got to the rim and looked down on the red bench [the upper canyon level], but could not see any smoke. So they followed the rim westward to the corner of Cataract

[1] The call of a scout.
[2] This was about 1860–65.

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539 Canyon, wigisiyávà. There were about two hundred of the enemy. They saw no campfires, so they followed the rim southward along Cataract Canyon. There were a lot of horses in a little canyon, ßata'mivo, near the point. Some of the Yavapai scouted ahead for the Havasupai; when they saw no one, they told the main body which moved forward. Then they descended by the foot trail into this little canyon. So they got all those horses. Then they came up along our canyon on the red bench. They found a lot more horses near the white peak north of here [near the corner of Grand and Cataract Canyons]. These they captured too. There were fresh tracks of some Havasupai, who had camps near that peak, leading this way. The Yavapai followed these. When they reached the south side of the white peak they sent scouts to look down into Cataract Canyon. These returned and told the others, "Yes, there are a lot of men staying in the canyon who are clearing the ground and burning the brush. It is pretty fine for us." The Yavapai came to the head of the canyon leading down back of Captain Jim's house [no. 29, see map, Fig. 50], where there were a lot of horses which they captured. It was late then, the sun was setting. They said, "You women (there were six of them) should drive the horses after us. We will go ahead." So they came.

They started before daylight. They did not know the trail. It was so dark that they got lost in a difficult place. It was dawn when they came down the trail above Austin's house [no. 41]. Captain Navajo and Olaúwà's husband (Captain Gave) were living in the caves above Billy's house near this trail. I and my father[1] were living up on the red cliffside just above these caves. Jess's mother's father had a camp near ours. Supai Jack's father had a camp there too, but this was nearer the trail. He heard them make a little noise as they came down the trail and saw them first.[2] He ran over and whispered to my father. We were still sleeping; my father woke me. My father and Supai Jack's father did not stop to put their clothes on. They slung on their pouches containing bullets, powder, and percussion caps; grabbed their guns, and we ran off. I went with the women; we ran to the north, climbing the cliff.

Twenty Yavapai were already down in the village just a little below Austin's house, when these two men loaded their guns, ran to the point above the house, and shot down at those who were running along the road below. The Yavapai had not yet found anyone. Other Havasupai, living down the canyon where Smiley's house [no. 50] now is, heard the

[1] This is the invariable sequence of personal pronouns, at least in speaking English.
[2] This differs from the preceding tale (p. 371).

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shooting and ran down the canyon away from the firing. About ten Yavapai went down the canyon following them. There were a great many more Havasupai down where the canyon wall turns above the falls. These men got ready and came up the canyon to meet the enemy. When they met them they drove them back, shooting all the way, until they forced them back to the point from which they had started. Then I slung stones at them.[1] 539

Captain Navajo and Captain Gave had their wives with them in the caves. They saw the Yavapai while they were still descending the trail right past the entrances of the caves. It was pretty hard for these two to get away from that place, so they kept quiet and stayed there. Captain Navajo had two guns. He gave one to Captain Gave. They loaded these and waited. After they saw no more Yavapai passing, Captain Gave thought that there were no more. So he ran out and up that trail. When he had got part way up, he met the remainder of the Yavapai driving the horses down it. They shot at him and hit him in the thigh. He found a good place to climb the cliff and ran to join us up on the upper canyon level.

Captain Navajo stayed in the cave until the Yavapai saw him. They climbed right up toward it. Captain Navajo's cave was at one end of a ledge; so, followed by his wife carrying her baby, and an old man, his mother's brother, he ran along this until he came to a break about six feet long, which he had to jump. He ran on to a similar gap, which he also jumped, followed by the others, until they came to some big rocks at the point above Billy's house [no. 42], behind which they stopped. From there they shot at the Yavapai and the three others right above them (Sinyella's father, Supai Jack's father, and Jess's grandfather) shot down too.

Many more Havasupai came up the canyon and chased the Yavapai across to the point with the two pinnacles on the west side of the canyon. There were some Yavapai still below, who called to the Havasupai, "We have not eaten yet. We are going to fight you all this day until tomorrow." So those Yavapai over on the point built fires, killed a horse, and broiled its flesh on the coals. After they ate, about half of them crossed back again. They skirmished along the creek, where Richard's and Bert's houses now are in the middle of the canyon [nos. 32 and 33], while the Havasupai were gathered up on the point of the cliff at the foot of the trail by which the Yavapai had descended. The Yavapai did not come near when they shot at the Havasupai, so their arrows did not carry.

[1] The sling is not seriously a weapon (see p. 340).

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539 The Havasupai had plenty of guns and could shoot down. Some of them said to Captain Burro, "You said you could hit something at that distance; try this, let us see if you can hit one."[1] Captain Burro said, "All right, I will try and see if I can hit one," so he came a little way to the edge of the point, and sat there. He shot one Yavapai, who fell right over, for his thigh bone was broken.[2] Then all the Havasupai hollered and rushed down the hill. Some of the Yavapai wanted to rescue the wounded man, but the Havasupai kept firing, so that they had to leave him and retreat across the creek with the rest. The Havasupai dragged the man back to the base of their point, chopped off his head, and carried it up with them. This Yavapai had vertical lines, alternately black and red, painted on his face. After a while, the enemy came across again and shot arrows up.

After a little while Captain Navajo went down the hill under the cover of the bushes, and went close to the enemy. He shot one of them under his left arm, killing him. Captain Navajo dragged him away, took off the Yavapai's clothing, and cut his head off, too.

The Havasupai said, "We want ten or more of our men to go down off the point and up along the middle of the canyon, and go up on top of the red cliffs by the trail on the east side [above camp no. 16]." So ten or twelve of them started off. When they were in the middle of the canyon among the mesquite bushes, they saw the Yavapai, who had crossed the creek a little higher up, coming toward them. The Havasupai were afraid and were chased back to the point. Some of the young Yavapai were good runners and nearly caught them. The Havasupai jumped across a little arm of the creek and ran up under the point where they had the protection of those shooting from above. These then drove the enemy off.

Prince's father went down, and crossing the creek under cover, went up the side canyon to the west. He climbed up on top of the red cliff back of the Yavapai and came around on the point above them. They did not know he was there. He pushed big rocks off the cliff on to them. They made a thundering noise which frightened the Yavapai so that they left that place and started up the canyon. I was on the cliff and saw them fighting. I could see a lot of horses and men going up the road and kicking up so much dust it looked like a fog. The Havasupai came down off the point and followed them through the village. The Havasupai said, "This is pretty good. They came down here, and now we are glad,

[1] He is still treated somewhat as a butt for their jokes.
[2] The distance is about five or six hundred feet.

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because we can follow them and kill more of them." The Yavapai fled as fast as they could, so that the Havasupai could not catch up with them until they were a little above the entrance to Lee Canyon. The enemy stood there to fight a little while. Right there are good places to climb up on the red cliffs. Many of the enemy climbed up on both sides and came back down the canyon on this level, while the rest waited in the canyon bed. They wanted to trap and surround the Havasupai. But these knew of their stratagem, and as the enemy came along the cliffs, the Havasupai retreated. So they came back home. 539

After they returned, they cut off the scalps of both men, and tied them on a pole. They cleared the ground and planted the pole upright. Then they danced around this. That is what I saw; that is the way they did in the old days. They kept the two scalps, so they could have a dance whenever they wanted.

Two years after this a Yavapai came down and said, "We will all be friends with one another. It is not right for us to kill each other; our language is nearly the same. It is not right; we ought to stop and be friends." All the Havasupai said, "All right." So he went back and told his people. So a lot of them came down here with buckskins to trade and as presents. The Havasupai gave them lots to eat, and they were glad. So sometimes they brought women down here and there was no more fighting.

Peace at Oraibi

Shortly after this raid we went down to the lower part of the village, on the west side of the canyon above Navajo Falls. There we lived in the bottom of the canyon under a shade, a box-like house. There we planted corn, beans, squash, sunflower, and everything. When the corn came up, I scraped [hoed] out the weeds. We stayed there all summer. All the crops were getting ripe when we moved down to the ledges on the west canyon wall above Navajo Falls. Everybody went there to live on the cliffs. Nobody went away. We all stayed together. We were afraid the enemy would soon return. We gathered all the ripe corn and beans and other crops, and piled them on the canyon floor just below our camps. When they were fully dried, we stored them all in the stone storage houses along the cliffs.

It was then early fall and the Havasupai began to scatter. A good many started to go to gather piñon nuts where someone had said he had seen plenty lying on the ground. They went up Lee Canyon and out by tovõk,ôvà (precipice) trail, and along the road on the plateau for about

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seven or eight miles to ḳwâganon,agiakŏ't (deer trails between the hills). They camped there and gathered the nuts. After some time when they had a great quantity, they said, "We want to go to Oraibi, to take the piñon nuts over to trade." All the men went, leaving their women. They camped at Rain Tank [east of Grand Canyon Station]; next night they camped on top of the mesa, huwai'gătidâ (rock water hole) to the west of the Little Colorado River. Next morning they crossed the river and made their next camp up on the plateau on the east side. The next day they arrived at Oraibi. They stayed there but one sleep, when in the morning they saw a signal fire to the south. The Hopi chief sent two of his men down from the mesa to see. These two met a great many men coming, Yavapai and Apache. They sent the two Hopi men back to tell that they were coming. The Hopi ran back as hard as they could and told the others: "The Yavapai and Apache are coming together. We met a great many men." The big chief[1] of Oraibi said, "You Havasupai must not be seen here. I do not want those two peoples to see you. I will think how I will dispose of you and what I will do about this crisis. All you Havasupai hide down in a lower room in a good place. We will let the Yavapai and Apache come into our houses; then we will trade with them and buy their bows and arrows. When we have bought all these, then you can come out and show yourselves. Then if the Yavapai and Apache want to kill you, we Hopi and you together will kill them."[2]

I was not with them; I stayed at home with the women to pick up nuts. My father, Wasâkwivâmă, Captain Navaho, and Jess's mother's father and a lot of lesser men were there in Oraibi. Wasâkwivâmă, the big chief, said to the Hopi, "I do not want to hide. We will stay out here; let the Yavapai and Apache come in and see us. Let us see what they will say. If they say they want to kill us, I think we will fight. I think that is best." The Hopi said, "All right. You people talk with the same words [i.e., speak similar dialects]: talk to the Yavapai." So Wasâkwi'vâmă said, "I will talk about being friends. I will tell their chief to keep his people from always killing so many of ours. If he says 'No,' then we will fight."

The Yavapai came to the base of the mesa and camped there. All the Hopi went down to meet them, and shook hands all around. Then the Havasupai showed themselves to the enemy and went down to shake

[1] The narrator is projecting Havasupai organization in Oraibi.

[2] Oraibi figures throughout these tales as a sort of neutralized trading post. Its people are uniformly represented as friendly to the Havasupai rather than the enemy. Yet it seems reasonable to suppose that they made the same show of friendship to the others. Incidentally, the only Hopi town that the Havasupai had contact with is Oraibi, the westernmost.

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hands in the same way. When the greeting was finished, one of the Yavapai, who knew Wasâkwivâmâ, said, "All right, we just met you here; we will talk about being friends." Wasâkwivâmâ said, "That is what I think; I want to talk friendly too." The big chief of Oraibi said, "I want you Yavapai and Apache to stay right here by this spring. Then my people will bring their blankets and other things down here to trade. They will also bring things to eat." The Yavapai big chief said, "I do not want to do that. If I come to be your friend, to visit for a few days, we ought to go right into your houses. When a man travels around to visit, nobody leaves him outside this way. We want to go inside your houses and sleep there. Your people should treat mine right." The Havasupai all said the same. "That is the best way. If all go in there, it will be all right," they said to the Hopi chief. So he said, "All right." They all went up into the town and scattered, two or three men went into each house. 539

In the evening the Havasupai said, "We do not know which Hopi has the biggest house, so that all the chiefs can gather there and talk all night." One Hopi, we called Hopi shaman[1] (*mok^{a}gl0ĭ'*,) was chief. "His house is all right; we will all go in there and talk," they said. When they were all in that house that night, they said to the Yavapai big chief. "You go ahead first and say what you think." So he spoke first: "My people have gone out to kill various tribes. We do that all the time, but it is wrong. We used to fight Mohave, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and your people, the Hopi. We will not do that any more. This is the truth I tell; I do not lie. That is why I came over here." Wasâkwivâmâ spoke next: "All right, that is a good way to talk. All of us—one tribe and another—living about here are pretty bad; when any man is traveling around, who we see on the road, we kill him. All the tribes do the same thing. It is not right. If a man wants to go to some place to visit another tribe, to stay there or trade, that is a good thing. We have been pretty bad to each other in the past; now we should not be so any more. I want it stopped."[2]

Then the Apache chief talked in his own language, but the others did not understand him. The Havasupai asked the Yavapai, "Do the Apache understand how to talk your language?" and the latter replied, "Yes, they talk it." The Yavapai said to the Apache, "You can talk our language to the Havasupai; they will understand what you say." Then the Apache chief repeated what the Havasupai and Yavapai chiefs had said.

[1] Here rather is a recognition that the chiefs are thought of as priests by the Hopi, or it may be this was one of the ceremonial leaders.

[2] These colloquies bear out the Havasupai view that the primary function of a chief is spokesman for his people.

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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539 The Oraibi chief spoke last. He said to the Yavapai chief, "I know you; I do not believe you. You come here and when you talk to us you always talk crooked. I think that perhaps when you go back, when you are in your home again, you will think more and finally decide to go out to fight. I think that you came to fight with us, because you came with so many men, but you see the Havasupai and ourselves here, and you think we are too many for you, so you talk of being friends. The Navaho are just like you. They come here and say 'all right,' then they go and do wrong. They do not talk honestly. We stay here; we do not travel far. We walk down into that valley to plant our corn, and we are afraid for the enemy: 'Perhaps an enemy will come and kill me while I am working in the valley,' I think. So while I am working I look all around. I do not work very long: I come right back; then I sally down again. That is what I have to do all the time. I would like all the different tribes to be good, to travel around and visit, to go alone and sleep by the road. That would be fine. What you say sounds good, for then I can work well. I will not have to watch out for the enemy any more. I can plant and hoe and tear out the weeds in safety. I want you, the big chief of the Yavapai, to repeat what you said so that I can hear you. Then it will be good. Say again, 'You are sure you will not fight any more.' Say it once more, and that will be all," he said.[1] The Yavapai chief said, "I talk just one way. Certainly we are not going to be enemies any more." Then the Hopi, Havasupai, Apache, and Yavapai men all said, "That is a pretty good way we have settled it now. All we have to say is finished."

Wasákwivámă said, "The Paiute have been enemies for a long time: they came and fought us. The Paiute chief came over and said he was not going to fight us any more. He said they would be good friends to the Havasupai. It is all right over there now, too. The Navaho are just the same; we met them and they came down to stay with us. We talked it over and they said they would be our good friends, too. Only you Yavapai had not said you would be good. Now we meet you here and you say so, so all will be well now." Everybody clapped their hands and cried out, "It is finished all right now." Wasákwivámă said, "It is all right now." Then he took a big blanket from beside him and threw it down before the Yavapai chief as a present. Captain Navajo did the same, and so did the Oraibi chief. The Yavapai chief gave a buckskin to the Hopi chief. Then they said, "It is all right now. Look around for anything you want, and trade. Perhaps the Hopi men and women will prepare provisions

[1] This is very characteristic of Havasupai truculence as well.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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and tomorrow you can go back. We will all go the same day: you Apache and Yavapai go your way, and we Havasupai will go back home too."[1] 539

The Havasupai came back from Oraibi to where I stayed with the women gathering piñon nuts. After a while, when a little snow had fallen, we saw signal fires over at gîtcḳwâ [the head of Cataract Canyon]. We saw a big smoke, then another nearer, and more, always nearer. A Havasupai man went in that direction to see. He met the Yavapai coming. They said, "We are coming down to your people's village to visit. We are going to be friends. That is what I said at Oraibi. I want you to go right back and tell your people, so they will know I am coming." That man came back and told that the Yavapai were coming. The Yavapai came to a group of Havasupai camped near the Moki trail. Then one of these went around to tell all the Havasupai to gather to see them. So we moved down there, too. I saw them there with my own eyes. Then we made one big house for all the chiefs to gather in. The other Havasupai kept coming. Each family made a little circular wall of green piñon branches to camp in temporarily.

Then they talked. First the Yavapai chief spoke: "We talked already at Oraibi: we met you there. I will talk again the same way. We would like to trade. We have some buckskins here which we will give you. We will not trade these; we are friends." Then the Havasupai chief spoke the same way: "We are relatives now. That is a good way. That is all. We will play now." The women prepared a dance ground and stood beside the Yavapai youths. We had a good time. The Yavapai stayed for a long while before they went back. The Havasupai stayed there until spring; then they all went down directly to the village. The Havasupai big chief said, "We have talked it over with them, and are now good friends. So you can make big fields and make good houses to live in. We do not have to climb on the ledges to live any more. All is well now: go do this."

When the corn was four or five inches high some young Yavapai men came. They now began to travel back and forth between their country and ours. They traded buckskins for dried corn and blankets. Those who wanted to make friends gave presents; they did not trade.

[1] I think there can be little doubt that the willingness of the Yavapai and Apache to make peace at this time (1868–70) is due less to any fundamental friendliness, than to the fact that the California-bound immigrants, who now were rolling westward through southern Arizona, were a more lucrative prey. Raids were now southward, instead of northward. The last raid on the Havasupai was in 1865–66. The Apache and associated groups were subdued in 1870–73. Yet, white occupation of central Arizona might not have prevented northward raids until as much as thirty years after the last one.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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539 When the crops were ripe, they brought their families with them, and stayed down here and ate our bounty. Then I saw that all was well, and I felt better. I was not afraid any more. In those days when I heard the coyotes and owls call, I felt very much afraid.[1]

That is the way they talked to make the Yavapai stop killing people.

[1] Quotes indicate the calls of wolf, coyote, screech- and horned owls.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XIV

THE HAVASUPAIS AND THEIR LEGENDS

IN almost every case one finds a variety of differing legends related by the Indians of any tribe upon the same subject. As the Wallapais and Havasupais are cousins, one would naturally expect their legends to have some things in common. How much this is so will be seen by a comparison of the following story with that of the Wallapai Origin Legend.

"The two gods of the universe," said O-dig-i-ni-ni'-a, the relator of the mythic lore of the Havasupais, "are Tochopa and Hokomata. Tochopa he heap good. Hokomata heap han-a-to-op'-o-gi — heap bad — all same white man's devil. Him Hokomata make big row with Tochopa, and he say he drown the world.

"Tochopa was full of sadness at the news. He had one daughter whom he devotedly loved, and from her he had hoped would descend the whole human race for whom the world had been made. If Hokomata persisted in his wicked determination she must be saved at all hazard. So, working day and night, he speedily prepared the trunk of a pinion tree by hollowing it out from one end. In this hollow tree he placed food and other necessaries, and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must go into this tree and there be sealed up, he took

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a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the tree, and then sat down to await the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, deluges came, making more noise than a thousand Hack-a-tai-as (Colorado River) and covering all the earth with water. The pinion log floated, and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh, while the waters surged higher and higher and covered the tops of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wōōl-a (Williams Mountain), and all the other mountains of the world.

"But the waters of heaven could not always be pouring down, and soon after they ceased, the flood upon the earth found a way to rush into the sea. And as it dashed down it cut through the rocks of the plateaus [823] and made the deep Chic-a-mi-mi (canyon) of the Colorado River (Hack-a-tai-a). Soon all the water was gone.

"Then Pu-keh-eh found her log no longer floating, and she peeped out of the window Tochopa had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and almost dark, she could see in the dim distance the great mountains of the San Francisco range. And near by was the canyon of the Little Colorado, and to the north was Hack-a-tai-a, and to the west was the canyon of the Havasu.

"The flood had lasted so long that she had grown to be a woman, and, seeing the water gone, she came out and began to make pottery and baskets as her father long ago had taught her. But she was a woman. And what is a woman without a child in her arms or nursing at her breasts? How she longed to be a mother! But where was a father for her child? Alas! there was no man in the whole universe!

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"Day after day longings for maternity filled her heart, until, one morning, — glorious happy morning for Pu-keh-eh and the Havasu race, — the darkness began to disappear, and in the far-away east soft and new brightness appeared. It was the triumphant Sun coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. Nearer and nearer he came, and at last, as he peeped over the far-away mesa summits, Pu-keh-eh arose and thanked Tochopa, for here, at last, was a father for her child. She conceived, and in the fulness of time bore a son, whom she delighted in and called In-ya'-a — the son of the Sun.

"But as the days rolled on she again felt the longings for maternity. By this time she had wandered far to the west and had entered the beautiful canyon of the Havasu, where deep down between the rocks were several grand and glorious waterfalls, and one of these, Wa-ha-hath-peek-ha-ha, she determined should be the father of her second child.

"When it was born it was a girl, and to this day all the girls of the Havasupai are 'daughters of the water.'

"As these two children grew up they married, and thus became the progenitors of the human race. First the Havasupais were born, then the Apaches, then the Wallapais, then the Hopis, then the Paiutis, then the Navahoes.

"And Tochopa told them all where they should live. The Havasupais and the Apaches were to dwell in Havasu Canyon, the former on one side of the Havasu (blue water), and the latter on the other side, and occupy the territory as far east as the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco Mountains. The Wallapais were to roam in the country west of Havasu Canyon, and the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Hopis and Navahoes east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiutis north of the big Colorado.

"And there in Havasu Canyon, above their dancing-place, he carved on the summit of the walls figures of Pu-keh-eh and A-pa-a to remind them from whom they were descended. Here for a long time Havasupais and Apaches lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a most beautiful Havasu woman, and he fell in love with her, and he went to his home and prayed and longed and ate his heart out for this woman who was the wife of another. He called upon Hokomata, the bad god, to help him, and Hokomata, always glad to foment trouble, told him to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to cross the Havasu, kill the woman's husband, and steal her for his own wife.

"The Apache heeded this evil counsel and did so.

"When the Havasupais discovered the wrong that had been done them, and the great disgrace this Apache had brought upon the tribe, they counselled together, and determined to drive out the Apaches from their canyon home. No longer should they be brothers. They bade the Apaches be gone, and when they refused, fell upon them and drove them out. Up the rocks near Hue-gli-i-wa the Apaches climbed, and to this day the marks of their footsteps may be seen. They were driven far away to the south and commanded never to come north of the San Francisco Mountains. Hence, though originally they were brothers, there has ever since been war between the people of the Havasu and the Apaches.

"Then, to remind them of the sure punishment that comes to evil-doers. Tochopa carved the great stone

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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figures of the Apache man and the Havasupai squaw so that they could be seen from above and below, and there to this day the Hue-gli-i-wa remain, as a warning against unlawful love and its dire consequences."

Here is another story told by a shaman of the Havasupais of the origin of the race. It is interesting and instructive to note the points of similarity and difference.

"In the days of long ago a man and a woman (Hokomata and Pukeheh Panowa) lived here on the earth. By and by a son was born to them, whom they named Tochopa. As he grew up to manhood Pukeheh Panowa fell in love with him and wished to marry him, but he instinctively shrank from such incestuous intercourse. The woman grew angry as he repelled her, and she made a number of frogs which brought large volumes of water. Soon all the country began to be flooded with water, and Hokomata found out what was the matter. He then took Tochopa and a girl and placed them in the trunk of a pinion tree, sealed it up, and sent them afloat on the waters. He stored the tree with corn, peaches, pumpkins, and other food, so they would not be hungry, and for many long days the tree floated hither and thither on the face of the waters. Soon the waters began to subside, and the tree grounded near to where the Little Colorado now is. When Tochopa found the tree was no longer floating he knocked on the side, and Hokomata heard him and came and let him out. As he stepped on the ground he saw Huchanapatcha (the San Francisco Mountains), Huegadawiza (Red Butte), Huegawōola (Williams Mountain), and he said: "I know these mountains. This is not far from my country. And the water ran down the Hack-a-tha-eh-la (the salty stream, or the Little Colorado) and made Hack-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon of the Colorado). Here he and his wife lived until she gave birth to the son and daughter as before related."

The way the Wallapai became a separate people is thus related by the Havasupais:

"A long time ago the animals were all the same as Indians, and the Indians as the animals. The Coyote he lived here in Havasu Canyon. One time he go away for a long time and he catch 'em a good squaw, and by and bye he have a little boy.

"The little boy grew up to be a man, and he went up on top (out of the canyon, upon the higher plateaus), and there he found two squaw. It heap cold on top, and he get two squaw to keep him warm when he go to sleep. Then he came back to Havasu, and when his papa (the Coyote) saw his two squaws he said: 'I take this one. One squaw enough for you.' But the boy was angry and said one squaw was not enough. 'When I lie down to sleep I heap cold. Squaw she heap warm. Two squaw keep me warm.' The Coyote told his son not to talk; he must be content with one squaw and go to sleep. And the squaw was proud that the Coyote had made her his wife, and she began to taunt the boy, and when he replied she asked the Coyote to tell his boy not to talk. And the Coyote was mad and spoke angrily to his boy.

"When he awoke in the morning his son was gone. And ten sleeps passed by and still he did not come back, so the Coyote tracked him up Wallapai Canyon, and went a long, long way. He reached the hilltop and still he did not find his son. At last, a long, long way off he saw him, and he changed him into a mountain sheep. Then a lot more mountain

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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sheep came and ran with the Coyote's son, and the Coyote could not tell which of the band was his boy. He looked and looked, but it was all in vain. He tried to change his boy back again, so that he would no longer be a mountain sheep, but, as he could not tell which was his boy, his efforts were in vain, and he had to go back to Havasu alone.

"For a long time the boy remained as a mountain sheep, until the horns had grown large upon his head. Then he changed himself back to a man, and he found his squaw there, waiting for him, and that is why, to this day, the Wallapai is to the Havasupai the A-mu-u or mountain sheep."

The origin of the Hopis is thus related by the Havasupais:

"Long time ago two men were born near Mooney Falls. They were twins, yet one was big man, and the other a little big. They came up into this part of the canyon (where the Havasupais now live). It was no good in those days. There was no water and it was 'heap hot.' The little big man he say: 'I no like 'em stay here. Let us go hunt 'em good place to live where we catch plenty water, plenty corn.' So they left the canyon and climbed out where the Hopi trail now is. Here they stayed in the forest some time, hunting and making buckskin. After they had got a large bundle of buckskins dressed, they put them on their backs and began to walk on to seek the country of lots of water, where plenty of corn would grow. But it was hot weather and the load was heavy, and they soon grew so very tired that the smaller brother began to cry. As they walked on he cried more and more,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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773 539 until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

172 173 361 In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ȧhu ǂ tĭga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ȧhuȧ́t' and red as ȧhuȧ́'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
862 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an *uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may* be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 423 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 171 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pinon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 127

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
766 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
781 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

"Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

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sun, through a hole in the mountain. No sooner had the leader come out than he was overwhelmed by the bright light and the angry waters, and died; and while the people were weeping and wondering what they should do, the Coyote came, and said to them, 'Burn the body of your father, and scatter the ashes thereof upon the face of the water; then they will begin to dry away and the earth will grow hard.' 'Alas! we have no fire,' said the people. So the Coyote volunteered to fetch it, and forthwith ran far away in search of it. When he had gone, and the people, wondering if he would return, were still mourning, the blue-bottle fly, who was sunning himself on a dry branch, comforted them by saying that he would make fire for them. So, raising his wings, he rubbed them against one another, until the sparks flew out from them and ignited the branch he was perched upon. Then the people collected great quantities of wood, laid the body of the cacique thereon, and set fire to it with the branch the blue-bottle fly had lighted.

"The Coyote, who saw from afar the smoke of the fire they had kindled, was angry, and, running back as fast as he could, came to the place just as the body was consumed. But the heart still remained, and, rushing into the fire, he grabbed it in his mouth, and ran away with it. The fire was so hot that it singed his face and fore-paws: hence, to this day, the faces and fore-paws of the coyote are black. He ate only a part of the heart, burying the rest: hence, also, it is the nature of the coyote to bury his food away in the ground.

"Where the Coyote buried the heart a corn plant grew, and upon its stalks were six ears of corn, — yellow, white, variegated, black, blue, and red: hence, corn, springing from the heart of man, is his life to this day. As the nations of men came out one after another, each was given an ear of corn: yellow to the

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Zuñi, white to the Moqui, variegated to the Northern nations, a very little black to the Apache, and blue to the Hua-la-pai; but the Ha-va-su-paí, coming last, had only a little red ear given them by the fathers [gods].

"Now they did not know how they could live on the small portion that had been given them. So the Coyote, when he heard them bemoaning their lot, came and told them to follow his example: therefore our fathers became a nation of hunters. As the waters of the world dried and flowed away, the face of the earth cracked, and was worn full of deep cañons. One of these cañons was very narrow and filled with rattlesnakes. This was the cañon of the Ha-va-su-paí; [NT6] and down in a grotto, under the falls, lived a great goddess, Ka-mu-iu-dr-ma-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Mother of the Waters.' She was wooed by the rattlesnakes, and bore two sons, Ha-ma-u-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Children of the Waters.' Upon the head of each was a great flint knife. Now the earth became so dry that our forefathers had but little water to drink, and, wandering about in search of it, came to the brink of the cañon; but they could not enter because of the rattlesnakes. So the two boys slew the rattlesnakes with their magic flint knives, and widened the rocks above the home of their mother. Then they guided them down the cañon, and built little houses high up among the cliffs; for the Apache Mojaves came in, too, and disputed possession with them. As the two children led the people down the cañon, they made their hand-prints on the walls, and painted the animals which should serve as food for their people. And these marks still remain on the rocks, and thither we go when we wish to secure the deer, or to ask for rain. When, at last, they reached the home of their mother, she told them that this should be their home forever; that it was not good to live on meat alone, but that they should build houses

773 there, and plant the ear of corn they
539 had, and it would be a means of life.
So they did as she told them, and the Apache Mojaves lived above them, where the cañon was narrower. For a long time all was well, until a young Ha-va-su-paí man stole an Apache Mojave girl, which caused strife, and wars ensued, so that the Apache Mojaves were driven away. For this reason we live alone in the cañon.

"But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique: hence, only during summer do we live in the home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.

[221 166]

"Do you Americans," said the old

[P. 559 A]

man, as he ceased, with a sigh of longing, "never see the Mother of the Waters, when you wander along the shores of the great ocean?"

"Oh, yes," I said, and then I told him the story of the mermaid; and, happy almost to tears, he added, "Alas! I cannot tell you more, for the only books our fathers gave us were our hearts and our mouths."

A fairy story is this of the Nation of the Willows; and while science teaches us another tale, may we not poetically believe, with these simple natives, that they have always lived here, apart from the world of nations; that ever since they wandered forth from the four fertile wombs of mother earth, this little strip of land and river and willow, and the great rock-walls, so near together, yet so sublime and impassable, have bounded their generations of life, have had shadows cast on them by the smoke-clouds of the numberless funeral pyres of all their unnamed dead?

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 559B]

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[For the texts of various Havasupai myths and legends, see category 116, pp. 31-110.]

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs. 765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [71]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightly forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck. 765 535

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal ge?," ("What is the time?"). 765

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

796 This indication was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a cen-
533 ter pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
177 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

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"A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Wescogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gätágáma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gätágáma also was singing his own songs."

796 533 177

Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 927

535 727 [533] head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it." The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 727 ● 539 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.

> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this[north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy[who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 [177] Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

●539 packed them inside and lay them side by side with a cover to sleep till their mother returned.

While they slept he took cool charcoal from the fireplace and put them in a line down the center of each child's stomach. Supais say this makes the child sleep longer.

Then Coyote went back under the tree where he could look into the house through the door, and waited.

Later in the evening Bear Woman made a sound like she was approaching the house, her claws hitting against sticks and rocks, moving slowly, so Coyote knew it was hard on her feet. She can't travel fast like other animals. She did as Wolf had said. She put her burden basket down, went inside, looked for her tobacco, lit her pipe, smoked, then used the pipe in her vagina. Coyote watched her do this but he can't wait. Pretty soon Coyote's penis was getting hard. He wanted to wait. He pressed it down, but he just can't wait. So he went to the door and whispered to her, "My aunt, this is the kind they use." So he went in and put his penis in and they had orgasm quickly. Then he tried to pull away, but she tightened her legs and tried to keep him there. Later he felt her legs loosen and tried to jump away, but she tightened up again. He said, "It's getting late. I want to go home." She did this over and over but he could never get away. Then she loosened up and he jumped up above where she lay. She reached for the soft, fleshy muscle on his back beside his backbone where the sinew comes from and grabbed this from his back. Coyote ran quickly away. Bear got up and called. "Coyote, I've got your backbone meat." He said, "That's not my meat. That's your red paint bag." Then Coyote went on his way home. But Coyote really had pain in him. By the time he reached home, he was walking crooked with pain. When he came in and lay down, Wolf was already there. Coyote told Wolf, "My uncle, I came to the place where you sent me. I went there and did what you asked all the way through, but before I left, my aunt asked me to fetch wood. She wanted a long pole to last awhile. I looked around and found a tree with the limbs partly broken. I broke off others and packed the tree on my back. When nearly there I stumbled and fell and scraped the meat off my back. So my aunt told me to come home because I couldn't pack wood farther."

Wolf knew this was false and knew what Coyote had done because he knew the coyote's way.

The next day he sang to Coyote, "I told you what would happen if you fooled with your aunt. I know what you did. Next time I send you over there, you must mind me. I don't want you to get in trouble. She had many relatives living to the north. Don't act that way with her; try to be good to her."

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahaul'dridji sueddipi*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tsaamdpelpi*, race by two; *tsaamdpelpi*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1800 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

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[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 110° F. (outside 72°). Probably the temperature in the sweat lodges ranges from 100°-110° F. Cf. A. Fewkes notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 115° [345]
[ed., Ed.].

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the pores to contracting.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object buried (arrow?) was a bone compounded of wood and poison gum. The Pima use a ball of gum-covered gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hodge, ed., Ed.]. [971]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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● 541 giêa giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 giêigánágóagó nóŋágábá isunéa hineyá
533 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego haaliáŋá haaliáŋá haaliáŋáŋáŋá yóllgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a cornecb on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigut'ôulgd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

180 *People of the Blue Water*

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional 796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the 527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

796 The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing. 527 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former, 574 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja. Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much 527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past 541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

canyon keeping us awake until weariness deadened the sound. But with the announcement of the first race, the people surged forward, crowding for a place near the track, laughing, shouting and betting on their favorite horses.

Walapai Bill's bay lined up with a dozen other horses for the first race. Had I cared to bet I would have placed my money on him, remembering my wild ride on that same mile-long track. Riderless horses, always betting favorites, were also trained for these races. They started on signal, kept their places in the race and—on occasion—won. No doubt one or more of them had been entered today for excitement was at a peak.

The signal was given, the race was on. Women rushed forward waving their *sutamis* and screaming at the horse on which they had placed bets, "Win race! Win! Win!" Men tossed their hats into the air and shouted.

In the midst of the hullabaloo, I remembered the stack of letters that must be answered before the mail went out the next morning. Unlike the Indians I was not free to work only when it was "little light" and play when I felt like it. Unlike the Indians, too, I had no storehouses bursting with food. My subsistence depended on my efficiency. I had no choice but to leave the merry-making at its height, but not before I'd had a chance to watch Walapai Bill's horse nose up inch by inch and win the race.

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ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 181

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [231]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

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541 525 is not so much difference after all in human nature, when one penetrates below the surface. The reserved Englishman, the excitable Italian, the vivacious Frenchman, and the so-called stupid and stolid native aboriginal American exhibit exactly the same traits of character under the excitement of a horserace. But in Havasu Canyon the conditions are quite different from Ascot, Doncaster, or Newmarket. Here are bucks dressed in the breech-clout and excitement, and women [291] gesticulating and waving their si-dram'-as (our large flaming red or other "loud" colored bandannas, fastened over the shoulders and across the breast). [192] Some suppress their excitement, others jabber like monkeys, and as the horses come to the starting-point there is just as much talking and din as after the start is made. One distinct feature is that many horses are raced without riders. They seem to understand, and when the signal to "let go" is given they dart off at full speed, just as if riders were on their backs urging them forward. Compared with our finely bred, beautifully chiselled horses, such as one sees, or used to see, in Lucky Baldwin's or the late Senator Stanford's stables, what ragged, scrawny, wretched creatures these are; and yet when they run how they surprise you, how those ugly limbs seem to limber up, and those sleepy eyes gain fire!

Gambling at these races is carried to an extraordinary extent. Men, women, and children alike gamble all they possess, or even hope to possess. This gambling spirit has grown wonderfully in the past few years, for, during the Kohot Navaho's lifetime he constantly used his powerful influence to discourage it.

Gambling, unfortunately, is not confined merely to

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horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe.

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time.

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive.

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article.

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Huc-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track

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157 181 541 574 499 just the same as the white men did, and, when it was completed, train their horses to run on it until they were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais came, they would be able to take all the advantages this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 181 The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 121]

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or ridiculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 is the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or [578] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [8%] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records: they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Cones found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Cones, 346.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (6, p. 41). The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1900 it was 145, in 1905, 141. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognised as blood rela-
621 tives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Chackapanyega, his nephew, recognised 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognised and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

601 Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
602 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for greatgrandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognised, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601

nÿ ofigá	father's father
móligá	father's mother
nÁgwadigá	mother's father
nÁgof igá	mother's mother
djitaf igá, djitá	father
djidjf igá, djidjf'	mother
nowigá	father's older brother
nidjafigá	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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601 wüiyégà — son's wife, wife of all relatives except as noted elsewhere
yahamí'llgà — husband of all relatives except as noted, wife's brother or her grandparents[1]

I am doubtful regarding the application of some terms. Sinyella did not know what a woman's female cross-cousin's children should be called, nor the terms for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's children. He said the latter would just be recognized as relatives. Djerdwaimo gave *nellgá* for a woman's male parallel-cousin's child, *hüpá* for the son, and *pellga* for the daughter of her female parallel-cousin; but I think she is mistaken. Probably she did not understand the question. She did not know what her daughter Helen would call Pete's grandchildren if he had any, i.e., Helen's father's younger half-brother's grandchildren (see the genealogical chart).

There are no terms for a husband's brother or sister, nor their spouses, nor for a wife's sister or her husband, nor a wife's brother's wife, nor for a husband's parents, nor a child's parents-in-law. There are no terms for step-parents; they are not called by parent terms, because "we are afraid, for the father and mother are dead." Half-brothers and sisters are called brothers and sisters.

References to dead relatives are by the relationships they bear to
[551] the living, as Manakadja's father. The form *panyá'ataiwáldj*, my father now dead, was recorded.

The reciprocal of *hatápá* is said to be *nagwélpá*, but other terms are given for the reciprocal relationships. The word *gáidjápá* may mean relative in general, as *tapdapan,lkádjádj*, Sun, my relative, occurring in a prayer.[2] In a myth, "Wolf, my father" was recorded as *hatápwell n,anádjda*, said to be an obsolete term; son-in-law, *pingíga*, was also recorded as *pingípá*.

These meanings were checked at the hand of genealogical data given
601 by Mark Hanna, his sister Susie, his nephew Jess Cheekapanyega, and
124 Jess's mother, Djerdwaimo. A record was made of the terms used by
[115] Mark and Jess for every living relative, and the reciprocal terms, on the basis of the agency census, before any genealogical charts were drawn, so that the names did not occur in logical order. The accompanying chart
601 gives Jess's relatives in full. For convenience I have separated his

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[1] The following possessive forms were recorded in myths:—
apá'n,kwaiálá — my mother's father; *apá'n,kádjwá* — my father's younger brother
a,wanálálá — my mother's mother; *apá'n,kádjwá* — my male cross-cousin (man speaking)
apá'n,kádjwá'n,álá — my mother's brother; *apwádjwá'lá* — my older brother's son (man speaking)
a,lle,kwáwá — my father; *hwapálálá* — my father

[2] However the more general word would be *a,wanálálá*, my relative. *Gáidjápá dágáni* hunted, he married a relative; literally, relative, he knows it, to take a wife.

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. Then my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjio*, your mother, *mamádjílotka*, your father, or *huwápitum*, your parents (*huwápi*, two). A man uses *gíxapi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wíxapi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gíxapi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematising. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In
591 almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

591 The sign > means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her
585 relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 30). Existing
551 camps are there underscored.

7. Dean, Sinyella's son > Panashida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

9. Lemoman, Sinyella's son > Supai Charley's daughter 66. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Trikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djordwaima, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dandjgva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 66. Married Sudjagadja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8 > Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 66. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Trikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tahawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahoola, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 66, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tahawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 23, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, > Anne, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's house. His son Kit brought Kaholo's daughter home from her father's house near 39; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahota from her oldest brother's house, 28. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16) > Ilva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Tatamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 25 > Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 8. Took her to 14; she died. Then he > Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 26. Took her to 14; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaka lived 71 > Tuhapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 60. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1918. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1[See category 102, p.

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60. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Supai Charley's daughter at 60; also died. His wife Toyava has married three times. First to Arthur's elder brother, who lived with his father at 6, took Toyava from her father's house at 39 to a garden near 51; he died. Having took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 39.

59. Richard lived with his elder brother, Watahomidja, at 68>Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 52.

58. Bert, his elder brother, took Putaliwaiya's sister from 57 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he>Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house site, 52. His son, Bois, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 36, to 52.

58a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1>Stella, at her father's house, 54; then to his father's house site, Ela.

54. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4>Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 50. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 54.

53. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 64, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 60, to 52; she died. He went>Kunive, at her brother, Putaliwaiya's house, 57; then to 53.

56. Pakachagova, who lived at 64>Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 56.

57. Martin Navaja, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 57, near brother at 58.

52. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 58>Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 55; she died. Then he>Watahomidja at her father's house, 63; then to 58.

51. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land)>Katie at her father's house, near 24; then to 41.

49. Billy, who lived with father at 62>Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 41; she died. Then he>Lillie at her father's house, 24; then to 42.

48. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 62>Dasaiova at her father's house at 20. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14>Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manakadja, at 47>Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 69; then to 45.

46. Leonard, who lived with father at 38>Esther at her father, Manakadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manakadja, who lived at 66>Uevgwadgwain at her (and Tobowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he discarded her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Uevgwadgwain lived at 47 with both wives.

45. Pete, who lived with elder brother at 1>Tchadadja, Manakadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 45.

49. Went lived with his father's elder brother, Hayvella, at 49; took Walapai wife.

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81. Shorty lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house, 62. Teyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwumidja at her father's house, 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 81 on her father's land.

83. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 83>Andjalik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 83; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 83>Nina at her father's house, 68. Then to 83: she died in 1919.

84. Roger, who lived at father's site at 84>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 84; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 84; she ran away.

85. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 87>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (207); she died. Took Moses from her father's house, 48, to 85 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

86. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 81. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 86.

87. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Dzukumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 87 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 87)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 10. Then he took her to 87; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

88. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 19. Dzukumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 88 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

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Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated. With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the

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chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,

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when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desiring additional fields.

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last
856 the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

● 551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mănakădjá ŋ̇ănapĕ́dj; nắpĕ́ ípé*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pănămĕ́'dăpĕnăsăladj; djĭsăl-ípé*, father). The word *nidjĭsămat ípé* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken. 551 ●

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment. 553 551 553 [603]

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Cheekapanyega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wanaskwatad*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *kăwad*, house, and *dwĭ*, rock, are in this suspect class. 115 551 551

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpă*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

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551 the translation given me in each case. Women's names, on the other hand, rarely contain words for girl or woman. Half of all the names refer to personal characteristics, often quite indirectly. Arranging the data according to approximate ages brings to light some interesting points. The names of half the women under forty years relate to personal peculiarities, only one third above that age do, but there is no such distinction among the men. There are a greater number of men over thirty years with house and rock names, and a greater number of women over forty with vegetation names. Such differences may mean either that there are names appropriate to a particular age or that fashions in naming have varied at different periods. I cannot decide between these explanations, because, while men's names are changed, so that an agreement between the type of name and age is possible, this is not true for the woman, whose names are supposed not to have been changed except in a few cases. The inconsequential character of names is indicated by the number of school children who lack native names; evidently the English names they acquire at school are considered good equivalents of the meaningless names of the others. The names of foreign women married to Havasupai are appended. At least one of them has been re-named by the natives: the names of others may have undergone slight phonetic changes.

Males

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
3	gwawé'ly^{e}l, hair like a rope.	Named when 3.	gwawé, hair; ly^{e}l, rope.
	yugiiiiéxyégwé, eyes on a thread.	Only the central portion of his eyelids were parted when a baby.	yu, eyes; iiéxyégwé, the connecting filament of something worn nearly in two.
	hi'mo	Possibly Spanish; named by a foreign Indian.	
7	gi^{e}y^{e}'é, shaman.	Looks like a shaman; does not behave, hollers, sings; [illegible] about, strikes people.	
		Named when 7.	
	yug'iqiiiko, dirty eyelashes.	His eyes were sore when an infant.	yu, eyes; g'eqi, dirty; iiko, eyelashes.
	ha^{e}, hallooing.		
	ihá	A Walapai name.	

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Maxam (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
8	hwan	Spanish "Juan"?	
9	hukúvé, bump on forehead.[1]	Which he had when little.	huk, forehead.
	hatévé, projection.		
	putgiskwi'djvé, hat sticks up.		put, hat; skwtdjvé, sticking up.
	h'a'mu kôgwó'té, yellow-skinned Navaho.	Father's English name is "Navaho."	h'a'mu, Navaho; gwó'té, yellow.
12	'hé, wheat		
13	pahakhigûnk, punishing man		ápa, man; akhigûn, to punch repeatedly.
15	paijûvé, man with nits		ápa, man; djûl, nits?
16	amakwigûté, sagebrush bird's	Named when 16. English "Burnet"?	
17	kôkwôt, fox.	Once he killed a fox by striking it on the head with a stone.	
	gitsitpaûvé, talus slopes on both sides of a canyon.		
20	pagigwin', caterpillar man	Had no native name before he was named thus by his wife's relatives when 19.	ápá, man; gigwin', caterpillar. [553]
21	nágá, or nágwvá pagátaiá, old man	His hair is somewhat gray.	
	vûh watági'gimk, house pushed off.		hâwá, house; tági'-gimk, to push one thing off another.
22	watâl'ûtimk		hâwá, house
23	nágwôté, a small rock-squirrel.		
	ha'tigidjûtjigi-', he bites lice.	Usual name: before he married, he once picked lice from the girl's hair and cracked them between his teeth	ha'ti', lice; djûtjigi-, bite.

[1] Bracketed names are those of the same individual.

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Names (Continued)

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Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
16	tumigwá, rear end, back.		
	dahihkimá, he moves his feet fast (?).	When a fat baby, he toddled about at a run.	
17	djaadjagtamhkáá, blue-jay legs.		
	hagat'gamhkáá, crane legs.		gat'ligá, long; mihkáá, legs.
	patigiéina, bat-lizard.	Boyhood name.	pát, bat; giéina, lizard.
	hahyihkjá, crushed leg.	A horse fell on it.	mihkáá, leg.
	djáin, limp.	When a baby he was too heavy for his strength and always toppled over.	
	gitatsá	When a little boy he was troublesome like an unidentified eastern tribe of this name.	
18	kápta	English "captain"; both names commonly used.	
	patihá, man's belly.		ápa, man; tiko, belly.
19	ya'wáwá, dumb.	Could not talk plainly until he was a big boy.	ya, mouth; wáwá, sounds representing mumbling.
	ahpaligkjáwáva, I want peaches.	Usual name.	ahpais, peaches; káváva I or he wants some.
	ahk'avádjvá, make a noise.		
	pagahwaih, quarrelsome man.		ápa, man; hwaih, to feel like fighting.
	kwaiyáí, stone arrow point or knife.		
20	lámá, spread out.		lámigá, to spread out.
	patigtvatsáá, fat legs.		mihdáá, legs; vátsáá, big, fat.
22	wigáá, blasting rocks.		áwí, rock; gáá, blasted.

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
34	halleklk'ápá, wet (with semiabsurd)		
	ñaʼmá sunsívá, Ocalá.	He was taken there frequently when a boy.	
35	tálkwangálálá, lizard (a variety found on the plateau).	Usual name.	
	gwó'hová, having wings.		wó'há, wing.
38	á'vá, tobacco.		
39	gálá, belly-full.		
	álgáman'ó'dá, wrist.	Usual name; his wrist once swelled.	ál, hand; man'ó'dig, knob, wrist, ankle.
	gálígávaudjá ováká, flame.	Usual name.	o'a, fire; vada, fire leaping up.
	amatagulná, thick ears.	Boyhood name.	amadigi, ears; dlná, thick.
	málgáic,——mask.		a'mál, mask.
	álíhóvá, a streamer moving in the air.	A bird was carrying a snake pendant as he flew.	[mid vigá, the air (a little way up); mihá'há, the sky.]
	wathídginá, pusher-house.		háwa, house; háwigá, to close a hole or bag mouth by drawing into pushers.
	pawaigádává, thin man.	Usual name: he has consumption.	ápá, man; gádává, thin, lacking flesh.
	n,agádjá'wí'avá, black-head down.		n,ágá, black; djáá-wí'nvá, to bend down.
	gíá'tá, porcupine.	Once when hunting all he caught was a porcupine: also, he looked like one, with coarse whiskers.	
43	pátsívatá, woman chewing his hat.		pát, hat; tsívatá, chewing.

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
44	wihk hualhkanyd'ôl, wooden legs.	Used crutches when he broke his leg a few years ago.	hual, pine tree; wihada legs.
	pasyAgwaih, shabby man.	Usual name; always wears old clothes.	Apa, man; nigwaih, shabby.
	nyaniginkanyâ, soft breasts.	Before his first marriage he felt the girl's breasts and told some other boy they were soft.	nyâmaih, breasts; ninyâ, soft.
	yagitaih, old man.	Usual name.	
	djinyahâgi, head hanger.	When he was a small boy, he went about with hanging head.	djinyahâgi, to hang one's head; hi', head.
	mâtâyâ		âmâi, dirt; tâyâ, nothing.
44	suef'aim	Boyhood name; perhaps given by a foreign Indian.	
	sumdigiâd'ual, deaf.	Usual name; he is hard of hearing.	sumdigi, ears; dâual, not to hear well.
43	wawaukwiwâ, house-standing.		hâwa, house; akwiwâ, (a living thing) standing up.
47	yayâ, man's mouth.		Apa, man; ya, mouth.
43	yasumdigâ, man's ears.	Usual name.	Apa, man; sumdigi, ears.
	tâwâvâ, to slide over the edge of a bank.		
46	yagaiâ, short man.		
	tâkwâtâ, knob on the end of a stick.		tagâkadigâ, knob on end of a stick.
	wâdâ wihkâgâwâ, creaking house.		hâwa, house; kâgawâ, creaking noise.
[302] 44	ghikhâvâ, knot of knit hair.	He was the only man to retain this when the agent induced them to cut their hair short.	hâwâwa, hair.
	apâyuhkinya, blind man.	Usual name; went blind recently.	Apâ, man; yu, eyes; kayig, black.
	wauk'â'gawa		wâwâ, house; akâg, to force the beams out of green pole.

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
55	mistamá, mih-ßek (for nettle).		
59	pē^{k}t, hat or headband.	Usual name.	
	yávlayámí'hkwtdová, long beard.	Which he has.	ya, mouth; ayámi, beard; owtdová, long.
	hkhé'dá, left (hand).	Usual name; he is not left-handed.	
	pagovkhá, large man.		
64	khuhkhá tuhkpintgá, hat.		
67	mihé'há, ten cent coin.	Usual name: he said he paid ten cents for a woman at Jerome, but he is not believed.	
	pánhkmidá, man feels glad.		ápá, man; nkhkmidá, to feel glad over success after loss or famine.
69	kwalyotyá, gold teeth.	Usual name: he was the first to have them.	kwá, metal; yol, teeth.
	gkigó'má		
	wimmá, little rock mountain.	Former name.	áwí, rock; maá, pile, mound.
	mantgadjá, leader of his children.	So named when he became head chief about 1900.	hamda, children; apadja, leader of men.
	pótgahkmí'l, high hat.	Usual name: he used to wear a high-crowned hat.	pté, hat; hamtgá, high.
	watáhdmtdjá, stripped-house.		háwá, house; tahdmtgá, to strip off (leaves, excess water, etc.)
71	ákokhlá, Hopi word for "like an Aconma"?	Boyhood name: when a boy he was often at Oraibi, where the Hopi said he looked like an Aconma.	
	atsyó'lá, to part by a forward movement.		^{h}matsmyó'lk, to plow, to furrow the dirt.
	tahawágá, two wives.	He once had two wives.	tahawágágá, to have two wives.
	hkgápdá, diarrhoea.		

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Maxon (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
74	pulglye", all shaved away.	Usual name.	
	pukkhagl'ava, he bumps against a man.	Once when entering a house at night, he had his head lowered and bumped into a man.	ápd, man; hagkvá, to bump into something.
79	amadhgkhá, half deaf.	He is quite deaf.	amadhgk, ear; to, something inside.
	hahyá, black man.		ápd, man; hyágk, black.
82	wghkkhyá, (break off) a fragment of rock.		áwi, rock; khya, nothing at all.
82	wamaskwa, hot-house.		kkwa, house; simskwa, hot.

Females

4	gwaSkw'Ada	A Walapai name.	
5	hamalyá		
7	hal'á		
	ghkhdvá, three strand braid.	Wears her hair this way.	
	hal'Ski'vakk-li, white pimples on her forehead.	These were never present.	hál, forehead; Sk'vá, white; d'ka, pimples.
	gulgumkkwá, chicken eggs.		kulgu, chicken, ukkwá, egg.
8	kkwá'vá, big and flabby.	Formerly characteristic.	
	kkáljka, alt.		
9	mkkágá, "woman" in Paiute (?).		
10	wkká, buttocks.		
11	hamlyókká, coitus.		
	hí'ná, rectum.		
	uwí', mouse.		
12	mkkk'dawaxká, swollen neck.	Used to have swollen gland under angle of jaw.	mkkk'á, neck; wawaxk, hump, swollen.
13	gaklaSk, angry.	Formerly she was always angry.	
	nakawí	Named by a foreign Indian.	

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Yumans (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
14	mhé'mč'k'vá, tall girl. hahkdá, left hand.	She was tall when born. Is left handed.	mhé', girl; mč'k'á, long. 551
	čwč'ngá, lame (?).	She is lame.	
15	yčkkdjčkdyá, eyes deep set.		yá, eyes; djčkdyá, deep set.
20	dá'g'á		
22	ya'ilaik, chatter-box.	Eminently characteristic!	ya, mouth; laik, to chatter.
23	yukkhyá, half blind.	She is nearly blind.	yá, eyes; kyág, blank.
26	aswtgiává, granddchild not good.	When her daughters were small, they misbehaved: probably caused by her parents-in-law.	aswtga, son's children; kkiává, troublesome.
27	djá'kadjá'ká, dove-tailed, intampered.		
28	matahdadjá, blue round spot.		vaaiga, blue; hadatdjá, round spot.
34	yugátaskč'gavá, cock-eye.	One iris points upward.	yá, eyes.
	tdč'k'tdjá		
35	kágá'gavá, sores all over body.	But she never had them.	
36	tákhtá, something contained.		
39	tdčimdjá		
41	tuyává, uneven, lame (?)	One leg is longer than the other.	
42	čhkwč'watdjA		[tkuk-wč'ná, to move one thing gradually toward another.]
44	watčtkdjá		vaaiga, blue; atwá, unriju (green) color; takttdjá, to nudge.
49	dimdjáqvá, built upright.		
50	djárdwahma, a round thing.		
53	gwawtlavá xymadvá, usual name, white winged bird. djí'igá'vá, boundary of hair at nape of neck.		gwa, thirl (?); wtlavá, with wings; nyamává, white.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumana NT14
Havasupai

FEMALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
84	suhdjá'gédjá, green, to pile.		suwá, unripe (green) color; djágédjá, to throw or pour things into a pile or receptacle.
85	dáh'ládvá or g'ódívá, marked with lines.		
	teshapdímyá, swelling on body.	She has none.	
[168]	hámwt'dimá hápá'dívá, old woman wearing a hat.	New name, 1918, after the death of her husband	hámwt'dima, old woman; pát, hat.
80	iyáwalyá, heart.		
80	gwegwágwalá, (a human) moving about quickly.	Usual name.	
	pahádjá, pile of brush, sticks or hay (not stones).		
	hámwt'dimgyagydá, tall old woman.	Usual name.	hámwtdimá, old woman; gágydá, tall, long.
	yúkobó'má, protruding upper alveoli.		yu, mouth; bómá, protruding (upper alveoli only?)
70	tdahámdadwá, tripod of poles.		
75	ahwílgdá, rough.	Usual name?	ahwilga, little points
	tdkadridjá, mixed up into something round.		[kasudig, to mix up and make round.]
70	ámá, mountain sheep.		
	adá dívá, green things at intervals.		adwá, green, unripe; ódigá, round things set at intervals; [dígá, to string beads.]
88	daaftcává, a little stream (of sand or water).		ahasoidjigá, water streaming down.
88	dyídidjá		dyídigá, to place close together.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

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FEMALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	Name	Explanation	Derivation
90	bokumá or bokumá, to eat pitón nuts. mdljgaddjá, unripe things floating.	Usual name.	ko' or bo', pitón tree or nut. adwá, unripe; djigaddjá, material covering the surface of water.
94	djaá', eagle.		
		FOREIGN WOMEN.	563 551
23	Mᵘdá.	Yavapai name.	
35	akmᵘdidjá.	Walapai name.	
40	djadᵘkaydmá.	Walapai name.	
	gáthaydáivá, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dáayddavá, face paint, tattoo marks.
60	pagádjahdda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djahayálgá, to chew; gahddá, tough.
	ahaydádjá, to pull with the hand.		ahl, hand.
78	aladwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

171 854

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 819–821; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 257. Field notes on the Klamath, 1923

[Text continues on p. 317]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart:[2] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Moapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kaibab. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[3]

171 854

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Moapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Waksachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[3] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[4]

171 846 854

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Moapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[5]

171 551

[1] *Idem*, 193.
[2] Kissell, 140.
[3] Lowie, (i), 268-9; Dixon, (a), 230.
[4] Gunther, 234.
[5] Lowie, (i), 270-2; (a), 211; Parsons, (g); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-120; Russell, (d), 180; Dixon, (a), 232; Faye, 35.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

171 351 Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

861 Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

868 Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *sïlï'* seeds, piñon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

868 They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

[867] Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Later, I went out to have a look at the cottonwood tree that held the thermometer. It hugged the wall of the house, spreading heavy branches over the roof. A few years afterward, this tree became very important to one of my successors. He and his wife saved their lives by climbing as high as its creaking limbs would allow while a flood raged below.

A short ladder leaned against the gnarled trunk. By standing with one foot on its top rung, the other on a stout limb, I would be able to read the thermometer that was enclosed in a rectangular box, nailed to the tree's trunk. I had played in trees in my childhood; tree climbing had always been fun. But now, when I tried to picture myself in my ankle-length skirts perched on a rung of the ladder and a limb of the tree, peering into that box, I couldn't bring the picture into focus; I didn't want to. But that didn't keep me from taking the readings and sending the reports to Washington. The canyon's temperature, I learned, varied by ten degrees from that of the mesa, winter or summer. Even nature applied a special law to the land of the People of the Blue Water.

Mr. Ewing had been right about our isolation. I was soon hungry for news from the outside. Our mail was brought by Indian carrier from Seligman, and this was "mail day." We were so eager for letters that by the time the sun's rays had left the canyon at three o'clock, we were already watching the trail, hoping the carrier had made a faster trip than usual. However, we had lighted the lamps before Spoonhead came riding in with the mail-sack thrown across his saddle.

It was the first time I had seen Spoonhead, but I did not need to speculate as to the origin of his name; just as the Indians declared, his head was shaped like the bowl of a spoon.

Miss Goenawein kept the post office in one corner of her room. She sorted the mail while we waited. Among my letters was one from Mr. Ewing, asking me to prepare an annual report for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs covering conditions on the reservation for the past year, a duty neglected by my predecessor. It was long overdue, and he urged that I submit it immediately. Although

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lano-man, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 181 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinycla was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

[55 57]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya′ and In-ya-ja-al′-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tŏ-mā′, commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 198 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 [177] The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 553 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [119] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [5]85 maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [5]22 that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [1]77 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [5]25 the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

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It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [5]33 they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for
[651 his offices, and is usually as wealthy as
556] any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is
[551] nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however
643 severe, for the good of his own people.
692 When the Apache Mojaves were moved
648 by government to San Carlos, one of them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supaí. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re-
[696 turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

[p. 552 A]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [171] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkŭchěku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

582 [182] [614]

584 585 595 421

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

768

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

756

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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animal at bay. They[1] are bred to furnish good hunters, and castrated.[1] Dogs are called by name; such as *wakwddid*, labia minora (a male dog), *gi'n,ikdwaid*, referring to age, the dog having gray hair, and *ldôa*, painted (a brown dog with white patches.) Any dog is called to *'gaiyd*, *súgd*, *súgd*, dog, come, come, and driven off with *sst'*, *sdmigd*, go away.

Preparation of Food

Primitive peoples have more methods of preparing their food than they are commonly credited with. The Havasupai, for instance, have innumerable ways of preparing corn, only a few of which—the result of casual observation—are recorded here.

The grinding slab, on which nearly all wild and cultivated seeds are ground, is roughly rectangular, 80 by 50 cm., by 10 cm. thick. A smaller slab, carried with a moving camp, is 60 by 30 cm. A shallow oval, but nearly rectangular, depression is pecked in one face with a hammerstone. The stone of which they are made is so tough that the process of producing a proper trough is very lengthy: on this account they are highly prized. The mano (*va'ha'djd'a*) is roughly a prolate spheroid, 17–22 cm. long, with short diameters of 7.5 and 10 cm. The woman sits in front of the slab which rests flat on the ground, with its face slightly tilted toward her. The corn, beans, etc., are first pounded with the end of the mano, and then crushed with a pounding, rocking motion of the stone. The meal is brushed off forward with the side of the hand into a tray basket. The chaff is separated by swinging the basket, throwing its contents into the air, and at the same time blowing off the lighter particles.[2] The clean meal is then replaced on the slab to be pulverized by grinding with an additional slight rocking motion, forward and back, and to a lesser extent sideways. There can be no doubt that the shape of the metate depression and mano among Indians in general is in part the result of the miller's movements. When not in use, the grinding slab is turned upside down with one edge resting on the mano to keep it clear of the ground. A brush is used for cleaning the metate. This is a bundle of mescal leaf fiber, 20 cm. long., bound with a cord for a distance of 4 or 5 cm. at the center.

Stone mortars (*[4]wigwetu'tid*; *[4]wi*, stone, *gwe*, something, *tútid*, to pound) are also used for pounding corn, piñon nuts, or dried meat. These measure 15 to 20 cm., with a hollow 10 cm. in diameter. The pestle (*va'ha'djd'a*, mano) is also stone.

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[1] Dogs are not used for transportation, nor eaten so far as I know. The dogs of sixty years ago are said to resemble those of today, which in turn are in general similar to the North American breeds figured by Allen. Is it possible that they are relatively unmixed and therefore worth study?

[2] Illustrated in Mason, O. T., (h), Plate 100.

[1] [i.e., hunting dogs.—Analyst]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mŏnâkădjá n„Inapŏ́dj; nĕpŏ́'igá*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pănámt'dăpŏnâtatadj; djĭtatigá*, father). The word *nidjĭstmat igá* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken.

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment.

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Cheekapanyega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wavaskwimá*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *hâwá*, house, and *dwí*, rock, are in this suspect class.

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpá*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

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MALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
8	hwan	Spanish "Juan"?	
9	bulatévá, bump on forehead.[1]	Which he had when little.	bula, forehead.
	hatévá, projection.		
	putgiakwi'djvá, hat sticks up.		put, hat; akwtdjvá, sticking up.
	h"a'mu kögwö'öá, yellow-skinned Navaho.	Father's English name is "Navaho."	h"a'mu, Navaho; gwö'öá, yellow.
12	ᵃbé, wheat		
13	pakakinigéná, punching man		ápa, man; akinigin, to punch repeatedly.
15	padjflová, man with nits		ápa, man; djil, nits?
16	amakwápitá, sagebrush bánö'i	Named when 16. English "Barnet"?	
17	kökₒöt, fox.	Once he killed a fox by striking it on the head with a stone.	
	göteápafivá, talus slopes on both sides of a canyon.		
20	pagágwinᴬ, caterpillar man	Had no native name before he was named thus by his wife's relatives when 19.	ápá, man; gágwinᴬ, caterpillar. [553]
21	nágá, or nágová pagátaiá, old man	His hair is somewhat gray.	
	vúln watágö'gimá, house pushed off.		háwá, house; tágö'-gimá, to push one thing off another.
22	watál'dilmá		háwá, house
23	mágwööá, a small rock-squirrel.		
	há'élgádjidjgiᵂ', he bites lice.	Usual name: before he married, he once picked lice from the girl's hair and cracked them between his teeth	há'é'l, lice; djidjgiᵂ, bite.

[1] Bracketed names are those of the same individual.

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
574 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

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THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the in-
terests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act,
especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to
work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make bas-
kets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy,
to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal
matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice
of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others,
in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger
character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a
chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor
wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship
term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference.
A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your
mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The
word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his
wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are released
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born
child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the
nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is
bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle
board in her arms rather than on her back.

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624 They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their [183] families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*skwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others ● [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman.

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions.

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I

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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwívámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwívámá big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwívámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwívámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Teyadjává (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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The Walapai know Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Gave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivàmá's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Nava'o, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognize him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the oldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hlé'ga'mí'l. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hlé'ga'mí'l. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[Text continues on p. 243]

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognize that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. ~~Big~~ Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . . " Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . . "; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . . ". Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *hdnlgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŏk,óvà [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovŏk,óvà trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

484 648

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [971] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

832 581 183 762 208 [177] However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 [302] [841] Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

343 ries, which, sometimes miles away from
172 the permanent village, and often in
almost inaccessible places, everywhere
occur in nooks and shelves throughout
the cañon. Equally interesting are
342 the strange, conical little sweat-houses,
343 built of sticks, grasses, etc., and closely
roofed with dirt, as well as the bark and
cedar-brush wigwams and shelters, which
[224] the Ha-va-su-paí build far and wide, dur-
[221] ing their winter hunts, throughout the
forest-covered plains of the desert above
and around their cañon.

438 For a few years past, the Ha-va-su-
paí have been in the habit of procur-
ing, by barter with the Hua-la-pai, cast-
off soldier and other American clothing,
which is worn to a considerable extent
291 by the men. The native costume, how-
ever, is not rare. It consists simply of
a coat made from a single deerskin, a
transverse slit in the centre serving as
neck-hole; the sleeves, of two pieces of
the same material, heavily fringed, are
attached to the edge of the skin, either
side of the neck-hole, and open down as
as far as the elbows. Save the seams
at the shoulders and from the elbows
to the wrists, no sewing is necessary in
this peculiar coat; yet it is made to fit
admirably by means of a belt or band,
with which the ends falling down front
and back are gathered about the waist.
Add to this the breech-clout of soft,
fringed doe-skin, wild-cat or rabbit skin,
close-fitting leggins fringed down the
front, — though quite as often the legs
are bare, — and a pair of heavy, doubly
or trebly, raw-hide-soled moccasins of
buckskin, which reach above the ankles
like buskins, and the dress of the Ha-
va-su-paí man is complete. To all this,
● [554] however, the Pueblo blanket is an addi-
tional luxury, possession of which is in-
dispensable to good standing in the tribe.
The dress of the women is yet more
simple. It consists of a long fringed
apron of red buckskin, buttoned toget-
her behind, extending from the breast —
where it is secured by a strap around

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [588] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.

291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.

285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision. [203]

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

857 868 492 older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo. [553]

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow. [524]

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump. 857 868 [535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood. [526]

Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns. 857 866 571

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other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: *hápúagwlθà* (Let this be strong; let this not break).

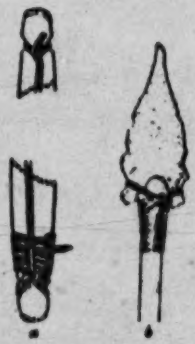

Fig. 24 (30.2-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldmí*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

Reed arrows (*dp'a"dt'a'* or *dt'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most common. Arrow reeds (*dt'd'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*doθúwd*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'd'a'i'i*; *i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dmavdlá*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*múkwapadjiá mědémtdiá*) is a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not wet with the tongue at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

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several days, being taken indoors at night; they require attention during this period. As many as twenty or thirty arrows were kept at a time in quivers. 411

The best quiver (*n,dpâwd*) is made of mountain lion skin.[1] Only rich men have these; poor men are satisfied with the hides of fawns or of the young of mountain sheep. The tanned lion skin is folded lengthwise hair side out and cut as shown in Fig. 26. The edges are turned back outside and sewed together with a running stitch. A circular piece of thick buckskin is sometimes sewed into the base (the neck) end, like the end of a can. A stick of the diameter of an arrow is placed in the 281 411 [556]

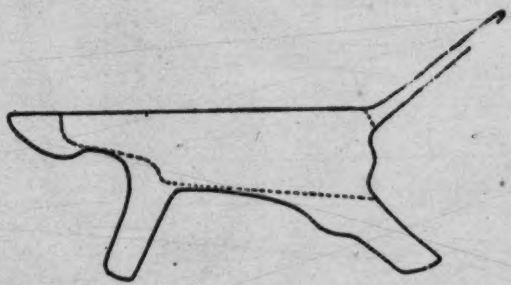

Fig. 26 (30.2-1601). The Pattern for a Mountain Lion Quiver. Based on the specimen shown in Fig. 23.

longitudinal seam where it is bound in with an over and over stitch. The tail hangs free as an ornament. Thongs are attached at quarter points along the stick to suspend the quiver.[2] It hangs obliquely from the right shoulder, under the left arm, with its mouth pointing up and back. It is adjusted so that the midpoint comes at the waist, and a thong is tied about the body to hold the quiver close to the side.

Comparative Notes

The distribution of two types of basketry will be considered here, the conical burden basket and the bi-conical water bottle. 171 285

Conical baskets are characteristic of California and the adjacent sections of the Great Basin and the Southwest. Without attempting to canvass thoroughly the literature and collections, I find it in California

[1] The Navaho and Apache look on the mountain lion as a hunting god, and its skin is in demand for quivers (Bourke, (c), 438.)
[2] An identical quiver from the Navaho is figured by Mason, (c) T. (f), Pl. LXXIX, fig. 1. The use of mountain lion skins for quivers is quite widespread in the west, but it may not be universal. [171]

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for [651] his offices, and is usually as wealthy as 556 any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the [551] most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however 643 severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved 692 by government to San Carlos, one of 648 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supaí. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re- [696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

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acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (d), 152] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 354].

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832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 574 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a [439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop- [697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared, [576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *hdnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 ●[562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 362 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 Thereare, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 577 183 Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609] In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 183 609 Woman, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for [591] every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of [896] occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. 178
However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, 584
hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary.

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 562 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

889 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neigh-
736 boring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just de-
[145] scribed, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears
[481] with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate
[153] and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they
[362] do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

764 ceased away thus saving the dreamer from death.

[562] There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a consequence of the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

462 for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women
[342] generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials chang-
[476] ing, housebuilding is now a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe,
462 each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded
439 baskets while men traded tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinyon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items with another neighbor. Spier (1928, 344) reports that "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from these to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

Recent Employment

461 Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a cor-
177 responding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to
562 a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. Spier (personal communication, 1957) supports the following conclusions:

First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves, while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the white cultural group, which socially, politically, and economically accords women almost unprecedented status, rights, and privileges, can be responsible for promoting predominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic importance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

562 Women have not been idle at any stage of economic adaptation which
464 the tribe has undergone beginning with depletion by the whites of natural
177

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white families in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [872]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.

562 In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, [768] tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was 428 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

508 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male 562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among 428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela- 177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title 562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em- [423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

423 In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of 562 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.)

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry.

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

423 nance of herself and her children.
428

562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

622 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained such eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

[642] Spier reported that in 1920 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 18 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or
[573] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as
[548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence
[8%] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

562 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She
867 herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper
181 feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

181 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine
562 position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the femi-
867 nine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrati[illegible] These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1938.)

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been trac[illegible] to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the cor[illegible]ntly less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparenti[illegible]e present contrast with white women has done [177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are *on* the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

4 About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Clan*

The
181 women excel the men in such dexterity,
461 being wonderfully apt and graceful in the use of the hand in making baskets, or preparing food. The men are expert
[324 hunters, and constantly practice marks-
411] manship with bows and arrows and rifles. They are doubtless endowed with elements of progression, as shown by their habit of always adopting and profiting by improvements or advantages of other nations, when once convinced of their
[562 superiority. The women are certainly
151] duller and less impressionable than the men, but far more thoughtful, and apparently quite sage in some of their reflections, their opinion being at times sought, in ultimate cases, by the latter.

342 The habitations of the Ha-va-su-pai are of three kinds, two of which I have already mentioned. Often, those above the river are conical, half-underground structures, made by supporting three forks against one another, laying lesser poles around these in a circle, and covering the whole with sticks, flags, grasses, and dirt, extending the front out in the shape of a veranda; or, again, by combining the square and the round forms in one, the latter serving as a retreat during severe weather. Anciently, the stone house, of good proportions, and not unlike the Pueblo architecture, except from the fact that it never exceeded one story, was sometimes used, as attested by ruins, of which several plans occur among my notes.

342 Strangest of all, however, with their
172 lesson for the speculative archæologist, are the little cliff dwellings of stone and mud, before mentioned. Though ruder than the wonderful remains of similar character in other parts of the West, ruins which have attracted world-wide attention and speculation, they are identical with them, and are the only examples of recently-built and still-occupied cliff dwellings. Furnishing clews
343 to the uses of the lesser rooms and
172 niches in the prehistoric cliff ruins, are the hundreds of little *caches*, or grana-

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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 243); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *havasúwalpa*[a], blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *kâ'nína*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[1] They call the Walapai *ðulgampaya* or *guekegaiá;* the Yavapai, *ttcdhud* (enemy) or *nyâvâpe*[b]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *dhuddjé;* the Navaho, *hua'dmá'u;* the Hopi, *mókâ;* the Zuñi, *sd'u'ú;* the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamákara;* the Paiute, *paiutia;* and, by my recollection, the Ute, *yúta* and the Pima, *palnyd.*[2]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[3] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[4] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[5]; in 1869 there were 300[6]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[7], and Coues, 214[8];

[a] Ten Kate, (2), 388, gives Kuchninkwe or Kwchninakwe (pifion-nut people ?) as the Zuñi name. This might be etymologized as *ápâ*, man, and *hapûpi*, black, or *hapâ*, sun, but I was specifically told it does not mean black man.

[b] See p. 269 for the composition of population.

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Ives, 108.

[3] *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 526.

[4] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology,* 1884, XVIII.

[5] Coues, 345.

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FEMALES (Continued)

551

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
90	kokumá or bokumá, to eat piñon nuts.	Usual name.	ko' or bo', piñon tree or nut.
	sudjigafidjá, unripe things floating.		sdwá, unripe; djigafidjá, material covering the surface of water.
94	djiná', eagle.		
		FOREIGN WOMEN.	563 ● 551
23	há'dá.	Yavapai name.	
35	sámi'dídjá.	Walapai name.	
40	djad'ínyúmá.	Walapai name.	
	gátínyúdává, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dínyúdová, face paint, tattoo marks.
60	pagídjahdda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djuínyafigá, to chew; gahdda, tough.
	símyókidjá, to pull with the hand.		sól, hand.
70	oladwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

171 854

[1] Mason, O. T., (a), 319–321; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 237. Field notes on the Klamath, 1925

[Text continues on p. 317]

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [62] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's neph- ew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the sub-chiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is ● 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgd*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [527] [571] [621] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [871]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 [535] him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest, cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

894 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
864 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 754 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

● [572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Ilckalyágdlíga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'igágwaáwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind [534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed [821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to [825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He [827] then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígalyúg vadel'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

825 Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Muntanlon for an account of these.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, [831] obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 579 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was ob-
[573] served during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as
[548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence
[896] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The family with which I lived in 1918 is typical. It consisted of Tokaoridja, aged seventy-five, her daughter Susie, fifty-five, both widows of long standing, and her two sons, Mark and Henry. Mark is a widower of thirty-four; Henry is thirty, his wife Nina is twenty-three, and his two sons are seven and three. They live in two houses standing side by side: Tokaoridja, Susie, and Mark in one, Henry's family in the other. Both the mother and daughter cook in their own half open house, and eat there with the two men and the boys. Nina sometimes joins them, but light hurting her failing eyes, she usually remains within her own brush house. To make the picture complete, there must be added the continual stream of visitors, mostly unattached men, relatives and otherwise, who share the ever ready meal. All five adults labor in their fields, which are their joint property, although more emphatically Mark's and Henry's. Nina also planted in a field allotted her by her father's elder brother for the sustenance of her two boys. The men give more attention to irrigation and their horses, and now that alfalfa is grown, to those fields too; the women have more concern in caring for the harvest.

Groups of closely related families living and working together form still larger informal units. A typical case is the group of which Manakadja is the head. With him live his wife and two adult unmarried sons. The adjacent house belongs to his oldest son, Jasper, his wife and two daughters, the next house to his youngest daughter, Esther, her husband and infant. A short distance opposite, sufficiently far to be something of a separate camp, is the house of his oldest daughter Teθek'idje, her husband and six children. All the women cook together in the open space about which the houses are grouped, although Teθek'idje's family leads rather a separate existence and Jasper's also does to some extent. All of them work their fields in common, or rather Manakadja's, whose inherited holdings are extensive. Esther's husband has some interest in his father's fields, and Teθek'idje's husband may own some land.

Watahomidja's family group comprises his wife, her aged Walapai stepmother, his eldest son and wife, his second son with his wife and two infants, and his third unmarried son. All these occupy one house and eat together. In 1918 his daughter, Callie, her husband and three children lived in an adjacent house, with the husband's aged mother living in a shelter alongside. This family led a somewhat independent existence, and in 1919 broke with them to live some distance off. This year Watahomidja was joined by his daughter's orphaned boy.

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdga*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [648] 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not proscribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adoption is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared, otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *kánipá*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamĭ'dvidjă suddĭgă*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvĭgă*, race by two; *tanomdgoolgă*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweat-lodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140°" (ch. 4a). [345]

[2] I have found the sweating decidedly refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tcpĕ'*?) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood (Hrdlička, (a), 46). [171]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

Hilliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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241 Their garden was lush with corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and sunflowers that grew large seed heads. Purple figs and red-cheeked peaches grew at one end of the plot.

Chickapanyegi worked unhurriedly, pushing the dirt aside with his bare toes to open the floodgates, letting the water gush through to fill the ditches that ran between his rows of vegetables. Toes did the work of fingers, opening ditches or packing the soil to close them, picking up sticks and stones and piling them ready to be removed. Here was a way of life new to me and very intriguing.

000 The Walapai that I knew lived in idleness on bare sand, accepting government rations, a few working at odd jobs. These people produced and stored food, not only for the immediate future, but for years ahead. At one time, the Walapai, too, had been self-supporting and self-sufficient; then agents of the government had come, using rations as a buying power, and had established controls that crushed initiative.

241 412 The Havasupai had devised their own garden tools, even making a spade by fashioning the blade and handle from a long, flat piece of wood. They used the shoulder blades of horses or anything they could get that would loosen the soil or chop weeds. Obviously they were greatly handicapped by these primitive tools; sticks, bones and toes were poor substitutes for spades, hoes and rakes. The Indians themselves restricted production by refusing to till inherited land until it had lain fallow for a year or more. The spirit of the dead might at any time return to its former home, so they would not make immediate use of such land, partly through fear, but also to show respect to the former owner. Thus many acres of fertile soil lay fallow, necessitating more intensive cultivation of the land in use.

241 Tending their crops and preserving their food was the main object in life for the people of this village. Always the crop was divided into portions: some for eating, some held for an emergency, but the best kept for seed.

342 674 Chickapanyegi's rectangular house stood near his garden. The flat, brush-covered roof, topped with earth, and the sides, thatched

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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with heavy boughs still fully leafed, kept the interior cool. An open porch sheltered the doorway. When his wife wiped the soil from her hands and entered the house, I intended to follow, but hesitated as I caught the odor of cooking meat. It came from a lard pail, propped on stones over an outdoor fire. She turned and motioned for me to lift the lid; she was pleased that they had fresh meat, for it was far from plentiful. Curious to know what she was cooking for the family dinner, I uncovered the pail.

Two large glassy eyes stared at me from above the boiling water, and made the cooking rabbit seem alive. The hairy ears stood erect increasing the impression. The skinned body had been crammed into the bucket, but the head had refused to remain submerged. The lid dropped, clattering from my hand. Since then I have not cared to eat rabbit!

The interior of Chickapanyegi's house was arranged like all well-kept Havasupai homes: rolled bedding in the depressions in the floor where the family slept; personal possessions tied in a cloth and hung above the bed; and the inevitable pole, just below the ceiling, loaded with rabbit skin blankets, fiber mats, Navaho blankets and clothing not in use. Poles supported drying ears of corn and spirals of squash that brushed the head and shoulders as one moved about within the house.

I wanted next to see Gentle Annie's home. Her house would not be neat and spotless if Gentle Annie was the housekeeper. She was old and tired from the wars she had survived and the hardships life had dealt her. I found her standing at the door of her dome-shaped wickiup. Her wrinkled face and bright black eyes held friendliness. That may have been why she was known to Indians and to whites as Gentle Annie, the only name I ever heard for her.

A brand-new bedroom chamber, pink roses painted on its yellow side, stood on a box near by—filled with delicately browned navy beans.

With toil-worn hands Gentle Annie reached up to the lintel, took down a hard, dry slab about twelve inches wide by sixteen

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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long, folded back the cloth in which it was wrapped and breaking off a small chunk, handed it to me saying, "Eat!" How long it had lain there, growing harder and drier with age, I had no way of knowing, but to refuse her hospitality would give offense. I took a bite. At first it tasted like dried sweet potato, but the mass grew bigger and bigger until my mouth was full of coarse, hard fibers. I made an excuse for leaving, that I might get rid of it without hurting Gentle Annie's pride. I learned later that the Indians dried mescal in sheets and stored it as this slab had been stored, so I may have had my first and only taste of mescal.

When I arrived at Little Jim's home, his wife E-e was leaving to empty and clean her storehouse. I accompanied her for I wanted to learn more of their ancient and peculiar method of storing food. The small stone granary, with a round opening for the insertion or removal of food, was built in a crevice in the canyon wall. The hard stratum beneath made a solid floor that rodents could not penetrate. Neither could they work their way through the stone walls, plastered with a hard cement of native manufacture from material available in the canyon. There was a never-ending fight against rodents. The numerous rats, mice and chipmunks, when winter reduced their food supply of growing plants, raided any storehouse into which they could gnaw their way.

The opening in E-e's storehouse was closed with a flat stone, sealed in place with cement in which the family's mark of identification had been placed. If anyone helped himself to her stores, a break in this seal would warn her of the theft. She dug away the mortar, set the stone aside, then lifted out the few stores that were left.

Crawling through the opening, she brushed up the floor, then began storing the food she had brought with her: ears of seed corn in one place; shelled corn in another; strings of dried squash and pumpkin necessitating special care to prevent spoilage, by themselves. With amusing gestures, when I failed to understand her native tongue, she showed me how she tied the dried seed of

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

514 Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the 413 237 duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a [533] buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

515 Necessity had devised this clever instrument, for even though 413 we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

[p. 146]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

15

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 514

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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796 527 574 the canyon. Tourists always brought news from the outside—and how welcome that was! And, too, we caught some of their excitement in entering what was, to them, a wonderland. But, since my arrival, so few had come.

000 One hot summer day, three lads from Princeton, spending their summer vacation hiking across the United States, had walked out from Williams and climbed down the Lee Canyon trail. They were full of fun—and short on food, so we sold them what we could spare from our supplies. They took a quick look around, then went gaily up the Walapai trail to new adventures, leaving me with the feeling that, compared to them, I was very much encompassed by stone walls. Later, the wife of the Governor of Arizona came down with a party of friends to catalogue the flora of the canyon. They camped under the cottonwood, eating their meals from a boulder, quickly finished their work and departed. Their visit heightened our interest in the delicate plants tucked away in cool grottoes as well as in the more abundant hardier ones. And we had met a governor's wife who sacrificed physical comfort for the advancement of science.

Then there was the family from Chicago. They had driven their team across the desert, climbing down the zigzagging Walapai trail and stopped at our door to demand shelter. The frail wife and sick daughter sat their horses, wanting nothing in this world but a bed on which to lay their aching bodies. While I assembled the beds, they rewarded me with a description of the Pacific Ocean as they had seen it that summer, a sea of pale blue fire. Too many fish had perished in some catastrophe in the deep, causing the phosphorescent glow.

Then there had been George Wharton James's visit to the Indian village.

Each one had brought his bit of excitement and information, leaving us the richer for his coming. But now, when we longed only to see again a face from a world that was beginning to seem so remote, to hear what its people were doing, no one but Indians came down the trail.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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180 *People of the Blue Water*

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional
796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the
527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing.
796 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former,
527 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja.
574 Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much
527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past
541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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ment. There is no comparison between the children of the same ages of the Havasupais and the Navahoes or Hopis. And yet, when they enter school, some of the Havasupais learn with a rapidity equal to that of these other children. 18

It seems strange to find a people whose children have no equivalent for dolls; nothing specifically to care for. They are capricious in their treatment of their domestic animals, cats and dogs, sometimes petting them to excess, and then lifting the yelping or squalling creatures by the legs, twisting these members over their backs, or otherwise torturing them. [23]

The boys and the girls, as well as the men and women, are expert horse riders. Every family has its horses, and the children ride from their earliest years. Even as I write I catch glimpses now and then of a red-shawled girl on horseback and hear the hard strike of the horse's hoofs as he dashes along at break-neck speed along the trail near the hawa of my host. All ride astride, and are as fearless in ascending and descending the steep trails that give access and egress to their canyon home as the wildest and most expert of the Rough Riders. 492

One of their great sports and gala times is when visiting Indians — Navahoes, Hopis, or Wallapais — come with fleet horses and races are arranged for. While they have no "Derby Day," they have days on which half the personal property of the village is pledged on the success of certain horses. They are inveterate gamblers; and blankets, buckskins, saddles, bridles, Navaho jewelry, horses, burros, and everything "gambleable" are risked on the outcome. And what an exciting scene an Indian horserace is, and how picturesque! There 541 525 [574]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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and beaten up and down in a bowl of water until a good lather and suds are produced. Then the operator takes a mouthful of the liquid and squirts it over the skin, which he manipulates and softens, rubs, scrubs, and pulls with his fingers and feet, moistening it again and again as occasion requires. Wild catskins are treated in the same way.

From this excellent buckskin the men make moccasins for themselves and their women. The first time I saw Kohot Navaho he was sitting naked, upon a blanket outside his hawa, his three wives near by, they cutting and preparing peaches for drying, he busily engaged making a pair of moccasins. The sole is of two or three thicknesses of heavy rawhide, to which the uppers of buckskin are deftly sewn, with strings of catgut or deer intestines, the holes being made by a bone awl.

Every summer trading-parties of both Hopis and Navahoes come down to the village, bringing blankets, ponies, pottery, and the like, for exchange. In 1898 there were three separate bands of Navahoes and two of Hopis. Trading is a serious process. Laws of barter or sale are first made, before the traders open their packs, and all the people are expected to abide by these loosely promulgated laws without question. Then the hawa of the Havasupai host is turned into a store. Poles are suspended in every possible direction on which to show off the blankets to best advantage. A crowd of chattering men and women stand outside, or, now and again, come inside, during the whole day, and at night-time the men who have done business come in, squat on the ground, and spend the hours in smoking, tale-telling, and gossip.

There is difficulty in the Havasupai mind at trading

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article. 157 181 685

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Huc-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track 157 181 541 574 499

3:James T-6 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

157 181 541 ● 57 499 just the same as the white men did, and, when it was completed, train their horses to run on it until they were so familiar with it that, when the Wallapais came, they would be able to take all the advantages this additional knowledge would give. The suggestion worked like a charm. It was Tom Sawyer's woodpile over again. The young men waited on the Kohot, Manakacha, and asked permission to cut a road a mile long through the middle portion of the canyon. The only place where this could be done was just where Captain Jim desired the road. He was appointed to see that the work was properly done, and the first few days of my visit were enlivened by the echoing roars of the powder explosions that were set off. When I went down to the lower part of the village it was over the new and completed road, a full mile in length, and well cut out and graded. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished, and while races are not an unmixed good, one could tolerate them the easier for the Havasupais if they would always be the means of accomplishing such desirable ends.

157 181 The Havasupais are far from being dull and stupid, as casual observers suppose. They can see the point of things as quickly as some of their white neighbors. For instance; I have elsewhere, in my Grand Canyon book, told how Silver, Hotouta's fine horse, was given to Mr. Bass. This horse has always been an object of envy to some of the young men of the tribe. Mr. Bass also bought from Sinyela a red mule of some of my exciting experiences. Having once had possession of this mule was in itself an overpowering temptation to those Indians, who, in the days of Sinyela's ownership, had been permitted to ride it. Consequently Mr. Bass

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were in heritage.

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
657 keeper and cook, $120.
465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
434 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by
511 men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[469] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe
● [574] remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If
[425] their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 593 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 [591] [848] [591] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

834 964 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 967 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 609 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] [864] [114] [177] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence because it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 857 571 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest, cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a mass of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [344] [482] [571]

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The Nation of The Willows. I

123 609 run forward and warn the tribe — whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, a former host welcomed him and us with [574] jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 394 B]

648 trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he
609 went away as he had come, a picture of
643 imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

609 The coming stranger is heralded by
● 574 the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

576 On meeting a stranger or a long-ab-
574 sent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him
[609] by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [715] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, [754] as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[A 556A]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stepped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

158 1787 159

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

517 181 517

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breecheloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

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1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adoption is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared, otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *Adnipi*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlpáhdnd*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of Western natives. The bow are never used to assist in working. [171]

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, op. cit.).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have misinterpreted a Hopi greeting here.
[2] See Yavapai (Corbusier, 558).
[3] Compare the Hidatsa (e. g., in Lowie, (a), 224).
[4] The shortage of tobacco or smoke are stated. Tobacco is not shrewd

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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place. 251

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste. [252]

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do. 887 291 576 522

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *tutams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the 114

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

To the Mouth of the Havasu

576 Late one evening Frances and I were lingering at the supper table talking over the events of the day, when there came a sharp knock on the door. This was surprising as a Havasupai did not knock. He framed his face with his hands and looked in through the window or threw the door open and stalked in, accustomed to 715 latchless doors. Also, after darkness fell he stayed close to his own campfire and the living, for the ghosts of the dead walked at night. The person outside our door was not an Indian.

050 Frances and I were the only white people in the canyon. Miss Goenawein and Mr. Burnett had driven to Seligman on business. The night was dark, and neither of us felt too brave when we opened the door to a stranger, since we were completely alone, the policeman being at home a mile farther down the canyon.

George Wharton James, author of several books on Indians of the Southwest, introduced himself.

Mr. James had established his headquarters at the home of a village Indian whose friendship he had won on previous visits to the tribe. This time he had come prepared for a trip he believed no white person had ever made—the descent of the Havasu Canyon to its junction with the Grand Canyon. He had engaged Ute, a very old Indian, blind in one eye, as guide. He suggested that the ride might be interesting for us.

We couldn't miss this adventure! I had determined that I would not leave the school until I had followed the Havasu stream from

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 181 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Hpvasupai point of [834] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 836 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

584 In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he went away as he had come, a picture of imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

The coming stranger is heralded by the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

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[727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of
[754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[CP 556A]

Williff Y-6 (ca. 1931) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realise how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilisation.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tabolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devastating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
181 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 577 189

Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumaspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa associations of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609]

In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 183 609

Women, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]

mĕdjpák	teyădjmehâna		owi
growing	corn	good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[1] Coues, 346. A later statement (433), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be [114] acknowledgment that the Walapai and Hpaxcpai had less than the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 500, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.

[3] [171] The Zuñi also pray at the first planting (Cushing, (d), 178–179).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gîθîyê'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatdgwi'ladmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

Cliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lanoman, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

Hiff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

He stooped and carefully examined the earth, "Maybe woman's," he volunteered.

"Yes, you said in the beginning that women had destroyed your corn. You will have to tell me their names."

He frowned deeply as he viewed the broken stalks, but finally admitted, "I think two womans: Billy squaw; Prince squaw."

"I'll have Vernor warn them not to bother your corn," I assured him. "I'll also investigate this myself. They must have a reason for destroying your crop."

I took my departure, and Little Jim joined his family, his wife E-e and two small sons. They formed a circle about the food for the evening meal—burned squash, cold and unpalatable. E-e broke off hunks of the sodden stuff and handed them to the children who devoured them hungrily while she and Little Jim shared the unappetizing fare. E-e was an indifferent housekeeper and one of the poorest cooks in the village, but she was a good-natured wife and her cheerful companionship pleased Little Jim.

Vernor was waiting for me at the office as usual, so I sent him to instruct Prince and Billy that their wives destroy no more gardens. I also told him to bring the two women to my office on Monday evening for a hearing.

School had not yet convened Monday morning when Billy appeared at the building, carrying in his hand seven stalks of newly cut corn. He held them out for me to see.

"That my corn," he said angrily. "E-e cut with knife."

I examined the seven stalks. They were cleanly cut. "What has happened in the village that causes the women to destroy one another's gardens?" I asked Billy.

"No un'erstan'," he said, still angry.

"You know that your wife walked on Little Jim's corn. He has a family and needs all the food he can raise. Did you tell her to leave his garden alone?"

"Vernor say. She hear." Billy looked chagrined. It was a different story when blame fell on his own household.

"Did Vernor tell your wife to come to my office this evening?

Sulliff Y-5 (ca. 1981) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

578 691 We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

800 I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

578 691 695 Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

203 At that moment a woman, her *sutam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutaw* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of the chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

578 691 695

to make go hungry. I walk thirty stalks his corn. I plenty mad." She gave E-e a glance loaded with malice and hesitantly took her seat.

Billy stepped forward and voiced his complaint. E-e had cut seven stalks of his corn. He found the stalks lying in the field. He explained that he needed the corn for food for his family. He would not have seed, he could not fill his storehouse, if his crop were destroyed. His face had lost its jovial expression and was puckered with concern.

E-e, the accused, came forward reluctantly. The look of lazy contentment had drained from her face; there was fear in her dark eyes. She spoke haltingly, with many gestures. "I pick up brush." Her quick fingers went through the motions of gathering and piling brush. "I dry. I want fire. Billy's squaw throw brush. Scatter everywhere." Again her fingers spoke, making the gesture of tossing brush to the winds. "I no find. No make fire. No cook bread. She break Little Jim corn. She make brush scatter. I plenty mad. I walk little on corn. I cut little. I too mad."

I managed to keep a straight face, but was chuckling inside. Those precious, mischievous women. They refused to submit to the deadly monotony of their lives, and added a touch of excitement by playing sly tricks, each striving to be more cunning than the other. I wanted to pat them on their plump shoulders and send them happily home, but when a garden is no larger than the floor of a room, and a family depends on it for food, it must not be the pawn in a game.

We discussed their crimes with great seriousness. They were quick to agree that the destruction of food must stop, and they expected to be penalized, but I hadn't the heart to levy against their pitiful possessions. So I asked them, individually, if they would drop the feud and never revive it, if allowed to go unpunished.

They all shouted in their eagerness, *"Eh! Eh, mil* (Yes! Yes, you say it!)"

The case was dismissed. I heard of no more such pranks, but

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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their love of excitement undoubtedly would prompt them to find some other way to keep the village astir and themselves interested.

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Long after the dispute was settled, Billy's wife's reiteration, "I too mad," stayed with me. It helped me to appreciate the basic honesty of these children of nature: no soft words covered angry thoughts; no smile hid a broken heart. They expressed their emotions, with zest and energy and, if the occasion required, with violence, as did the Bear, the Coyote and the Deer who, from the Days of Old, had taught the Havasupai the wisdom they themselves had gleaned from the wilderness when time was young.

Billiff 7-8 (ca. 1891) 1884 MT14 Phoenix Yuman MT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Day the Mail Did Not Go

At four o'clock one morning I was awakened by a loud pounding on my bedroom door. Miss Goenawein was calling excitedly, "Miss Gregg! Miss Gregg! Come here—hurry!"

I sprang out of bed, shoved my feet into slippers, pulled on a robe and ran to her room. There in the open doorway stood Spoonhead, the mail carrier, the mail pouch clutched in his hand. His long, queer head looked more than ever like the bowl of a spoon as I stared at him, wondering what mischief he had cooked up to get me out of bed at this hour.

His pony stood in the yard, bridle rein dangling. The saddle was decorated like a Christmas tree with Spoonhead's numerous bundles: food for himself and his horse, extra clothing for the cold nights on the mesa, and those mysterious knickknacks he took on such trips. I did not notice the absence of the large, red Navaho blanket he always carried neatly rolled and strapped to the back of his saddle, until he began gesticulating wildly and shouted, "My blanket! He steal 'em. He go there." He pointed to the base of the canyon wall.

There I saw a short, heavy-set Indian with a blanket thrown across his shoulders, crouched low, running stealthily from bush to bush, seeking cover for escape. In the dim light we caught only fleeting glimpses of the man. I could not understand why Spoonhead did not give chase and try to retrieve his property.

Bilfiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

"Go after him and get your blanket!" I exclaimed, almost as excited as Spoonhead was.

He did not move. Instead he was watching me brightly, sure that the Hico would settle the difficulty; why else was she here? When he realized that I had no intention of chasing the thief, his elongated face grew inches longer.

"Tell me that man's name," I said. "You know who he is."

"Plenty dark. No can see," was his naïve reply.

Later, I learned his reason for evasion. If he betrayed the thief, he would betray himself. Spoonhead wanted his blanket but with no questions asked. He had no intention of catching the thief, and when he made up his mind that I had none, he said, "No take mail. No go. Got no blanket. Plenty cold up there." He dropped the mail pouch to the floor.

"Get on your horse. The mail must go," I told him. "I'll get you a blanket."

At that moment the thief dashed from behind a boulder to a mesquite bush, and I recognized him.

"That's Walapai Bill!" I exclaimed. "You knew all the time it was he. Find Vesnor and tell him to meet me at Walapai Bill's camp. You go there with him."

In the excitement I too was forgetting the sanctity of the United States mail and the tradition that come hell or high water nothing must interfere with its transportation.

The morning still held that drabness that precedes the dawn, and the usual thick fog hung just above the ground, so I went to my room to put on warm clothing.

Like a damp thread the narrow trail wound through dense underbrush so high that it met overhead, with every leaf and twig dripping water. Along the path I caught glimpses of watching eyes that moved through the brush as I moved, but drew back and vanished when I looked directly at them. The village was astir and palpitating with the news that an old feud had flared up anew. Like curious, impetuous children the Indians peeped from bushes and doorways, unwilling to miss an instant's excitement that could

Sailiff Y-5 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

674 578 be caught and later exaggerated to entertain relatives and friends.

Walapai Bill's house was a low mound of earth with a door in one end. He was in the yard chopping brush in short lengths for his cooking fire.

"I want Spoonhead's blanket," I told him shortly. My patience was not improved by the fact that I was cold and soaking wet.

"Didn't see blanket," he said, his graying head bent over the wood. "You look my house, you no see blanket."

I pushed open the rickety board door that hung on leather hinges and entered. The dirt floor was worn to a saucerlike depression, the sides sloping to the flat circle in the center. A search did not reveal the blanket, which was too large and too vivid in color to be concealed easily. His wife also had disappeared. I went outside as Vesnor and Spoonhead rode up on their ponies.

With his usual astuteness, Vesnor knew exactly where to find the blanket. He pursed his lips and pointed to the canyon wall. "Over there, I think," he said. "Maybe wife hide 'em in storehouse."

"Bring the woman here," I told him, "and make her bring the blanket."

He sprang through the brush, climbed the talus, and followed a trail on a shelf of rock until trees and shrubs hid him from view. The Indians crowded in, forming a half-circle about the hut, eager to see the culprit brought in.

Vesnor returned, his hard right hand firmly grasping the woman's wrist. She followed, pulling back angrily with each step, the heavy blanket across her shoulder. Her lord and master had ordered her to hide his loot in their granary and she had had no choice but to obey.

I sent the Indians home except those actually involved in the theft. I told the women to give their children food and get them ready for school, then I investigated the affair.

674 578 695 Walapai Bill's cockiness melted rapidly when he was told that he could be sent to jail for theft, and that his interfering with the transportation of the United States mail was no light matter. His

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

fat shoulders slumped and his bold daring changed to indecision. He prized above all else his freedom to go where and when he pleased, so built up his defense.

"Long time ago, I go on mesa. I hunt seeds, nuts; make good food. I hunt rabbits, deer. Gone long time, maybe so many"—he held up four fingers—"moons. Come home, door all break. Somebody go in house, take saddle blanket. Little one. I think Spoonhead steal 'em. That why I steal Spoonhead blanket. He steal me, I steal him. That way Indians do. Make play like little game; little mad, too."

Spoonhead angrily met the accusation, for not all of the truth had been told, and the blame had been shifted to him. "Long time, Walapai Bill, me, gamble. He lose. One dollar. He no pay. I take blanket. Little one. Worth maybe one dollar," he shouted.

Walapai Bill sheepishly admitted the truth of Spoonhead's statement. Each of them was entirely willing to return the other's blanket for they now realized the gravity of the situation. Spoonhead went to his camp and returned with the saddle blanket which he exchanged for his big Navaho. It remained only for Walapai Bill to pay his debt of honor to wipe out the long-standing feud. Unless this were paid, the good-natured pilfering would start all over again. I suggested that he take care of it. I was not sure that he had the money; if he had, where he kept it was a mystery.

He ducked through his doorway, very reluctantly lifted a rug from the center of the floor, dropped to his knees and began digging in the dirt with both hands. He clawed out the hard-packed soil, tossing the dirt back as a dog throws it when digging a burrow. I watched his queer antics in bewilderment, amused at the concentration with which he worked. Then his pudgy, brown fingers scratched metal and he drew from the hole a rusty baking powder can, with the word "Royal" still legible on its paper cover. He twisted and turned the lid until it came free; then, fumbling around inside, he took a silver dollar from the coins in the can. He handed the dollar to me, and the woebegone look on his face told how hard was the parting. I gave the money to Spoonhead,

231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry
648 and springless region. In talking with one of the Indians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no
756 longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 603 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
● 578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Although this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed
627 at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 582 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband. 593 578

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence. 593

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest-if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric-

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
[586] children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, [768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

423 Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was
428 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

● 578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male
562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among
428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela-
177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title
562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em-
[423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of
423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of
562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The
[428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

423 nance of herself and her children.
428
562 A former land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother, who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

423 The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of
428 land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating
562 a piece of property where the house of her paternal crosscousin stands,
578 remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but--took it away from me." This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death, and which is now used by another of her male crosscousins.. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

[177] In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land either from consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of white women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women. 423 428 562 578 177

Arts and Crafts

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad, shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds, parching corn, pinyon nuts, or seeds, and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit. 285 463

Spier (1928, 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique. 285

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined, while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form. [439] [177]

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park for a time stimulated interest in basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, 124) reports four striking different shapes of water bottles, although three are variants of a single fundamental form.

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

867 562 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 [573] Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 18 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

[548] [836] In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 578 156 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

181 562 867 [578] [177]

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

152 181 562

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

181 562

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

421 562 [221]

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Havasupai

423 planted stand in the fields and not cut or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[423] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
● 518 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as criticism, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with
[481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather
[515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and
181 somewhat vivacious, most affectionate
609 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They
[578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a
181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless passionate, although able to control
152 themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjia*, your mother, *mamádjitatha*, your father, or *huwágatum*, your parents (*huwágá*, two). A man uses *glnyégá* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wlnyégá* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *glnyégá* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. 583 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

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2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional [591] period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of [836] occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 581 183 762 208 [177] However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 [302] [841] Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier [114] remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [506] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the society theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support. 181 562 [581] 477 562

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nonexistent because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basketweaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excel in a particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exigencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissive ones and while her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social group, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her society, just as Havasupai men do, and only to a lesser degree. 181 562

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Havasupai

When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a 589
black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: 582
just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1]

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem 583
rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in 587
return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years.

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier 848
to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons.

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much 587
easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own.

A man may marry the older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ēskim"ladwa, was the widow of his elder brother, Kūfō. The levirate (*su'gipd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahawigipd*, having two wives, 595
hamdpd, two; *tahamágipd*, having three wives, *hamágd*, three.) One

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is overturned by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

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NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 584]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*pik'iglótatádj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognised that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] Cushing, MS.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 648 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father, wanted to go hunting: I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near Ahdgiitvtdidja (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language: "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with sagewoods. She coiled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

582 586 648 Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

582 586 648

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjildja*, your mother, *mamádjiloiha*, your father, or *hwadjotum*, your parents (*huwdjod*, two). A man uses *gInyígi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wInyígi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gInyígi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

606 601 [551]

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

58 [591] [115] [591] 582

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

The sign >means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing camps are there underscored.

7. Dean, Sinyella's son>Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

9. Lenoman, Sinyella's son>Supai Charley's daughter 68. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Trikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djerdwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dasdjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagedja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8>Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Trikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tohawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 65, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tohawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 33, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, >Amu, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought Kasoda's daughter home from her father's house near 59; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16)>Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Tasamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 25>Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 15: she died. Then he>Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 15; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71>Tsahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

27. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 60. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1919. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

[see category 102, p.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjádá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

Bilfiff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

159 the office became unbearably hot and stuffy, I took my work to the shade of the cottonwood in front of our cottage, while Vesnor sat in the hammock until needed. I was aware that he was regarding me with a puzzled expression, but was unprepared for the question he asked, "You got man?"

"No."

"Why you no catch 'em?"

"Too busy. I've never had time."

"Um-m-m," he murmured. He couldn't figure it out. There [162] were so many more Havasupai men than women that the latter were at a premium. When a girl reached the age of fourteen or [512] fifteen there were such numbers of suitors pressing their claims that to remain single was unthinkable. Yet here was a white woman who did not want a man. It was beyond Vesnor's understanding.

I took my turn at questioning, wanting a glimpse of his past. What put those deep lines in his face and that somber look in his eyes? No doubt he had witnessed the bloody deeds of the old chief Navaho, who had recently died; deeds that had won the acclaim of the people and made him their head chief. But Vesnor had no thought of revealing his past and knew exactly when to quit answering questions and substitute, "No savvy." So weeks slipped by without my learning much of what went on in his mind, until one day he lifted a corner of the veil—and left me more puzzled than I had been before.

159 The thermometer in the shaded center of the cottonwood regis-
154 tered one hundred and seventeen degrees that afternoon while I worked in my office. Vesnor, comfortable and at ease, occupied his usual chair near the door. His eyes shone with a new eagerness, and his countenance brightened with a thought that, sooner or later, I knew he would express.

Suddenly he asked his question, "You savvy Jesus?"

"Yes," I said, "I savvy Him."

"Long time I sick. Think maybe die. Indians come, look, say pretty quick die. No eat. No sleep. Just sick—plenty!"

For a long moment he sat there, his somber eyes on space, but

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582●

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

595 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own,
157 for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the
684 Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is
156 Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. 101 648 [582]

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. 197

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes. 174

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven. 174 621

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans. 101 114 171

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about 101 114 172

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

●582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages 582
lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few [586]
months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married.

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 12, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their day- [626]
time leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
183 marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
585 as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behavior. . . ."
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Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. [431] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 589 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

Imbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of
162 births and infant deaths I obtained are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Age Differences of Spouses

Leaving the subject of imbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems
000 in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postponement of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, 333).
582 Sinyella himself was 25 at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps 17 years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during the time of his field work that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was 25 or 30 for women and 35 or 40 for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by at least three or four and up to seven or eight years. In practice, little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It was likely to be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been married previously. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages of today the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest age difference being seven years.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai population at any point in time, including the present. However, data concerning a substantial majority of the population can be produced for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available, that
582 being a marriage record book at the subagency in Supai in which a former
127 agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven

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of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table 1 for presentation of this and other information.)

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In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 36.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages 21 to 25, while the previously married grooms were 35 and 41 years old. The youngest bride was 12, and the oldest 16.

For comparison, data pertaining to 12 marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage, in which the wife was the older, is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 26.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from age 19 to 34. Previously unmarried females ranged from 14 to 20 years of age. Previously married grooms were 29 to 50 years old, with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were 26 to 28 years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and is the mother of six children, the first two of whom are illegitimate, while her husband has not been married previously.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or

[Text continues on page 106]

Table 1. Mean age of spouses at marriage.

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A. Mean age at marriage for couples, regardless of whether either party had been married or unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (7 couples)	26.8 years	15.0 years	11.8 years
1950-54 (9 couples)	30.5 years	19.1 years	11.0 years

B. Mean age at marriage for couples in which both spouses were unmarried previously.

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (5 couples)	22.4 years	15.0 years	8.8 years
1950-54 (5 couples)	24.8 years	17.0 years	7.8 years

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C. Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

[587]

D. Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years	
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0

E. Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.

Husbands	Wives
	13.0 years
35.6 years	22.7 years

Table 3. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

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Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1930-34 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.) [114]

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of [redacted] married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms. [584]

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 46 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 589 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

582 Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

591 The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 592 594 [591] Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [586] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

586 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal ef-
562 fects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband
[177] without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no prop-
[423] erty comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and main-
648 tained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they
[439] also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The ex-
[582] treme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done
[177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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There is no marriage rule beyond A feeling that close relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of patterning in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to *use* the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community.

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among

9 Out of 39 intra-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 18 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising form the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (Africa Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with [584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [583] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasŭwichĕ, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matĕkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chĕkĕchĕku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

582 [193] [614] 584 585 595 421

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

768

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

756

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. ●583 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relativre might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; [581] he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1]

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years.

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons.

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own.

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, Tcukan'ladwá, was the widow of his elder brother, Kófó. The levirate (*su'gapt*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tukawigipt*, having two wives, *kwadpt*, two; *takawigipt*, having three wives, *kwagpt*, three.) One

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is overturned by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In 591 almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

591 The sign > means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her
585 relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing
551 camps are there underscored.

7. Dean, Sinyella's son > Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

8. Lemoman, Sinyella's son > Supai Charley's daughter 66. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Trikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djordwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

18. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dandjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagadja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8 > Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Joe lived with his father, Trikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tuhawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 65, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tuhawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 23, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, > Anna, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought KaKoda's daughter home from her father's house near 59; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16) > Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 24. Married Tatamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 24 > Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 14; she died. Then he > Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 14; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71 > Tsahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 46. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1918. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1[See category 102, p.

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30. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Supai Charley's daughter at 69; she died. His wife Teyava has married three times. First to Arthur's older brother, who lived with his father at 6, took Teyava from her father's house at 29 to a garden near 31; he died. Herding took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 30. 591 583 551

31. Richard lived with his older brother, Watahumidja, at 68>Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 32.

32. Bert, his older brother, took Putsilvuiya's sister from 37 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he>Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house nine, 33. His son, Bois, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 38, to 33.

33a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1>Stella, at her father's house, 54; then to his father's house nine, 33a.

34. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4>Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 50. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 34.

35. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 65, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 69, to 35; she died. He went>Kunive, at her brother, Putsilvuiya's house, 37; then to 35.

36. Pakaiagava, who lived at 64>Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 36.

37. Martin Navaju, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 37, near brother at 32.

38. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 39>Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 25; she died. Then he>Hutahuidja at her father's house, 62; then to 39.

41. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land)>Katie at her father's house, near 34; then to 41.

42. Billy, who lived with father at 63>Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 42; she died. Then he>Lillie at her father's house, 34; then to 42.

43. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 62>Dauatava at her father's house at 39. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14>Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manukadja, at 47>Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 69; then to 45.

46. Leonard, who lived with father at 38>Father at her father, Manukadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manukadja, who lived at 66>(Iawgwatgwain at her (and Tohowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he discarded her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Gwgwatgwain lived at 47 with both wives.

48. Pete, who lived with older brother at 1>Tehotdja, Manukadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 48.

49. Wani lived with his father's older brother, Hayolla, at 49; took Walapai wife.

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591 *81.* Shorty lived with his mother, Ca;i. Burro's *sister*, near her brother's house, 83. Teyadjera, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwenidja at her father's house, ●583 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 81 on her father's land.

551 *82.* Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 83>Andjelik at her brother's house, 6. Then took her to 83; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead *stepfather's* house at 82>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 83: she died in 1918.

84. Roger, who lived at father's site at 84>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 84; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 84; she ran away.

85. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Putcilvoiya, at 87>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (297); she died. Took Moses from her father's house, 68, to 85 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

86. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 84.

87. Putcilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 90>Deskumiauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 92. Then to 87 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 877)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 16. Then he took her to 87; she died. Then he went>Holem at her father's house, 10; he died.

88. Smiley, who lived alone at 21>a woman who lived at 19. Deskumiauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 86 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

941 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.
423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the
311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the
133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its
423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto unshared lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,
311 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desir-
423 ing additional fields.

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thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

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from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

582 had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected
583 and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, D, should have given something to C's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom, or should have made some settlement with A in compensation for the $50, but if he did it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted independently of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

582 No form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. The adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

Availability and Age of Marriage Partners

Imbalance in Sex Ratio

162 Imbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of 20 and 45 in the 1918 population. While this imbalance apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he pointed out that for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females, indicating a previous imbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives [an] abnormally high sex ratio in favor of

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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; [581] he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry, generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584●

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 593 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

3.James T-8 (ca.1908) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy *friends*," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 18, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 834 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as *primary* and *secondary*. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Hpvasupai point of [53%] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [18%] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 942 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 946 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[85] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [57%] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 854 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love-matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.) 581 183 832 [162] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
[177] position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[559] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of the practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
● 582 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

582 It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have predicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[673] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

582 alternative, that you have here a breakdown of former conventional behav-
14 ior. . ."

Marriage Arrangements

584 Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal one was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. The other consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers, and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

Parentally Arranged Marriages

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age, such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself, and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. [731] Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, it was deemed proper that a boy should seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistance, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
586 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
584 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
178 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
177 acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1938, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1930-34 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. Informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.) [114]

582 587 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1930 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 18 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 30. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms. [584]

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [882
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with the men, as a cause. Betrothals by [584] purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being [582] frequently promised to a man as old as, or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [171] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgd*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (2), 140–147, (3), 288, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apaches. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 65; Lowie, (2), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except
[591] that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bridegroom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile.
● 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife.
[59] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to
593 sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter.
[586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [404]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [85]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 862 834 836

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[171] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimise marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

● 585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[559] observance of these customs now leads uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in
the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to rec-
ognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be sur-
reptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial
marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain
or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes
trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, *trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occur-*
rence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy. "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[949] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
587 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
183 marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
582 as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistance, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 589 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nuclear-familial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1938, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 10 or 20 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1960, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[777] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

927 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 233) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 233) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

rising children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 333), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 588

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife. In the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

595 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and [581] duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 324) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 324).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as in the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach
F 43 maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers
551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed
F 23 that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared,
778 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy.
868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters
F 82 very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

577 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday
F 28 the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During
517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accommodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish
F 33 they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 (614) (198) Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasŭwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matčkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chŭchchém, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

582 (182) (614) 584 585 595 721

764 (197) Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

768

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the illness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum.

756

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. 585 If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin,
[584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off.. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances
[584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was
591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sisyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Sometimes would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy; we
[581] want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then
585 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck-
591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own home. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If
592 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Masakadja had already married Gwegwe6gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe6gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa'kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 302.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 584

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*ptă'igtĕăstĕăj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. 595

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be mutually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [459] [586] [837]

> When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] 1881.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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582 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father,
648 wanted to go hunting: I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near ahdgitävtdidjä (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language; "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with sagewoods. She coiled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

582 Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had
586 come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on
648

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. Then my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjidja*, your mother, *mamádjintha*, your father, or *kuwápitum*, your parents (*kuwápa*, two). A man uses *gíngipi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wingipi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gíngipi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

2:Iliff Y-S (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to 593 sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives.

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time.

Children of Divorced Parents

●586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference. [587]

Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways) 586 593 [587] [428] [787]

In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual, said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of 586

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer 586
wanted her.

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipi- 586
tated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided 603
their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working.

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the 586
mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance.

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

● 586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these collineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married. 582 [586]

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 13, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son- [626]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[845] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[582] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
589 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[582] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[582] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

585 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he
586 didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those
times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for
the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nontarmal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage
589 both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and
178 influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual
177 acceptance, was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Navasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and [586] duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 324) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 324).

●[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

Now polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1951, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1948), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [516]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 48 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 86; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, two of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 45, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
429 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 334) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 937 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [597]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 238) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason. "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 238) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier
[114] remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

three divorced hairven women have remarried. One of the latter was re- 586
united with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separa- 587
tion, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the 842
child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them hillers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considera- 593
tions in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's 581
skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action [562]
which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

The attitudes of ambivalency previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
978 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stepped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got [586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

468 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the camp work at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the [586] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
961 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

859 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In [177] [575] the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

546 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [857] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-35 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

586 562 [177] A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 [423] Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 648 [439] While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

[582] [177] In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

THE HAVASUPAI

The other men may work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house. 393 391

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family. 421 561 784

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Waichomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock. 424 [177] 423 424

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a man who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief. 424 [424]

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 177 [393] 532 554

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitatka*, your father, or *hanagatam*, your parents. The word *gingeya* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them. 401 424

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months. 177 746 745

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed. 242 [243]

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back. 552 554 [554]

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

177 511 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis [577] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom- [578] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 [962] 525 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of spare time activities or additional specialization. In the best of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before [977] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 [512] While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 517 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineously being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Paternal systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- ● [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with the men, as a cause. Betrothals by [584] purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1] 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ɛskám"ladwá, was the widow of his elder brother, Kúfó. The levirate (*sa'yógd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahauvigígd*, having two wives, *huwdgd*, two; *tahamúgígd*, having three wives, *humúgd*, three.) One 595

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is encountered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the [587] inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

In one plural marriage for which there is definite information 595 Manakadja had already married Gwegwe0gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe0gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of 586 arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1] Goddard, (e), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 276–278; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 236–241; (c), 217; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2] Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 239; Bolton.

[3] Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Dumarest, 1908; Russell, (d), 196.

[4] Parsons, (a), 260–263; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 422.

[5] Bolton.

[6] Kroeber, (a), 278; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 246, 332, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 42; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 282–285; Dixon, (c), 213; (d), 301.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (p), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (e), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 262; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (e), 94, 96; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (367) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (e), 396.

[4] Lewis, (j), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Cremony (103) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippa, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference. [587]

586 593 [587] Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived [428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion [787] supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

583 585 delivered it. Almost anything was acceptable. "Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet."

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

[177] When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, $50 was reportedly the sum given, and $75 was given in at least one. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

Forms of Marriage

587 If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments." One informant told me that the parents expected no gift for the second wife, but that a man sometimes gave one if he desired.

Spier (1928, 223) states that the levirate was not compulsory, regardless of whether there were children. Its practice apparently varied with individual circumstances and preferences, although a widow reportedly had a "right" to expect her husband's brother to marry her and care for her children. A widow usually returned to her parents, at least temporarily, and it is likely that she seldom pressed a levirate marriage unless her parents or close relatives were deceased or unable to help her economically. (One informant stated that the maternal grandfather was responsible for rearing children of a divorced or widowed mother.) The relatives of a deceased husband were likely to favor a levirate marriage if they were strongly attached to the sur-

viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 223), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 768

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also [181] usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

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C. Mean age at marriage for previously unmarried individuals. (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

[587]

D. Mean age at marriage for previously married individuals

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years	
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0

E. Mean age at marriage of new spouses of previously married individuals.

Husbands	Wives
	13.0 years
35.6 years	22.7 years

582 third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1950-54 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives 25 years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally [114] favored. (Spier, in a personal communication, suggests that a more important reason for the marriage of older men to young girls in the earlier period probably was the shortage of women in the 20-45 age bracket. This factor certainly could have been the determining one, and appears more important than any other. informants, however, seemed unaware of this circumstance, and advanced as reasons a father's preference for one of his friends as a son-in-law, and the larger or more valued gift an older man might be able to give.)

582 Greater longevity of males and their tendency to remarry if widowed
687 or divorced are factors affecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over 50 years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were 16 married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than 10 years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than 50. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below 50, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from 15 to 41 years older than their wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously, while five [584] of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

582 A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [586] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Among the 10 feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception, in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.) 423 428 562

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a longtime resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living, perhaps temporarily, at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land, although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry. [587]

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest stepdaughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the stepdaughter, reserving no land for two other stepdaughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves; others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the son who inherited is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the suste-

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage.

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *súldjlgá*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvlgá*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption.

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterised as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries (Cushing, (d), 152) and Navaho fences of brush (Stephen, (b), 354).

informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related. 582

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there were only nine unmarried women over the age of 30. Two of them, both under 35 had never been married. One of these two apparently made no sexual alliances, and was unusually shy and withdrawn; she might have considered Havasupai men ineligible, inasmuch as she was reputed to be a devout Christian. The other woman, who in 1955 appeared to be too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects, and who was economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men, married after that time to a man equal in education and eight years her senior. 589

Two of the nine women mentioned above were divorced. One of these has had three sons, living in patrilocal residence, to care for her, and the other, divorced for barrenness, might have had a difficult time remarrying. (However, it should be noted that two younger women, divorced for the same reason, have remarried.) [586]

The remaining five women were widows. The youngest, age 44, had been alone only three years. The next youngest, age 48 was regarded as a continuous trouble maker, and some informants said that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows were 53, 57, and 88; all of them had close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population 18 men over 30 years of age were unmarried. This number included six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who had never been married, towo of whom were considered "odd," while another was blind. Two of the 18 men were under 35 years of age. Seven were between 30 and 43, and the remaining 11 were between 53 and 80. Nine of the 18 lived alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently had no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all male households apd some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they might live alone or with relatives.

Regarding the 1955 population as the present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all 27 individuals from marriage. It appears, instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men 162 589

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

591 The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [931]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(6), 39–41]. The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1908, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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582 exogamic groups, so I presume that he was stating marital preferences, unless in some cases he is vaguely aware of blood connection.

583 A man went secretly at night to his sweetheart at her father's house. If she was willing he stayed with her and later presented a buckskin, [584] blanket, or horse to her parents. If she or her parents objected to the match, they drove the man off. If the girl was willing, though her parents were not, they might elope. In such a case the parents would finally give their sanction to the accomplished fact and the man might then make them a small present. People in general would approve of runaway matches, but the girl's relatives might cause trouble. Advances [584] should always be made first by the man, for the woman who does so falls into disrepute.

Presents were usually given to the wife's parents, depending on the worldly circumstances of all concerned. It seems to have made little difference in the relations of parents and son-in-law when such presents were not forthcoming. In recent years the present ranged in value from thirty to fifty dollars. Sometimes one good horse was presented; at current rates (1919) this would be worth about sixty dollars. The husband's relatives might also give clothes and ornaments to his wife.

The husband lived with his wife at her parent's camp until he was 591 ready to build his own home, or more usually, until his wife had borne one or two children. During this period the man worked for her parents, or rather with them, in the fields, fetched wood and water, etc. When they finally established their new home it might be near either his or her parents' camp.

Sinyella gave the following account:—

584 When a young man wants to marry a good-looking girl, with whom he had talked, he went at night and waited close to her house until her relatives were sleeping; then he crept into her bed and shook her awake. If the girl did not want him she yelled, but the boy would not want her parents to see him, so he would go right out and return home. Someone would tell her relatives who the boy was. Then the parents would say to the girl. "The one who wants to marry you is a good boy: we [581] want you to take him. He works well, he is not lazy; he is a good traveler and hunter; he has plenty of horses and other property. He is pretty good. If he comes again, do not yell: we like the boy." When the boy comes again she receives him. But if the parents do not like him, they say, "We do not like you: you can not marry our daughter." If the girl receives him, they sleep together for four or five nights. Then 583 the boy thinks of what he will give the parents. Long ago the boys gave horses, buck- 591 skin, meat, corn, pi'on nuts, mescal, or other things to eat to the parents. The boy then stayed at her parents' house for a year or so, until the couple wanted to establish their own house. He would gather wood, plant, and hunt for her parents; work for them. He would stay with his wife's parents until they had one or two children. If 586 the girl or boy is lazy or fights or does wrong, they returned the presents and terminated the affair.

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjta*, your mother, *mamádjitatha*, your father, or *huwágatum*, your parents (*huwágą*, two). A man uses *gînyégą* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wînyégą* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gînyégą* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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582 number much greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. I am not aware what the causes of this propinquity may be. The dominance of the real property factor in determining residence is clear. In
591 almost every instance recorded the husband returned with his wife and children after a period of matrilocal residence to take up a residence on the land of his own family, land which he and his brothers would inherit from their father.

Recorded Marriages

591 The sign > means that the man lived for a time with his wife at the home of her relatives. Numbers refer to the camps as indicated on the map (Fig. 50). Existing
583 camps are there underscored.

551 *7.* Dean, Sinyella's son > Panamida's daughter, Fannie, at her late father's house 4. Returned to 7 until her death; then Dean and children went to Sinyella's, 9.

9. Lenoman, Sinyella's son > Supai Charley's daughter 68. Returned to 9; she died. Married Prince's younger sister (24) and took her to 9; she died.

10. Teikapanyega lived at 11. Married Djerdwaimo, who lived with her maternal grandfather (where?). Went to 10.

12. Big Jim lived near 12. Married Dasdjigva, who lived at her father's, 70. Went to 12.

16. Watahomidja lived at 68. Married Sudjagedja, who lived at 3. Went to 16. His son Flynn married a Walapai. His second son Joseph married Mamie, who lived with her maternal grandfather, not with her mother, Teyava, at 22.

17. George, who lived at 8 > Callie, Watahomidja's daughter at 68. Accompanied her family to 16. Bought land from Big Jim (12) for house, 17.

18. Jess lived with his father, Teikapanyega, at 1. Married Lina, who lived with her maternal grandfather at 47.

20. Tohawaga lives at his father's house, 20. His wife, Pagadjahuda, is a Walapai from Pine Spring; married 68, angry, divorced, married 6, who died; married Tohawaga, 20.

21. Oliver, Rock Jones' son, lived with father at 22. Took wife Kitty from father's, 33, at once to 21.

22. Rock Jones, who lived with his father at 22, > Amu, who lived with father's elder brother at 5. Went to 22, his late father's home. His son Kit brought Kasoda's daughter home from her father's house near 59; she died.

23. His son Joe brought Tahuta from her oldest brother's house, 38. Claude, Watahomidja's son (16) > Elva, Joe's daughter, at 23.

24. Prince lived at father's, 25. Married Tasamadja, who lived at 67. Mike, his brother, lived in father's cave 25 > Sinyella's daughter at her father's house, 9. Took her to 15: she died. Then he > Sarah who lived with her father's younger brother at 38. Took her to 15; she died.

26. Bob lived near late father's house at 26. Akaba lived 71 > Tcahapuinya who lived with her brother at 28. Then he took her to 71; he died; she went to Bob at 26.

28. Thomas brought his wife, a Yavapai, to his father's house site.

29. Captain Jim's dead wife lived with father (near Walapai canyon?). Jim took her to his father's house at 40. Moved to 29; she died. Brought a Walapai woman to 29 in 1919. His son, Crook, brought a Yavapai to 29; divorced.

1 [see category 102, p.

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30. Mexican Jack, Captain Jim's half-brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Supai Charley's daughter at 69; she died. His wife Teyava has married three times. First to Arthur's older brother, who lived with his father at 6, took Teyava from her father's house at 39 to a garden near 51; he died. Sterling took her to his house (location unknown); he died. Mexican Jack brought her to 30.

31. Richard lived with his older brother, Watahomidja, at 68>Nina, a Walapai. Returned to father's land at 32.

33. Bert, his older brother, took Putcilvoiya's sister from 57 (at once?) to 27; she died. Then he>Mary at her father's house, 63. Brought to father's house site, 33. His son, Bela, lived with him; brought Clara at once from her father's house, 38, to 33.

33a. Barney, who lived with his father's brother's son at 1>Stella, at her father's house, 54; then to his father's house site, 33a.

34. Panamida, who lived at his father's house, 4>Smiley's daughter at her father's cave, 59. Took her to 4; she died. He moved to 34.

35. Supai Jack, who lived with father at 65, took Supai Charley's daughter from her father's house, 69, to 35; she died. He went>Eunice, at her brother, Putcilvoiya's house, 57; then to 35.

36. Pakadagova, who lived at 64>Supai Jack's sister at her father's house, 65; returned to 36.

37. Martin Navajo, Mexican Jack's brother, who lived with his father's younger brother>Roger's younger sister at her father's house, 54. She died; he went to 37, near brother at 38.

38. Spoonhead, his brother, who lived with mother at 38>Prince's younger sister at her father's cave 25; she died. Then he>Sutaluidja at her father's house, 63; then to 38.

41. Austin, who lived at 41 (unclaimed land)>Katie at her father's house, near 24; then to 41.

42. Billy, who lived with father at 63>Austin's father's sister at her father's house, 70. Took her to 42; she died. Then he>Lillie at her father's house, 24; then to 42.

43. Captain Burro, his father, who lived at 63>Dasunteva at her father's house at 39. Then her father withdrew his consent and gave her to a Walapai. But Captain Burro took her again to his father's land at the Indian Gardens on Bright Angel Trail. Took up location 43 on unclaimed land after 1911 flood.

44. Allen, who lived on dead father's land at 14>Jane at her father's house, 20. Went to 44; she died.

45. Jasper, who lived with his father, Manakadja, at 47>Stella at her father's younger brother's house at 69; then to 45.

46. Lemuel, who lived with father at 35>Esther at her father, Manakadja's, at 47, that is at 46.

47. Manakadja, who lived at 66>Gwegwaŋgwala at her (and Tohowaga's) father's house at 20. Then to his father's land at 47. Then he discarded her and brought a Paiute (now dead) from Pine Spring; and resuming relations with Gwegweŋgwala lived at 47 with both wives.

48. Pete, who lived with older brother at 1>Tekeedja, Manakadja's daughter at her father's, 47, that is at 48.

49. West lived with his father's older brother, Sinyella, at 49; took Walapai wife.

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591 *51.* Shorty lived with his mother, Capt. Burro's sister, near her brother's house,
583 63. Teyadjava, who lived at his father's house, 4>Sakwemidja at her father's house,
551 6; then he took her to 4. He died and she returned to her mother on her late father's land at 13. Shorty>her at 13; then took her to 51 on her father's land.

53. Mark, who lived on his mother's brother's land at 53>Andjolik at her brother's house, 8. Then took her to 53; she died. Henry, his brother, who lived with their mother at their dead stepfather's house at 52>Nina at her father's house, 69. Then to 53: she died in 1919.

54. Roger, who lived at father's site at 54>Rock Jones' daughter at her father's, 22. Took her to 54; she died. Then he>a Walapai: brought her to 54; she ran away.

55. Tobey, who lived with older brother, Puteilvoiya, at 57>Capt. Jim's daughter at her father's (29?); she died. Took Meeca from her father's house, 48, to 55 on his maternal grandmother's brother's land.

56. Little Jim, who lived with his father at 12>his older brother's wife's younger sister who lived with her father at 70. Then brought her near his brother's, 12. She died and he went to live at 61. Then he>Susie, a Walapai, at Pine Spring; then to 56.

57. Puteilvoiya, who lived at father's house, 60>Deskumlauwa's younger sister who lived with her sister's husband at 62. Then to 57 on father's land. His brother Fred who lived with him (at 57?)>Watahomidja's daughter at her father's house, 10. Then he took her to 57; she died. Then he went>Helen at her father's house, 10; he died.

58. Smiley, who lived alone at 31>a woman who lived at 10. Deskumlauwa lived with Smiley's older brother at 2. He died and Smiley took her to 58 on his mother's land. (His father was a Walapai).

Property and Inheritance

311 Private ownership of land exists only where the land is cultivated.
423 With the exception of a few patches elsewhere in their territory, such as the Indian Gardens on the Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon Station, the fields are located in the vicinity of the village in Cataract Canyon. About one hundred acres (one-fifth) of the bottom land there is tillable; depending on the height of the creek permitting irrigation, all of it is farmed. Holdings are not in large continuous strips, but numerous patches scattered through the two or more miles of canyon above the falls. This haphazard distribution is due not only to the
311 chances of inheritance, transfer, and sale, but more particularly to the
133 changes wrought by the marauding creek. The stream changes its
423 level and often its position with each big flood, wiping out some fields and leaving others beyond the reach of irrigation, forces their abandonment. The whole group of holdings near Walapai Canyon has been obliterated in this way. Such changes will sometimes bring hitherto uncleared
311 lands and others long abandoned within the possibility of cultivation,
423 when they are almost certain to be used without delay by someone desiring additional fields.

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his mischiefs (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal.[2] The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[3] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[4] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 176; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lippe, 48; Curtis, I, 125–127; Mooney, (c), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 184; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Clifford, (a), 173, 188; Reid, 11.

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1]Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 275–278; McKern, 236; Dixon, (a), 230–241; (e), 317; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2]Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 230; Bolton.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Dumarest, 1906; Russell, (d), 196.

[4]Parsons, (e), 200–203; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 38; Franciscan Fathers, 422.

[5]Bolton.

[6]Kroeber, (a), 278; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 240, 352, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 42; Barrett, (b), 9. Lowie, (i), 283–285; Dixon, (e), 315; (d), 301.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1801) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bride-[591] groom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile.

585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife.

[591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to
593 sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter.

[586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 593 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an in- [591] flexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband [848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, [591] is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognisant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
● [591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 58) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable. [591]

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.) [83%]

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their time." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage: 582 585

"Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it. 582

"Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.

"If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, 'Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married.' Then the girl would go with the boy to his place."

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.) [591]

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently were part of the courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

The formality with which I have interpreted these cases and informants' comments has been questioned by Leslie Spier, perhaps with justice. He wrote, "You asked me if I thought you had made too much of trial marriage. I do think you have made it seem more formal (and formidable) than is quite warranted. Trial marriage of a sort is common enough in many societies--and in some segments of our own--so that there seems nothing very special about the present Havasupai attitudes. Rather I think, as you imply as an 114 582

Table 2. Residence of family heads with respect to age.

591
582

Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary
591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

596 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

854 736 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 854 736 591 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual affection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the [178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 737 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233] 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428 and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev- ●591] eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matrilocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

[4] About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The House-Clan*

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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]	mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána	owi
	growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[114] [1]Coues, 345. A later statement (435), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.
[2]Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.
[171] [3]The Zuñi also pray at the first planting [Cushing, (d), 178–179].

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(I), 39 41]. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1905, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	35	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	..	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 348).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 133–134.

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The family with which I lived in 1918 is typical. It consisted of Tokaoridja, aged seventy-five, her daughter Susie, fifty-five, both widows of long standing, and her two sons, Mark and Henry. Mark is a widower of thirty-four; Henry is thirty, his wife Nina is twenty-three, and his two sons are seven and three. They live in two houses standing side by side: Tokaoridja, Susie, and Mark in one, Henry's family in the other. Both the mother and daughter cook in their own half open house, and eat there with the two men and the boys. Nina sometimes joins them, but light hurting her failing eyes, she usually remains within her own brush house. To make the picture complete, there must be added the continual stream of visitors, mostly unattached men, relatives and otherwise, who share the ever ready meal. All five adults labor in their fields, which are their joint property, although more emphatically Mark's and Henry's. Nina also planted in a field allotted her by her father's elder brother for the sustenance of her two boys. The men give more attention to irrigation and their horses, and now that alfalfa is grown, to those fields too; the women have more concern in caring for the harvest.

592 [123] [574]

Groups of closely related families living and working together form still larger informal units. A typical case is the group of which Manakadja is the head. With him live his wife and two adult unmarried sons. The adjacent house belongs to his oldest son, Jasper, his wife and two daughters, the next house to his youngest daughter, Esther, her husband and infant. A short distance opposite, sufficiently far to be something of a separate camp, is the house of his oldest daughter Teθek'idje, her husband and six children. All the women cook together in the open space about which the houses are grouped, although Teθek'idje's family leads rather a separate existence and Jasper's also does to some extent. All of them work their fields in common, or rather Manakadja's, whose inherited holdings are extensive. Esther's husband has some interest in his father's fields, and Teθek'idje's husband may own some land.

Watahomidja's family group comprises his wife, her aged Walapai stepmother, his oldest son and wife, his second son with his wife and two infants, and his third unmarried son. All these occupy one house and eat together. In 1918 his daughter, Callie, her husband and three children lived in an adjacent house, with the husband's aged mother living in a shelter alongside. This family led a somewhat independent existence, and in 1919 broke with them to live some distance off. This year Watahomidja was joined by his daughter's orphaned boy.

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592 Rock Jones shares a house with his wife and his eldest son, a widower with two girls. A nearby structure houses his second son with a wife and three daughters, together with Watahomidja's youngest son, Claude, who in 1919 became the husband of the oldest daughter. In 1918 Rock Jones's youngest son lived close by with his wife, Kitty, and three children, but the following year this family spent most of their time with the wife's family in order to support them when her father Bert went blind.

Bert's family consists of his wife and her illegitimate son, his oldest son and his new wife, and his three young daughters. These together form an economic group. In 1919 it also included Kitty's family. Not far away lives Bert's younger brother, Richard. With him are a wife and three children, and his mother occupies an adjacent hut.

Captain Burro and his wife were rejoined by their son, his two half-grown sons and their stepmother, Lilly, in 1919. All these share a common existence. In 1919 Lilly's father, having lost a son, came to live nearby with his wife and two young daughters, but they maintain an entirely distinct establishment.

Sinyella's group centers around his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo. With him in his own house are his adult sons, Lanoman, a widower, Melvin, and Louis (see the genealogical chart, p. 392). His second son, Dean, lives in a nearby house with four of his children. A nearer house shelters his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo, her husband, Tcikapaniga, her daughter Helen, and Dean's infant son whom she is raising. For a brief period Helen lived elsewhere with her husband until he died, then she returned to her father's home. In 1919 Jess brought his family, consisting of wife and two children to live alongside his father, Tcikapaniga. The hearth around which the whole group centers is Djerdwaimo's; she is assisted in her culinary preparations by her daughter-in-law, while Sinyella and his sons often prepare their own meals. On occasion his granddaughter Katie will come to cook for him, in which event she brings her husband and children. When all the families eat from the common pot they contribute their share of its contents. Sinyella, his sons, and Dean's children form an economic unit in which his younger brother's son West, whose family lives elsewhere, is included. All work together in their undivided fields, which Sinyella and his deceased younger brother inherited from their father. The harvest is stored in their common storage houses. Tcikapaniga plants his fields with the aid of his wife, daughter, son, and daughter-in-law: his son Jess also owns a plot of land. These together also form an economic unit.

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1] 592

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*alatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámanálatá*, boy; *mésálatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother. 592 736

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion. 621

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe. 602

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships 602 621 [648]

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a sib system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *súldjîgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvîgd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries (Cushing, (d), 152) and Navaho fences of brush (Stephen, (b), 354).

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped 621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few ● 592 family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a [562] woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as [591] nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under 596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling -watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 5793 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 [591] [848] [591] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1902 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1887. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

598 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several [59] generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [59] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [76] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [423] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. 586
Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said [684]
that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children.

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'iglθdaldj*, barren women) the husband would take a [595]
second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out.

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives 593
would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate 684
by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character.

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation 582
today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women 648
and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies.

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied [439]
their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. [586]
Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit [837]
relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common.

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1](a), 551.
[2]Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as 858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [768] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 337 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 221.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Coeopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 176; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lipps, 46; Curtis, I, 125–127; Mooney, (c), 253.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Gifford, (a), 173, 186; Reid, 11.

584 without parley begins to bargain for her as he would for a horse or any other commodity. The standard price for a wife is ten to twenty dollars, and where a trade cannot be made with a pony or blanket, the money itself is offered. The bargaining completed, there are no further preliminaries or ceremony, except [591] that, three weeks or so before the wedding, the bridegroom takes up his residence in the hawa of the bride's parents. He is treated as one of the family, and at night rolls himself up in his blanket and sleeps alongside his prospective kinsfolk on the floor of the domicile. 585 At the end of three weeks, if the contracting young folks are satisfied that their dispositions are harmonious, and if the marriage settlement is satisfactory, the wedding takes place. The groom takes his bride, the old folk take the medium of purchase, and the company laughs and banters the young husband and wife. [591] The man takes the woman to his hawa, and the announcement of their marriage is made by the fact that they are living together and have assumed marital relationship.

584 Sometimes an obdurate father or mother will refuse to sell a daughter, and thus expresses disapprobation of the ● 593 suggested match. Occasionally, as among more civilized people, the young couple mournfully, but dutifully, acquiesce in the decision of the older people, but, more often — even, also, as white young people do — they rebel, and take the decision into their own hands by eloping and living together. This ends the matter. [586] The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

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Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

[587]

Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry. At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, public opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 593 [587] [428] [787]

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Sharing the Work

462 593 Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work, including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

Authority and Accommodation

593 While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

593 562 A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often with the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

593 578 Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and

use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband. 593 578

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence. 593

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships, although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery; only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

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Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

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Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

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A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

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Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric-

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
591 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

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water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
534 then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is gathered at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

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614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged.

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are released a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes

162 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although
589 several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting
582 competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary
591 matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

5% Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary con-
592 siderably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother oc-
594 cupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had
[591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

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593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
511 outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

515 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sáldjĭgé*, a man's older brother's son, or *djĭkdoĭgé*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Pueblo tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1] 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, T'ɛ̄kàm"ladwà, was the widow of his elder brother, Kūfó. The levirate (*sa'yógd*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahawigìgd*, having two wives, *hawdgd*, two; *tahamúgìgd*, having three wives, *hamúgd*, three.) One 595

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is encountered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is [587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe0gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe0gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 [684]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'iglθaalddj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] (a), 551.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

Sutliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for [515] except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [804] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

2:11167 Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Havasupai Home Life

595 I had discovered by this time that there were polygamous marriages among the Havasupai, and often wondered how much they disturbed the serenity of the homes involved. And then one day during a visit to the village, Head Chief Manakadja led me to one of two brush wickiups set in the same yard. Entering, with me, he pointed to an elderly woman sitting in a corner, shelling corn, and said laconically, "Old wife." Returning to the yard, we entered the second wickiup. A woman much younger than the "old wife" sat within, weaving a basket. In the same matter-of-fact fashion Manakadja pointed to her and remarked, "Young wife," then hurried through the low doorway to identify, by name, his children playing in the yard, several of whom were enrolled in school.

595 648 The innocent way in which he had called my attention to his two households made it difficult for me to break the news which surely would be a staggering blow to him. But I could not ignore the Commissioner's order to field officials regarding polygamous relations without taking a chance of being called to account. So I explained, "The Great Father in Washington made a paper talk; he said an Indian may have one wife, only one. You have two."

Manakadja stood for a bewildered moment just staring at me, then he asked, "What they do, wife, chillen, I no keep? Where go?"

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple.

The Havasupais are polygamists, and believe in having as many wives as they can buy and support. At the time of his death Kohot Navaho had three wives living with him, and I personally know of two others that he had discarded on account of old age. When Hotouta, his oldest son, was living, his mother was a thrust-out member of Navaho's household. She was almost blind and decrepit, and Navaho with a wave of his hand and ten words had dismissed her from his bed and board. Hotouta had a tender heart and used to speak very bitterly about the injustice of this custom which allowed an old and helpless wife thus mercilessly to be discarded.

Shortly before Navaho's death his oldest wife evidently "ruled the roost," and it certainly must have been by other means than her physical beauty. And yet she was vain of her good looks, for, when I made her husband's photograph, she became my strong ally in persuading him to sit before the camera, on condition that I would make a "sun-picture" of her own beautiful physiognomy and enchanting *tout ensemble*. When I made the photograph, she secured her petticoats between her legs in such a manner as to make them appear like rude trousers, and when I commented upon the unfeminine appearance and asked her to spread out her skirts in orthodox style, she boxed my ears with a manner at once decisive, haughty, and jocular, and bade me proceed as she was or not at all. The second wife was a meek kind of a creature, who seemed to be entirely under the dominion of wife number one; but the youngest wife, a buxom woman of twenty-three

S:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

585 kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were considered gifts rather than payments. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this imprecise arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also
[181] usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general lack of precise definition in the total culture.

Forms of Marriage

587 As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more frequently.

595 While the predominant type of marriage was monogamy, polygyny was fairly common. Spier (1928, 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho, who died about 1900, had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, it was held that the second wife should leave, but usually a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, 224).

[586] When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused

or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case. 595 [586]

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out in the same manner as those for a first wife, except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed in reservation times until very recently. An example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately 20 years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his legal wife, only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced differing opinions concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains a residence separate from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none." [208]

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, A and B, married a niece and uncle, C and D, respectively. In this example, B was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, A, and his wife. When A was left a widower, he and D, also a widower, arranged the exchange. The men were both about 20 years older than the two girls. 582 583

C had been reared by her own parents, who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, C objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. C's new husband gave $50 to her father; C's husband himself received nothing from the other man for B, the cousin toward whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who
595 had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she
842 wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces
582 among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of
[114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear
586 much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes,
842 and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren.
[595] One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy.
[165] A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman,
[586] still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the
587 present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and
842

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 343
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 588
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 862
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

611 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the ab-
614 sence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but
[582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

● 595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con-
[586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with
[584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as,
[582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 428 858 171 The children do not seem to have regular property, as with the Pueblos, until after puberty, although, on the death of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 643 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 793 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distinguished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without

585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in

595 421 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (!). 39 411. The Havasupai sex ratio is 121.0 males to 100 females; in 1906 it was 145, in 1908, 181. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

642 In 1938 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped 621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built 592 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is [562] constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and [591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under 596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

162 589 may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

582 Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

591 The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

59% 592 594 Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had [591] completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognise lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H-Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-489, 1922.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sûldjîgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvîgd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [640]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

[The genealogical charts have been reproduced for the files in the following manner: Chart A - Relatives through Mother - pp. 392 A-1 to A-14.]

A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7
A8	A9	A10	A11	A12	A13	A14

Chart B - Relatives through Father - pp. 392 B-1 to B-4

B1	B2	B3	B4

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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognised as blood rela-
621 tives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Cheekapanyega, his nephew, recognised 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognised and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

601 Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
602 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for greatgrandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognised, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601

nêpoⁿtgâ	father's father
mótgâ	father's mother
nâgwadtgâ	mother's father
nâgoⁿ tgâ	mother's mother
djⁿâⁿ tgâ, djⁿâ	father
djⁿdjⁿ tgâ, djⁿdjⁿ'	mother
nowigâ	father's older brother
nidjaⁿtgâ	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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601

nâβi'ɡâ	mother's older sister
nimfiɡâ, ðnimfiɡâ	mother's younger sister
nâgwóiɡâ	mother's brother
nâbfiɡâ	father's sister
nyé ɡâ	older brother or sister, father's brother's or mother's sister's child, older than self
gi'niɡâ	younger brother or sister, the corresponding parallel-cousin, younger than self
djîkâ vîɡâ	a man's male cross-cousin, and his female cross-cousin's son
pafiɡâ	a woman's female cross-cousin, and her male cross-cousin's daughter
·hamó°, homó gâ	"boy," a man's son
ávîdj·ɡâ, ávîdjávîdj	a man's daughter
n,a''âðhu'â, ðhu'iɡâ	"my offspring," (lit. issue), a woman's child (n,a'âðhuâ, plural)
nó kîjiɡâ	a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's son
nó°tiɡâ, nôtiɡâ	a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's daughter, his female cross-cousin or her daughter (nó°tiɡâ in indirect reference, nôtô in direct address)
wî'iɡâ	a man's younger brother's or male parallel-cousin's child
wánɡâ	a man's sister's or female parallel-cousin's child (possibly his older brother's or male parallel-cousin's daughter's child)
bfiɡâ	a woman's brother's child, probably her male parallel-cousin's child also. (This may be the same as nâbi'ɡâ, father's sister, although this was denied.)
nofiɡâ	a woman's older sister's child, probably her female parallel-cousin's child as well
wî'siɡâ	a woman's younger sister's child, possibly her female cross-cousin's child, but the most competent informant did not know what to call such a child
adwiɡâ	son's child, a man's (and possibly a woman's) son's son's child, (possibly a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's son's child), a man's younger brother's or male parallel-cousin's grandchild, a woman's brother's son's child, possibly her male parallel-cousin's son's child, her older sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) son's child, her younger sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) grandchild
kofiɡâ	daughter's child, a man's (and possibly a woman's) daughter's grandchild, a man's (and possibly a woman's) son's daughter's child, a woman's brother's (and possibly her male parallel-cousin's) daughter's child, her older sister's (and possibly her female parallel-cousin's) daughter's child. (Compare nágui'ɡâ, mother's mother.)
gâdjiɡâ	a man's sister's (and probably his female parallel-cousin's) grandchild, his male cross-cousin's child
n,ahamî'i, nyahamiɡâ	my husband (my boy?)
n,á'aluwá, luwéɡâ	my wife
ginyéɡa	daughter's husband, wife's parent

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601 **whnyégà** — son's wife, wife of all relatives except as noted elsewhere
paham'ligà — husband of all relatives except as noted, wife's brother or her grandparents[1]

I am doubtful regarding the application of some terms. Sinyella did not know what a woman's female cross-cousin's children should be called, nor the terms for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's children. He said the latter would just be recognized as relatives. Djerdwaimo gave *notlgà* for a woman's male parallel-cousin's child, *btigà* for the son, and *patlga* for the daughter of her female parallel-cousin; but I think she is mistaken. Probably she did not understand the question. She did not know what her daughter Helen would call Pete's grandchildren if he had any, i.e., Helen's father's younger half-brother's grandchildren (see the genealogical chart).

There are no terms for a husband's brother or sister, nor their spouses, nor for a wife's sister or her husband, nor a wife's brother's wife, nor for a husband's parents, nor a child's parents-in-law. There are no terms for step-parents; they are not called by parent terms, because "we are afraid, for the father and mother are dead." Half-brothers and sisters are called brothers and sisters.

[551] References to dead relatives are by the relationships they bear to the living, as Manakadja's father. The form *panyà'atalvldj*, my father now dead, was recorded.

The reciprocal of *kotlgà* is said to be *nagotlgà*, but other terms are given for the reciprocal relationships. The word *gdtdjlgà* may mean relative in general, as *tnyányan„lkddjádj*, Sun, my relative, occurring in a prayer.[2] In a myth, "Wolf, my father" was recorded as *hatágwll n„andkóta*, said to be an obsolete term; son-in-law, *ginyéga*, was also recorded as *glnyiyà*.

601 124 [115] These meanings were checked at the hand of genealogical data given by Mark Hanna, his sister Susie, his nephew Jess Checkapanyega, and Jess's mother, Djerdwaimo. A record was made of the terms used by Mark and Jess for every living relative, and the reciprocal terms, on the basis of the agency census, before any genealogical charts were drawn, so that the names did not occur in logical order. The accompanying chart 601 gives Jess's relatives in full. For convenience I have separated his

[1] The following possessive forms were recorded in myths:—

nyán„ágwnádádj	my mother's father	nyan„ádjad ldj	my father's younger brother
nyanádádj	my mother's mother	nyaltcikivà	my male cross-cousin (man speaking)
nyánalnkwdldj	my mother's brother	nyaddjvldj	my older brother's son (man speaking)
n„ln„áwivà		n„andkóta	my father

[2] However the more general word would be *n„atcyddjlad*, my relative (*tcyddjlo djdyàtà lunàkwl*, he marries a relative; literally, relative, he knows it, to take a wife).

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father's from his mother's relatives. The figure after each name gives the approximate age. Where more than one figure follows it means that several individuals stand in exactly the same relation to Jess; in order to avoid duplication I have indicated only their ages. Thus Jess has two daughters, aged six and one respectively, so the chart reads "Rosie 6, 1." A name set in italics means the person is dead: a line in the name place means that it was not obtained. Several individuals are related to Jess in more than one way: I have repeated their names in the appropriate places. A few names of unrelated persons are added in order to fill out the families and define the limits of kinship.[1] The first word given under the name is the term Jess uses to designate that person, the second the term used reciprocally. Thus Jess calls his wife *luwégd* and she calls him *nyahamígà*. Where there is no term given it means that that man is not related; a line in the second place means that there is no reciprocal term used.

Most of the usages conform to those given above. The most interesting point is the extension of terms for lineal relatives to collateral lines. Thus Jess's father's father's half-brother's son is equated with his father's brothers, his mother's mother's sister's children are equated with his mother's brothers and sisters, and the terms used for their descendants logically follow. The significant fact is that all these initial relations in the parents' generation are uncles or aunts, with the appropriate term according as they are older or younger than the parents. The relative ages of those in the grandparental generations do not figure at all. This is consonant with the classification of parallel-cousins as older and younger siblings as their ages compare with one's own, no matter whether their parents were older or younger than one's own father and mother. These observed extensions follow:—

mótigà	Tokaoridja, father's mother's co-wife
nidjaligà	Barney, father's father's half-brother's son: used by Flynn and Callis for father's mother's half-sister's son
nàmligà	Ta*b*antedje, mother's mother's sister's daughter
nàgwégà	Spoonhead, mother's mother's sister's son
niyégà	Lillie and Carl, mother's mother's sister's daughter's children, and the reciprocal extension is exactly the same
djikávigà	Grace and her brother, mother's mother's sister's son's daughter's
nó'tigà	children. Note however that their older half-sister Katie is more closely related and therefore called gi'nigà. Willie and his sister are mother's mother's sister's son's children
adwigà	Used by Tokaoridja for her co-wife's son's son

[1] A word of caution against using this chart to determine the number of children born to a couple: it represents only those surviving at the time it was drawn up and those dead persons who have surviving descendants.

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601 There are a few exceptions to the usages given in the list of terms. Teakam'lauwa, Jess' father's father's half-sister is called *ndθi''lgd*, that is mother's sister, whereas it would be more reasonable to expect *nabilgd*, father's sister. I presume that Jess thinks of her merely as an old woman relative and accordingly classes her with his mother's real sisters. Similarly we might expect *nidjaflgd*, father's younger brother, for her sister's son Frank, but *djlkdvlgd*, as he is called, would naturally follow from the relationship assumed toward her. All this is strange because Barney, her brother's son, is evidently correctly termed.

Loren, mother's half-sister's son's son's son, is called *wdnlgd*, so are Edgar and Caleb who are mother's half-sister's son's daughters' sons. Harriet and Fay are called *nó,flgd;* they are mother's half-sister's sons' daughters' daughters. Apparently this conflicts with the doubtful terminology given above, whereby Loren and his sister, if he had one, would be called *náwlgd* and Edgar, Caleb, Harriet, and Fay would be *wdnlgd*. There is indirect evidence for the correctness of the terms in the genealogical table, however: Mark calls Jess's daughter Rosie, i.e., his older half-brother's son's daughter, *nó'flgd*. Presumably the correct term for a man's older brother's or male parallel-cousin's grandson is *wdnlgd* and for the granddaughter *nó'flgd*. The reciprocal terminology is not very easy to fathom. It is conceivable that Edgar, Caleb, Harriet, and Fay should call their mothers' fathers' mother's half-sister's son, *ndgwélgd*, although he is in their grandparents' generation. But it is not reasonable that Loren should use the same term, usually applied to mother's brother, because he is related to Jess through his father, Joseph. Either Jess has given this term in analogy with the other children, or what is more probable, he has thought that the reciprocal of *wdnlgd*, usually a man's sister's son, is always *ndgwélgd*. Of course, if he had used the same reasoning in the case of the other children the reciprocal terms used by the girls would have been *nidjaflgd* or *djlkdvlgd*. Jess had great difficulty in giving all these terms, for they are evidently not used, Sinyella was little help, and his parents took days to thrash the points out.

Jess calls Roy *gitdjlgd*, properly enough, but Roy uses the reciprocal *nylgdidjlgd* instead of *nidjaflgd*, father's younger brother, as we might expect for a father's father's half-sister's son by analogy with Flynn's case.

Some other illuminating extensions in the use of terms were obtained while tracing the inheritance of chieftainships. Sinyella would have called Pa'hléga'mí'l by the term he used for his paternal grandfather, *nápolgd*, and expected the regular term for son's child, *náwlgd* in reply (see

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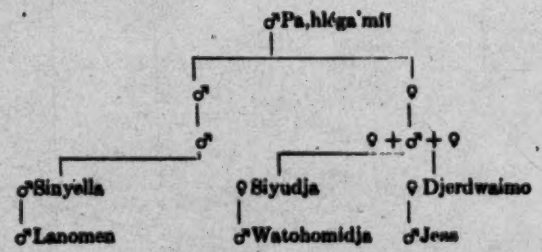
genealogy below). Watahomidja would have called the same man *ndgwaćĭgd*, expecting *koi ĭgd* reciprocally, as if he had been his maternal grandfather. That is, relatives beyond the grandparental generation are reduced to the appropriate grandparent status according as the connection is through the father or through the mother. Sinyella calls Watahomidja *wdnĭgd* as though the latter was his father's brother's daughter's child. Lanomen and Watahomidja call each other *djĭkdvĭgd* as though Siyudja and Sinyella were father's sister and mother's brother respectively. This conforms exactly with the practice in Jess's case: relatives in collateral lines are equated in the parents' generation.



Terms were also obtained from Mark and his sister Susie, Jess's uncle and aunt, for a fair range of their relatives. There are only three unusual usages. Mark calls Lillie, his mother's brother's son's daughter, *nó'tĭgd*, she replying *nidjatĭgd*. Susie calls Lillie and her brother Carl, *btĭgd;* and they reciprocate with *ndbĭtĭgd*. According to other informants Mark should have said *gátdjĭgd*, and Susie *nidjatĭgd* for Carl and *patĭgd* for Lillie. As it is, they both refer to them as if they were their brother's children, yet neither of them refer to Prince, their father, as brother, but by the proper cross-cousin terms. Mark might also be thinking of Lillie as a cross-cousin. It is also possible that Lillie and Carl may be related to them through their mother in some way unknown to me, but it would have to be through the mother's parents. Mark also calls Gathawinga, his mother's brother's daughter's daughter, *wdnĭgd* (*ndgwĕtĭgd* reciprocally) as if she was his sister's daughter. He should say *nó'tĭgd*. Susie is Nina's stepmother as well as husband's sister, but, according to the regular usage, she calls her *wInyégd*, with no reciprocal, term; that is, they ignore the pseudo-lineal relation.

Jess uses terms for very few relatives by marriage, in fact the few instances recorded were given by way of illustration rather than a statement of use. Where men such as Bela and Claude are also related to him

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601 by blood, he prefers to use the blood designation. This applies of course to their wives as well. In all other cases he prefers to use names.

Mark's attitude is different: he noted the reciprocal use of the term *pahamt'ligd* for every male relative by marriage. While Panamida's wife was still alive Mark called him *pahamt'ligd:* now he does not use the word. It is interesting to note that while *pahamt'ligd* is reciprocal, *winyega*, a woman relative by marriage, is not, nor is there any correlative expression. Nevertheless the mutual nature of the bond of affinity is recognised. For example, Mark and his brother's wife, Nina, live in the same camp, and both are fully aware that the ties which connect them operate on both alike, yet Mark may address Nina as *winyégd* whereas she must reply by name. Mark has twelve relatives he calls *winyégd*, yet not one can use a term expressing her relationship to him.

The genealogical data clearly indicate the limits including kinsmen. 601 Jess does not recognize as blood relatives any whose connections lie back 602 of his grandparents' generation. The same seems to be true of Mark, but I am not so certain of this genealogy. Jess's case is particularly instructive because it eventuated while tracing the inheritance of chieftainship (see the chart, p. 242) that he was related to Sinyella through his great-grandmother. But he was not even aware of any relationship, although Sinyella is a member of his family group and assumes a grandfatherly attitude toward him. He might readily have assumed a number of close relationships, for Sinyella calls Jess's mother *gi'nigd* and is reciprocally addressed as *nyé igd*. At the same time Sinyella is Djerdwaimo's stepfather so that he might have been called father by her and grandfather by Jess. For although step-relatives are not classed as actual relatives, Djerdwaimo often does call her stepbrothers, Melvin and Louis, *ginigd* as well as her half-brothers Lanomen and Dean. Her extension is rather unusual because recognition of kinship generally stops where blood connection ceases. Jess is also related to Big Jim, but neither he nor his father knows what the connection is. The bond must lie back of his grandparents' generation. To cite another instance, Spoonhead and his brothers are half-brothers by their father to Manakadja and Captain Jim, that is, definitely brothers from their point of view, but while Jess recognizes a connection with Spoonhead through the latter's mother, Manakadja is most emphatically not a relative. Similarly James is not a relative, for he is the illegitimate son of Mary, born after she married Bert. Furthermore, Jess's shrewd guess as to the identity of the boy's father did not include any of his own relatives. Nevertheless it must be noted that Bert treats the boy as if he were his son.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sûldjîgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvîgd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjia*, your mother, *mamádjitatka*, your father, or *huwágatum*, your parents (*huwágá*, two). A man uses *glayégá* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wlayégá* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *glayégá* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors; this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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The baby's first

854 [852] [827] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] [732] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 853 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; 862 when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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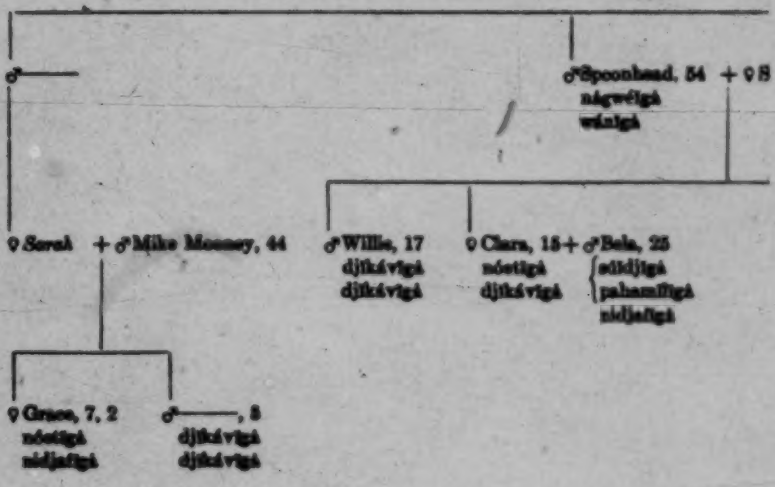

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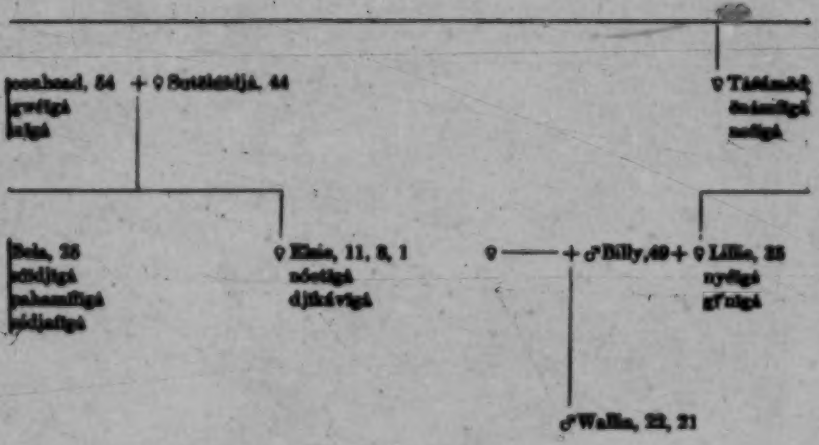

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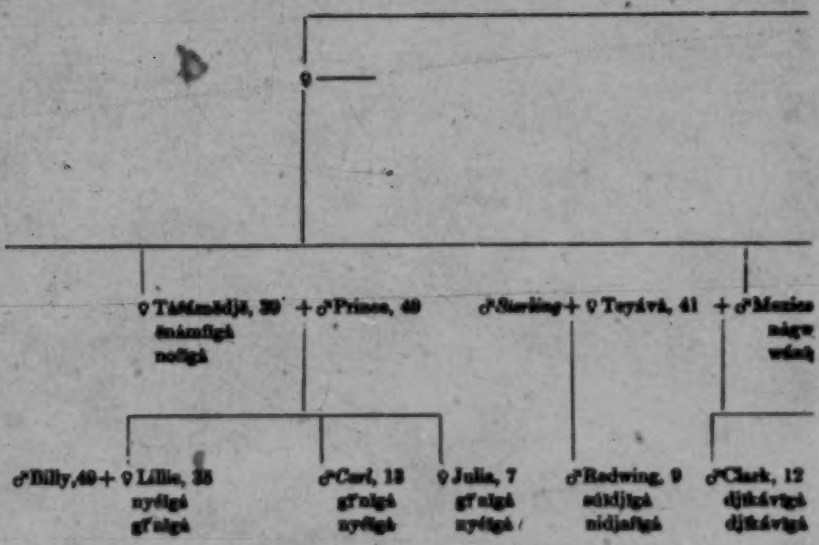

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Relatives Through Mother

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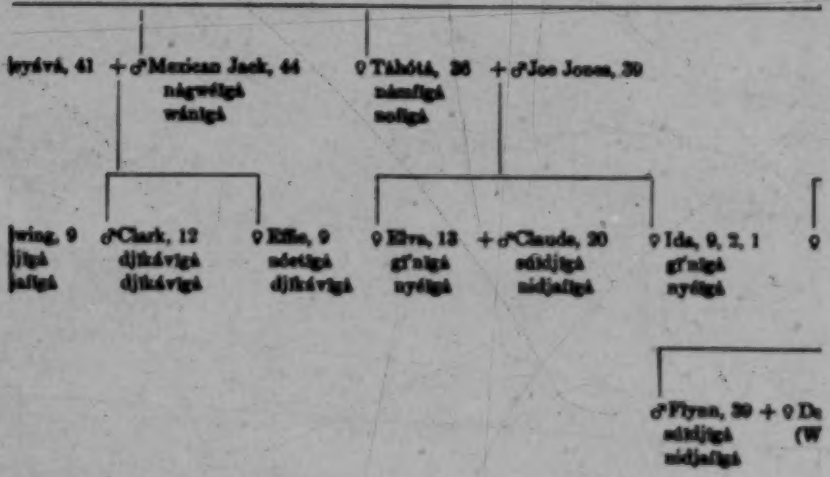

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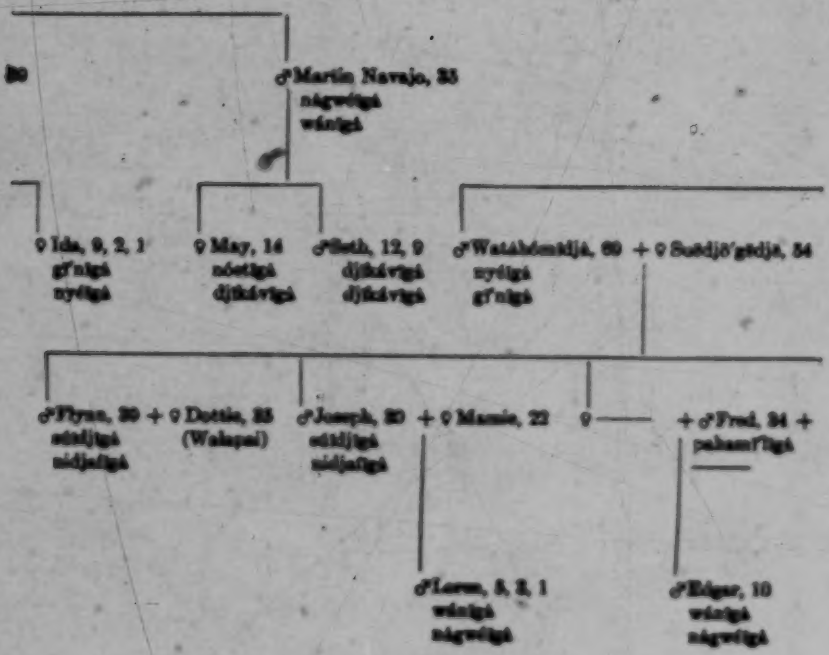

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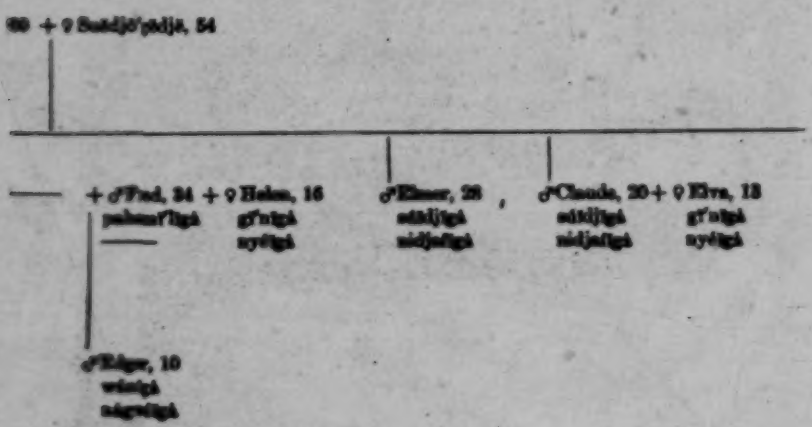

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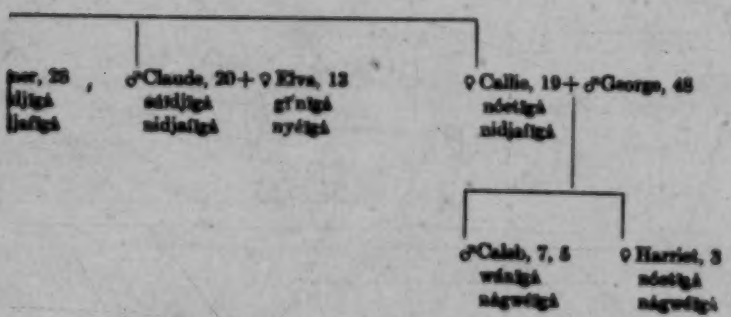

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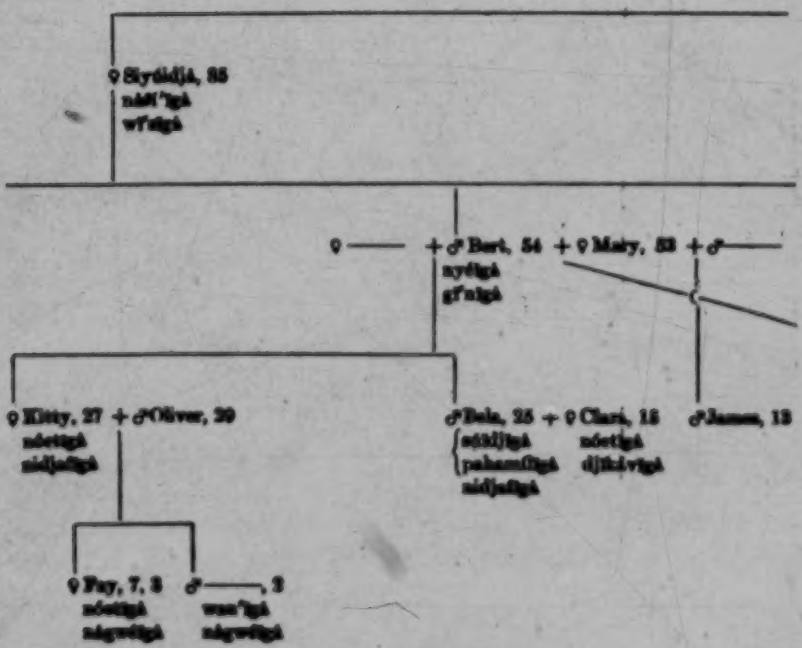

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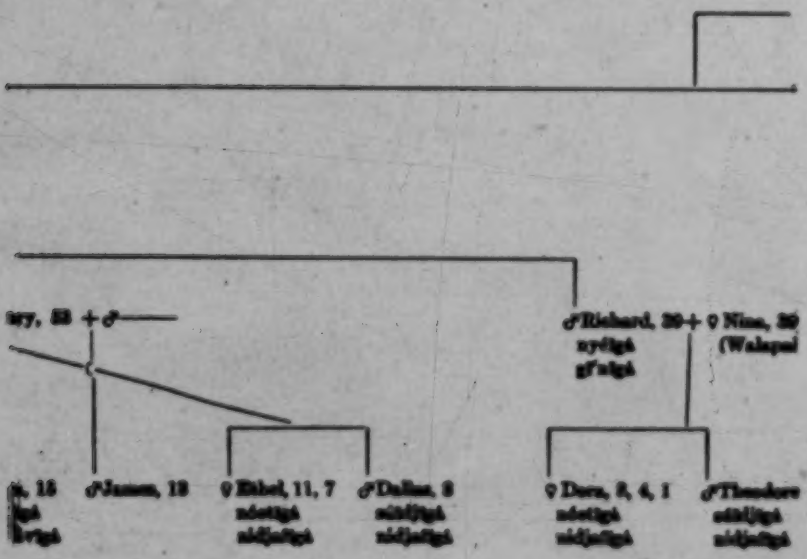

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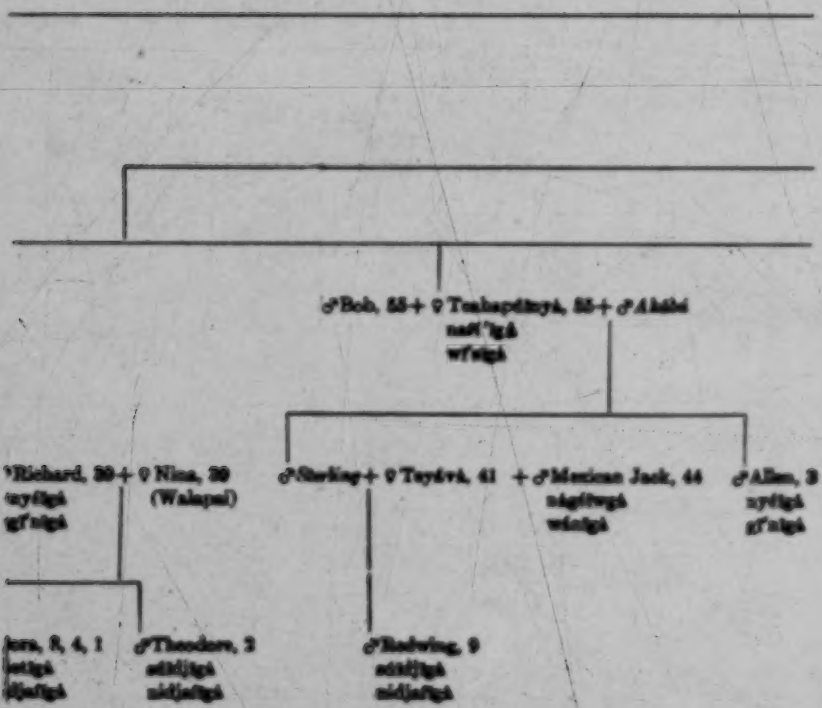

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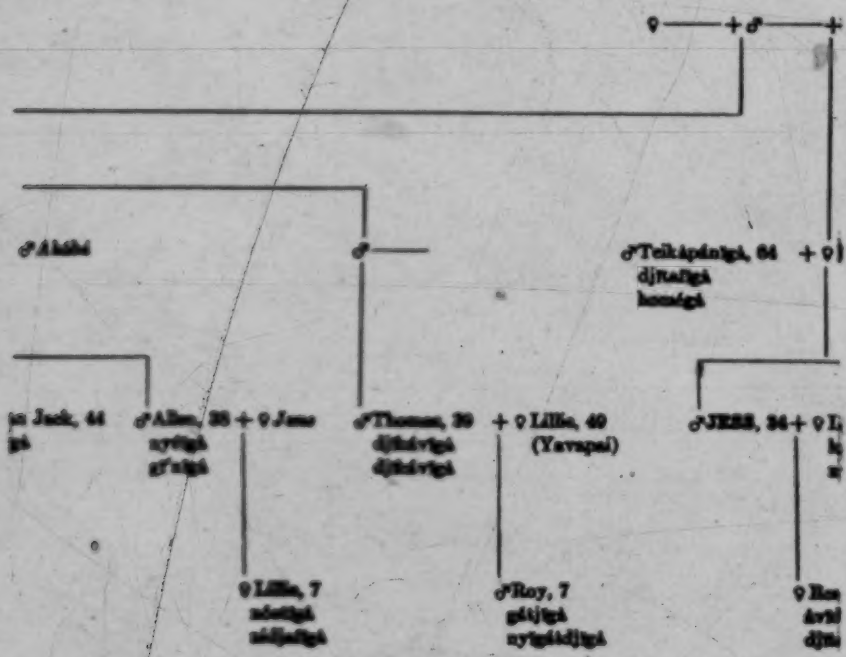

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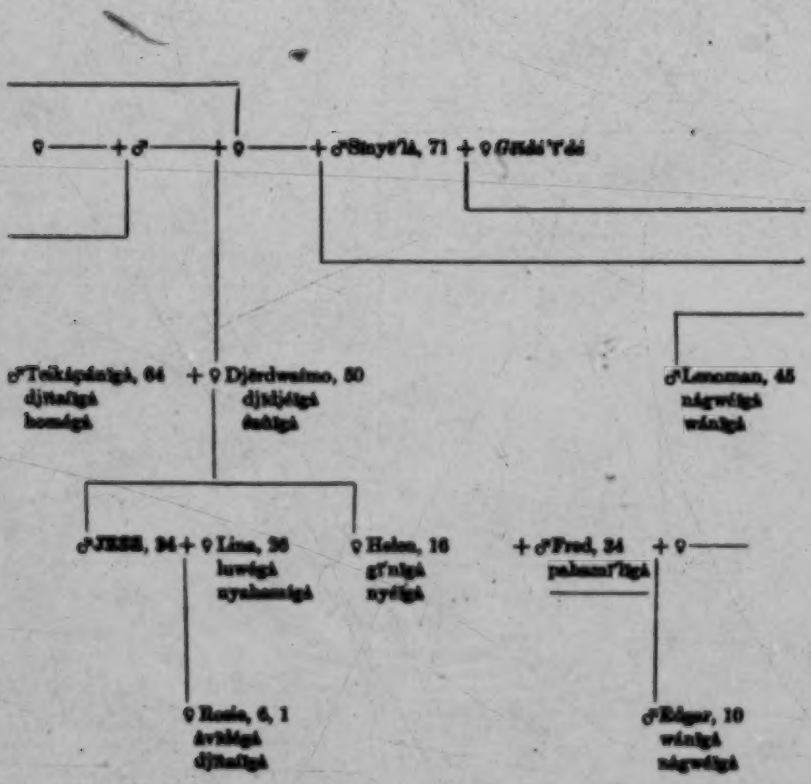

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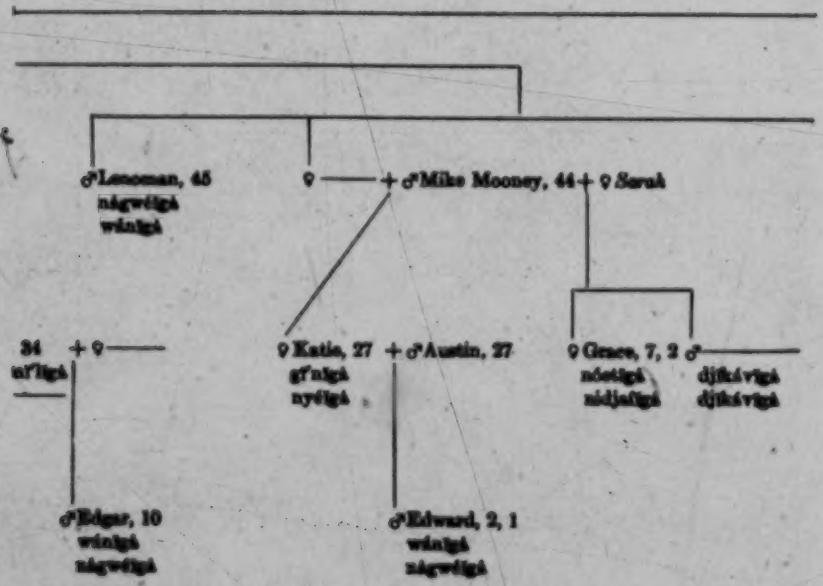

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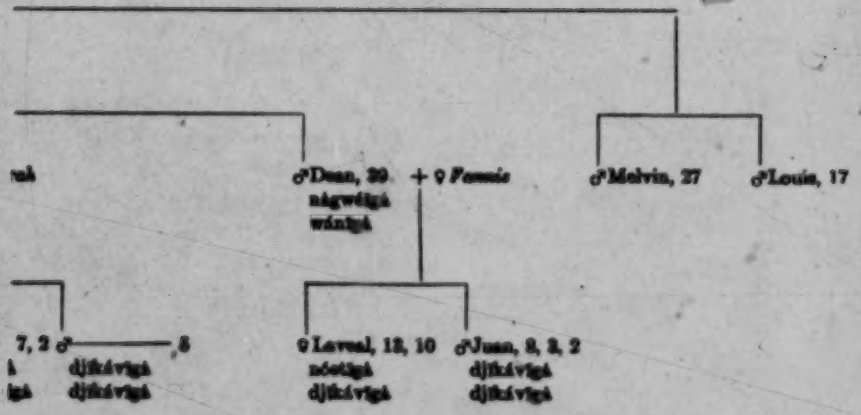

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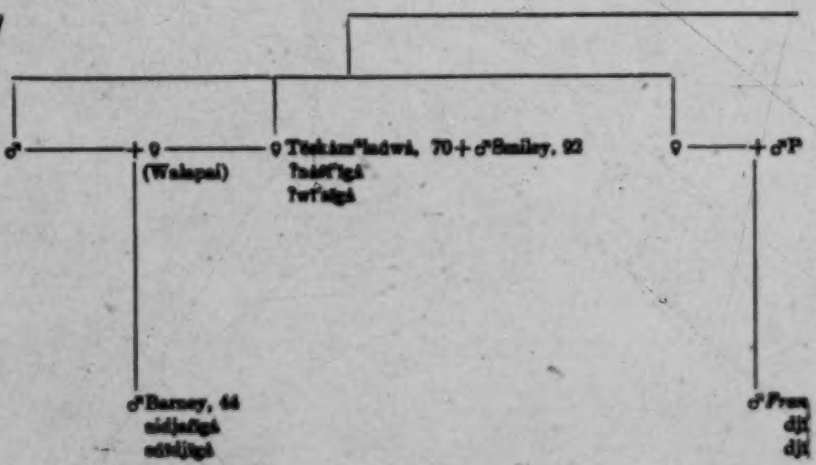

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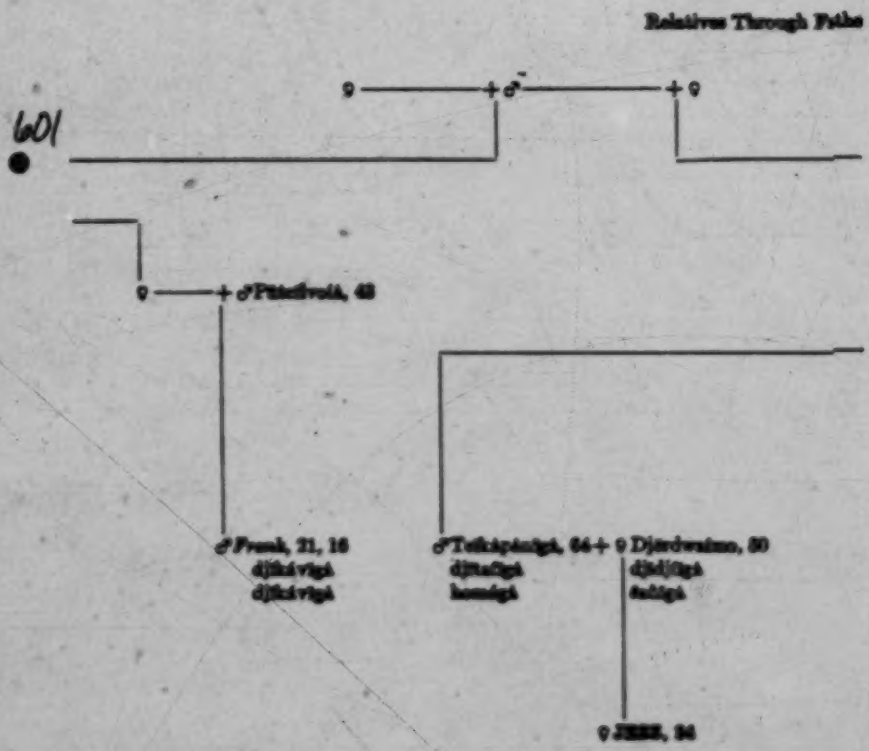

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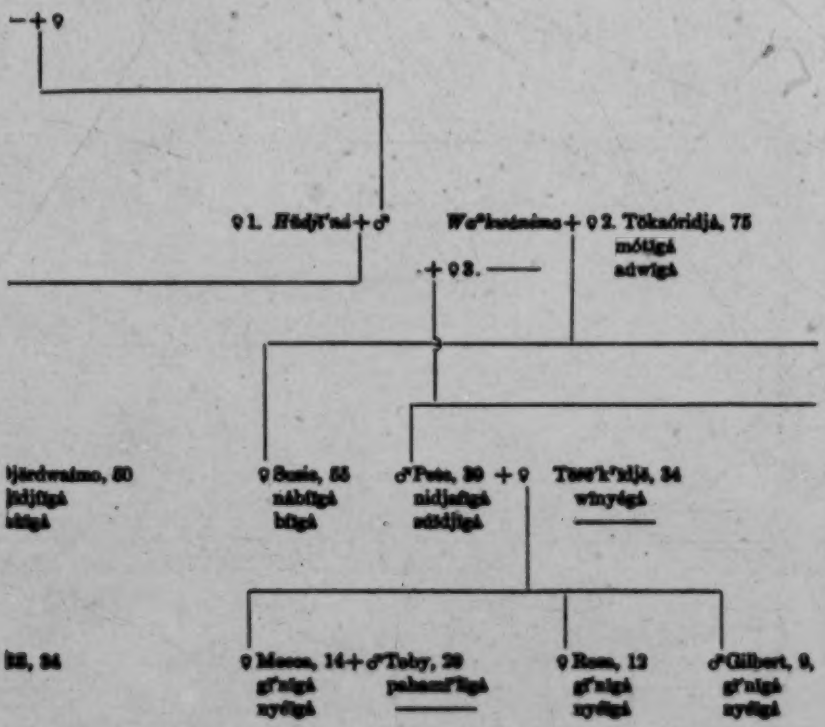
601

● Relatives Through Father.



[p.392 B-3]

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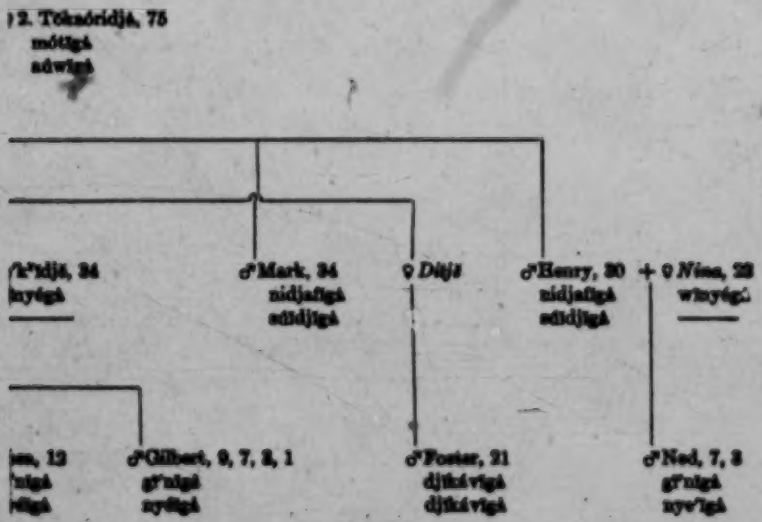
601



[p. 392 B-4]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up. 000

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face. 252

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes. 285 159

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story. 159 158 [601]

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted. [775]

[1 i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 583
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is [177
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 623]
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are 624
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [154
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [855
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group 592
of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of native women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1]

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*alaid*, also an infre- 592
quent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their near- 736
est blood relatives. Orphans (*kdmdndlaid*, boy; *mdsdlaid*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother.

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. 621
This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion.

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. 602
His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe.

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, 602
blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary 621
limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages [648]
with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Double Unilateralism*) how a situation might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognised as blood relatives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Cheekapanyega, his nephew, recognised 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognised and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

601 Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
602 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for great-grandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognized, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601

nêyoñgá	father's father
mótigá	father's mother
nágwañgá	mother's father
nágoñ ígá	mother's mother
djñaí ígá, djñá	father
djñji ígá, djñji'	mother
nowígá	father's older brother
nidjañgá	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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601 by blood, he prefers to use the blood designation. This applies of course to their wives as well. In all other cases he prefers to use names.

Mark's attitude is different: he noted the reciprocal use of the term *pahamt'ikpd* for every male relative by marriage. While Panamida's wife was still alive Mark called him *pahamt'ikpd:* now he does not use the word. It is interesting to note that while *pahamt'ikpd* is reciprocal, *wiagupa*, a woman relative by marriage, is not, nor is there any correlative expression. Nevertheless the mutual nature of the bond of affinity is recognized. For example, Mark and his brother's wife, Nina, live in the same camp, and both are fully aware that the ties which connect them operate on both alike, yet Mark may address Nina as *wiayápd* whereas she must reply by name. Mark has twelve relatives he calls *wiayápd*, yet not one can use a term expressing her relationship to him.

The genealogical data clearly indicate the limits including kinsmen. 601 Jess does not recognize as blood relatives any whose connections lie back 602 of his grandparents' generation. The same seems to be true of Mark, but I am not so certain of this genealogy. Jess's case is particularly instructive because it eventuated while tracing the inheritance of chieftainship (see the chart, p. 242) that he was related to Sinyella through his great-grandmother. But he was not even aware of any relationship, although Sinyella is a member of his family group and assumes a grandfatherly attitude toward him. He might readily have assumed a number of close relationships, for Sinyella calls Jess's mother *gi'wápd* and is reciprocally addressed as *apá ipá*. At the same time Sinyella is Djerdwaimo's stepfather so that he might have been called father by her and grandfather by Jess. For although step-relatives are not classed as actual relatives, Djerdwaimo often does call her stepbrothers, Melvin and Louis, *gináipd* as well as her half-brothers Lanomea and Dean. Her extension is rather unusual because recognition of kinship generally stops where blood connection ceases. Jess is also related to Big Jim, but neither he nor his father knows what the connection is. The bond must lie back of his grandparents' generation. To cite another instance, Spoonhead and his brothers are half-brothers by their father to Manakadja and Captain Jim, that is, definitely brothers from their point of view, but while Jess recognizes a connection with Spoonhead through the latter's mother, Manakadja is most emphatically not a relative. Similarly James is not a relative, for he is the illegitimate son of Mary, born after she married Bert. Furthermore, Jess's shrewd guess as to the identity of the boy's father did not include any of his own relatives. Nevertheless it must be noted that Bert treats the boy as if he were his son.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *sulidjkɔd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djikdekɔd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [590] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau Yuman tribes. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less
593 contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than
● 602 he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then
621 frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal
603 grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence
[591] group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband
[548] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or
[591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 579 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

285
[1415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
534] then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[1011 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carrying straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

8:Service E-8 (1946) 1947
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complexities indicates that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious instances of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and cooperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgullo, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgullo never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Mischa Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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hesitancy is easily overcome. This distaste applies more particularly to close relatives: still there is none of the abhorrence manifested by an Apache or Navaho against the mention of his dead. The usual circumlocution is Manakadja's grandfather (*mánakhádjid ʼaʼlaapdédj; ahpʼípd*, father's father) or Panimida's dead father (*pánámʼdápánatsiedj; djíatípd*, father). The word *nádjéémat ípd* means to hear the name of a dead relative spoken. 551

Infants are said to be named when they begin to play about and take an interest in the world, that is, at about one year. I find however that not a single child of one or two years has a name, only three boys of three are named, and every boy of five, and even one of seven, lacks a name so far as my informant knows. Evidently the need of a name awaits the creation of a personality even more than my informant believed. I do not know how these children are addressed, but they are referred to descriptively. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or happening. They are given by grandparents as a rule, perhaps those with whom they live, rather than by their parents. Names are not family property; in fact they seem to be freely invented. Sometimes the child is re-named when it reaches maturity. Men are very commonly re-named in reference to their marriages, but women are not. For example, if a girl refuses a young man's advances, fights him off, or pours water on him, someone may give him a nickname in derision. New names are often casually given both men and women in later life. Sometimes a person will conceal his name from a foreign Indian, inventing another on the spur of the moment. 553 551 553 [603]

I have obtained the names of all Havasupai with the reason currently given for their use and their derivation according to Jess Checkapaayega. The meanings are certain only where there is a tale to account for the name. I suspect that in many cases Jess analyzed the words where it could not be legitimately done, because such peculiar compounds result as *wanaskwánd*, house-standing, which is "just a name," for it does not mean standing house according to him, but is simply the coupled words for house and standing. In other words, these are probably meaningless names. All words beginning with *wa* and *wi*, supposed to be *Adad*, house, and *dwí*, rock, are in this suspect class. 115 551 551

There are no marked sex differences, but somewhat more women have names referring to vegetation. Hat, house, and rock names are peculiar to men. Many men's names begin with *pa*, for *dpá*, man: since this type of name is restricted to men (with a single exception) the meaning may be "man who—" or "man with—", but I have preserved

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases,
such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus
the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had
adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's
story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expres-
sions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweathulge,
situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, be-
cause, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [711]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweathulge and creek,
somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek.
Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry,
and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreign-
ers. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these
qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their
hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the
best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider
must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best
acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of
his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly,
seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the
smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in dis-
dain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indiffer-
ence of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products
is inferior in this regard.

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 5793 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 ●603 [591] [848] [591] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

848 847 178 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and [114] [845] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac- [591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 603 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 609 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer wanted her. 586

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipitated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their stepfather. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes, regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working. 586 603

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives, sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance. 586

Children of divorced parents apparently are seldom rejected by either parent. Undoubtedly there is some loss of security when the home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by white children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, and visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [591]

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court- 291 302 832

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 538 867

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. 844
It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens 177
to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with 593
household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers 461
about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she 855
can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works [854]
she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

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578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
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604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got [586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
462 them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the [516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
593 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
861 of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

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[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854
736 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jess's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjía*, your mother, *mamádjitatha*, your father, or *huwdgátum*, your parents (*huwágá*, two). A man uses *gínyégá* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wínyégá* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gínyégá* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matrilocal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matrilocal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patrilocal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors; this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [482]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

resting there in the shadowy gorge, where nature rioted and roared; and yet, in the cool, protected place where they slept, there was an inner quietness and soul-resting peace. Reluctantly we turned our mounts back to the trail, leaving the park officials to make their observations at the falls. We did not suspect it then, but later we had reason to believe that their visit resulted in an invasion of the canyon that filled the Indians with terror.

The sun's rays had by now reached us. And the parching waves of heat which the walls reflected filled us with almost unbearable thirst. A large fat dog that we had not been able to prevent following us, crept under bushes or ledges of rock for one precious moment of shade, then ran, panting, to catch up with us. Finally he crawled under a rock and his pitiful moans told us that for him the journey had ended. On our return, we found his body huddled far back under a shelf of stone.

Beaver Canyon, a narrow crack in the terrain over which we were traveling, cut across our path. A short bridge would have spanned it, but when we peered into its depths it seemed bottomless; we made the twenty-mile detour around it. We had had no food since our early breakfast, so after rounding the canyon's head at four o'clock, we dismounted and prepared supper. Ute slid over a steep incline into the gorge, and filled two canteens from a spring. Our fried chicken, hard-boiled eggs, green beans, peaches and cocoa disappeared so rapidly that we were appalled when we discovered that Ute, who had agreed to bring his own food, had only a green watermelon (which he declined to cut) and a few peaches. We shared with him, and he was quite pleased with our contribution. We had yet to learn that an Indian carries a minimum of food and travels long stretches without water.

When we had finally completed the long detour around Beaver Canyon, Ute led us to a "rain tank" and the horses had their first drink since we had left home. Then darkness settled down rapidly and it was time to make camp. While we ate a hasty lunch from a shelf of stone, Ute cut his green watermelon and devoured it noisily in addition to the food we gave to him. He held himself

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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aloof in true old-Indian fashion. A younger Havasupai would have made himself one of the party and pointed out places that had made tribal history, but Ute wrapped himself in profound silence. Later, when mosquitoes, gnats and flies came from out of nowhere to torment us, he built a fire and tended it all night to keep them at a distance. Frances and I spread our blankets near a boulder, and I slept until the dazzling moonlight awakened me. The night was too gorgeous to waste in sleep. I lay awake for hours on the hard sand, under the deep blue desert sky, watching the brilliant stars and a majestic moon riding the heavens.

We ate breakfast by moonlight, and packed the burros for an early start. The day would bring heat and burning sand, and we had only one canteen of water left. There was no trail now. Frequently we forced our horses up banks and over boulders, while we walked to make the climb possible for them. Old Ute led the way, and I kept close to his horse's heels. His one good eye was quick in locating landmarks and in finding the faint imprints of his horse's hoofs, made on his scouting trip. When we approached a rough stretch, he motioned for us to dismount. This passed, he would give an upward fling of his hand as a signal for us to climb on our horses. Once when he gave the signal to remount, he turned to me and his wrinkled face broke in a grin as he spoke the Havasupai word for mounting a horse. Before that, he had been just an elderly guide, unkempt and uncommunicative. The friendly gesture and his willingness to teach the Hicos changed his status—old Ute became human and likable.

I brought my horse as close to his as the rough ground would permit, and repeated the word. He made me say it over and over until he approved accent and pronunciation, then he asked, "*Hico, cavin?* (White people say what?)" I told him, "Mount horse." He jogged along, repeating "Mount hoss, mount hoss," until he had the words memorized. We took other words, the names of plants, animals and land formations, which he taught me, then I gave him the English equivalent, each of us playing the game with relish.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill.

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick.

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanoman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

609 648 taking a sufficient supply of extra films. What an idea! To start on such a trip and forget one's camera rolls. There were about thirty exposures left on my film and I was sure I should need two hundred and fifty. Indeed, long before I had reached the Havasupai village all the roll was exhausted, and no more pictures could be taken.

I was disgusted with my own want of forethought, and generally disgruntled, when lo! on sight of Spotty the idea occurred as if by inspiration: "Why not send Spotty for it?" No sooner suggested mentally than I broached the subject. The round trip was a good fifty-five to sixty miles, and much of the road up Havasu Canyon, and I must have the roll within twenty-four hours. Spotty's eye was on the main chance, and he at once expressed his willingness to go provided there was "enough in it." "How much you give me?" he inquired. I considered for a while, and then with a Pecksniffian air of benignant charity offered him "two dollar!" "Al lite, I go! Maybe so I go quick you catch 'em two dollars and a half?" he asked. I studied over it awhile before committing myself, and then queried "When you start, Spotty?" Looking up towards hue-a-pa-a (the man image) on the upper rim of the near canyon wall, he pointed. "I go when you see 'em *ha-ma-si-gu-va'-tu* (the evening star)."

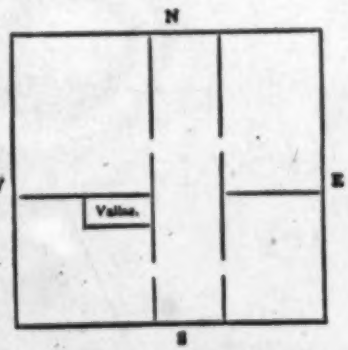
"When you come back?"

"I come back next day all same time you see 'em *ha-la'-ha* (the moon). Maybe so I come back sooner you see 'em, you give me two dollar half?"

A twenty-four hours' ride on horseback — nearly sixty miles — through a solitary country where his only company would be coyotes, mountain lions, and other

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal dread of the camera.

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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609 When I assured him no possible injury could result, he
177 yielded to my urgent entreaties so far as to consent to
152 allow me to make his sun-picture, on the sole condition, however, that I did not ask him to look at the camera, or to cease talking (he was relating some Havasupai myths at the time). His condition was what I desired, for it enabled me to secure the accompanying natural and life-like photograph.

195 In speech the Havasupai tongue is not very musical
194 or agreeable. The voices of men and women are soft and sweet, as a rule, and either when singing their rude aboriginal songs or those that they have been taught at school, they show a natural appreciation of tone that is not usual or common. In a sentence the last syllable of the last word is often a third higher than the rest of the word. This gives a singularly emphatic effect.

The voices of the men are not unpleasant, though generally they are thrown too high — head tones — to be agreeable; and as conversation increases they often allow their voices to rise to an almost querulous note. There is a good deal of the chant about it of a half-musical nature.

The women's voices are usually sweet and musical, but the language itself does not lend itself to the display of vocal sweetness. It is not a "liquid" language. It is full of crooks and twists, gutturals and harsh labials, and seems to be ground out in angles with a machine-like regularity. In some cases, the women, having imitated the querulous tone of some of the men, have developed a harshness that is disagreeable. The rapid-
192 ity with which they learn new words is remarkable.
153 Lanoman, one of the present policemen, asked me the

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[827] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
[864] girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

562 577 189 Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

[609] In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

562 183 609 Woman, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

The Nation of the Willows.
I

291 The first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched
133 a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as
241 we rode along the river trail. These
311 glimpses, however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket-making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cotton-wood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net-work of irrigating canals and trails.
342 Here and there were little cabins, or
361 shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches; while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky little fires. The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest.

123 When we again caught sight of our
609 Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to

[previous portion of this article not processed]

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
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The Nation of the Willows.

123 run forward and warn the tribe — whose
609 voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below — of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted, in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with a sort of questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eying me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the party.

He guided us through the willows to a crossing of the river, and as we rode up the opposite bank we were greeted by a waiting crowd of men, women, and children, who were gathered around two or three huts in front of a little [343] sweat-house, closely covered with blankets. From out this primitive Turkish bath, heedless of the excited gestures of the presiding medicine man, issued in a cloud of steam a real American, red as a lobster, and half blinded by the steaming he had just passed through. At first he greeted me most blankly, eying me as he would a ghost, but ultimately he became talkative. This exile proved to be a prospector, named Harvey Sample, — "Sani pu," the Indians called him, — who had accompanied a cavalry expedition to the cañon from Prescott, a few days previously; and having been left alone by his companions, was getting along as best he could with the Indians. Pu-lá-ka-kai led the way further down the river to about the middle of the plain, where, near a beautifully sheltered hut, [574] a former host welcomed him and us with jolly cordiality; gorged us with succotash; cleared the principal portion of his hut of women, children, and dogs, for our use; and soon after summoned a council, which kept us blinking, jabbering, and smoking until past midnight.

F. H. Cushing.

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142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather [515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate 181 to children and pets, and very hospitable to strangers, although excessively ● 609 suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are nevertheless 152 passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

They
never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[439]

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. Analyst]

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ward evening, it was like bedlam about the hut of my still neutral host. Finally a sub-chief advanced, and told me I must consent to a re-trade. I declined. He then begged me, and my Indians, alarmed, became importunate. Still I refused. Pu-lá-ka-kai pointed to a scar over his eyebrow, which he wore, he said, in remembrance of a former proceeding of the kind, and once more implored me, for the sake of his and Tsai-iu-tsaih-ti-wa's wives and children, to consent. Now and then a man would leave, presently returning with a gun carelessly strapped over his shoulder, and I saw that things were growing serious; but I remained obdurate, paying no apparent attention to my own arms, yet seeing that they were within easy reach. After a little while, I suddenly drew one of the two revolvers in my belt, sheathed it again, and, stepping over to the discontented, one-eyed scoundrel, grabbed him by the arms, and ejected him from the premises. Immense excitement prevailed, but I quietly went back with a smile to my writing. The head chief was summoned. He came, gravely, through the babbling crowd, eating a kind of cake of corn-meal and sunflower seeds. I rose, and greeted him pleasantly, spreading a blanket for him to sit on; and as he sat down, with a smile, he broke the cake in two, handing me the larger piece. I began to explain my writing to him, and, after conversing a little while, he said, "I am about to go. You observe that I am never to be found in crowds of those who wrangle and gossip. It makes a father sad to see the foolishness of his children. It fills me with thoughts to see my people make fools of themselves, to hear them make meaningless noise; therefore I stay away from them. When they have anything to *say* to me, or you wish to *see* me, my hut stands under the cottonwoods, down by the river, and my fields are in front of it." Without a word in reference to our

trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he went away as he had come, a picture of imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

The coming stranger is heralded by the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kä-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su-[177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were formerly used, although now only to a [526] limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha-va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili-zation perhaps, of any Indians in the [177] United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig-614 nificant one in the consideration of the

[P. 550 B]

611 614 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the absence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but [582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for supporting them. These marriages are con- [586] stant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with [584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as, [582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
11 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[614] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
[171] all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[182] [614] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly
768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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RECENT OBSERVATIONS ON HAVASUPAI LAND TENURE[1]

ELMAN SERVICE

101 161 THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS are a closely knit, isolated band in northern Arizona which has numbered around 200-250 people for as long as we know of them. Dr Leslie Spier visited them in 1918, 1919 and 1921 and has 114 published a full description of their culture.[2] Geographic isolation has restricted 177 the disruptive effects of white acculturation, so that Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph.

311 423 The Havasupai live by intensive irrigation farming, and make full use of the approximately 100 acres of tillable land. They are, understandably, strongly attached to their land, and feel that they live in a beautiful oasis which is unique in the arid Grand Canyon region. The individual land holdings are of very small patches, which, because of the vagaries of inheritance, are widely scattered among the holdings of other individuals. There are no particular problems involved in the control and apportioning of water for the fields, as the creek which bisects their canyon supplies more than enough for everyone. Upkeep of the main irrigation ditches is a community affair, while the lateral ditches are kept up by the persons effected.

114 596 [613] The Havasupai have no clan system, nor do they even recognize lineages based on relationships beyond the grandparental generation. The conjugal unit and the patrilocal extended family are the chief social structures within the village, which now consists of 38 occupied camps. In an interesting paper called *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*,[3] Spier pointed out the possibility of patrilineal gentes arising here should there occur (1) a greater emphasis in patrilineal inheritance, and (2) a greater regularity in patrilocal residence, which together might tend to bring a further extension of kinship recognition in [591] the father's line. At the time of his visits, the usual post-marital residence was temporarily matrilocal, followed in a year or two by patrilocality.

1 Read before Section H–Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 27, 1946. The data were obtained during a visit to Supai, Arizona, in May, June, and July, 1946.

2 *Havasupai Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 29, Part 3, 1928).

3 American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, pp. 487-499, 1922.

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the Havasupai, and that use, merit, and need are such important considerations in the allocation of land, are factors which tend to keep patrilineal succession rather far from being a strict rule. The small community size probably helps keep the conception of village rights strong, and the limited amount of tillable land likewise contributes to the amount of community interest in land disposal, for otherwise there would soon be landless couples, while other families would have more than necessary.

One further point made by Spier should probably be discussed in connection with community size. He had mentioned the possible influence of the small population in inhibiting the group consciousness of a larger consanguineal unit, but felt that this would be overcome by the tendency toward the reduction of the number of biological groups represented in the population.[12] Genealogies show that the blood groups are becoming reduced in number, as suggested, but the Havasupai still do not trace their lineages far enough to be aware of this. Lineages are not named, and even the use of the white man's type of surname has as yet had no effect in furthering the tracing of a patrilineal lineage beyond two or three generations, at the most. The "white name" is often changed, and a family may even have a name derived from an ancestral female. As an example of the tendency for a line to proliferate into new named families, three sons of a woman named Siyuidja founded three distinct families: the Siyuidja family, the Wescogame family, and the Watahomidja family. Therefore, I feel that the small population size continues to be of significance in inhibiting nucleation of the village.

My own data, collected twenty-six years after Spier's last visit, affirm, I believe, the essential validity of his analysis of an incipient clan system in Havasupai, and I add only that it appears to me that expansion of the population plus a corresponding increase of agricultural land are necessary ingredients before a unilinear lineage could become fully crystallized here, for only then would it be likely that a rule of patrilineal succession to familial lands could operate freely without interference from the strong conception of village rights which pertains at present.

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12 *A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*, p. 487.

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

[1] Coues, 348.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(f), 39 411. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1909, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Gifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1] Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 82; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 278–279; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 239–241; (c), 317; Spier, (c), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2] Kroeber, (j), 93; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Gifford, (b), 230; Bolton.

[3] Stevenson, M. C., (a), 168; Domenech, 1858; Russell, (d), 196.

[4] Parsons, (c), 260–263; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (c), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 422.

[5] Bolton.

[6] Kroeber, (a), 378; Gifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 246, 303, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 63; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 263–265; Dixon, (c), 215; (d), 301.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointesa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointesa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[6] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[7] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 168, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (e), 339; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (o), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 60; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 243; Mooney, (r), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (o), 289.
[6] Lowie, (l), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (l), 330.

285
1415 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
534 then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
1201 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
1537 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
0614 clan or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

412 spades, and picks, of wood, bone, horn, or iron, — the last procured by trade, — are used, as well as the universal *kă-ta*, or digging stick. In planting, the long [241] prod or spud of cedar is used, a convenient branch being left short near the lower end, with which the implement is pressed down with the left foot.

492 Within the past few years the introduction of horses among the Ha-va-su- [177] paí has necessitated rude saddles, bridles, whips, spurs, lassos, and hobbles. Among these things, only the bridles and spurs sometimes differ from those of other Southwestern Indians. An efficient though extremely primitive bridle is made of a little hard-wood stick, a small strap of buckskin being attached to either end of it, and passed tightly under the chin of the animal; and two long thongs of light material serve as reins. Equally primitive is the spur. It is made from a fork of some hard, elastic wood, the stems of which are fastened to either side of the foot, and the base sharpened into a sort of prod.

411 Their weapons in war and chase are rude, knotty clubs of hard wood; pikes about four feet long, of the same material, sharpened and hardened at the point in the fire; beautifully finished bows and arrows, both wooden and iron tipped, and somewhat longer than those in use among the Pueblos. Slings were [526] formerly used, although now only to a limited extent, being principally seen as toys or playthings of the children. It seems almost paradoxical that the Ha- va-su-paí — least acquainted with civili- [177] zation perhaps, of any Indians in the United States — should universally possess repeating rifles of the most improved models and an abundance of ammunition. Destructive alike of life on the one hand, and of primitive defensive usages, on the other, the gun has not, however, displaced the ruder weapons which I have described.

611 A most curious fact, and a very sig- 614 nificant one in the consideration of the

611 origin of the Ha-va-su-pai, is the ab-
●614 sence of the Gentile system of descent or organization among them, their society consanguineally being patriarchal; but they claim to be the people of the Coyote, which indicates that one gens has absorbed all the others, or else that they are, as seems more probable, a single gens, which has separated from its original body, and never again developed the separate gentes, as has been the case with other segregated clans among Indians. I incline to this belief from the fact that the Hua-la-pai, to whom their relationship is indisputable, have, as subsequent investigations have shown, the Gentile and Phratral systems, certainly to some extent. And as nearly as I can ascertain this is also the case with the Apache Yumas and Apache Mojaves, who are only other divisions of the same stock. Descent is therefore not through the mother, but
[582] through the father, and marriage, to use the words of my vexed informant, can take place "wherever the one loves the other and the other loves the one, and their wants are the same. Why not?" "We know nothing else," he added, "for our father is the Coyote, and he never told us anything else. How should a Coyote teach his children what he neither knows nor practices himself?"

595 They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited, apparently, only by the number he can procure, or by his means for support-
[586] ing them. These marriages are constant, the only ground for divorce being unfaithfulness, which, with the women of rare occurrence, scarcely exists with
[584] the men, as a cause. Betrothals by purchase or stipulation are common, a girl of seven or eight summers being frequently promised to a man as old as,
[582] or even older than, her father. Marriages are therefore, with the girls, usually very early in life; with the men, late. In consequence of this polygamy, a large number of the men are unmar-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
611 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[614] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
[171] all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkuchěku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[182] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though com-
[614] paratively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly
768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	35	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	30	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	...	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
33	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

[592] [621] There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 348).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 123–124.

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood; father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1] 592

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*alatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámadalatá*, boy; *mésádalatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother. 592 736

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion. 621 ●

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe. 602

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships 602 621 [648]

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a clan system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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602 to all his tribesmen. Yet only a fraction are recognized as blood rela-
621 tives, although a community of blood is felt for all. Mark Hanna enumerated 74 persons related to him by blood and 17 relatives by marriage in a population of 177. Jess Cheekapanyega, his nephew, recognized 93 connections by blood and 6 by marriage. Other relationships, of which they were only vaguely aware, came to light while working out the genealogies with them. Terms which express relationship subsume under a single caption a variety of relatives whose actual blood connections differ. I have tried in the following paragraphs to define the limits within which kinsmen are recognized and the relationships in which they are conceived to stand.

Relationship terms were obtained from six men and women who
601 should have been competent. Yet all of them fell short of certainty with
602 relationships outside of the immediate family. This was true not only in working over hypothetical cases but with living relatives as well. All hesitated and gave conflicting answers for the cross-cousin's children, for greatgrandchildren, and for brother's and sister's grandchildren. This experience is a familiar one and undoubtedly this accounts for the gaps under these headings in Morgan's schedules. Men were less able to give the more remote relationships used by women than were the women themselves. Both Mark and Jess displayed some hesitation in giving the terms by which they addressed those relatives with whom they infrequently came in contact, although they knew readily enough to whom they were related. It was still more difficult for them to give the terms by which these people responded. Both had frequently to confer with their relatives. Apparently the chief reason for this uncertainty
551 lies in the free use of names both in direct address and by way of refer-
601 ence. Kinship terms are comparatively little used and where the relative stands at such remote degree that the blood connection is not obvious there is even a more effective reason for neither learning nor remembering the appropriate designation. This, it will be recognized, is unusual among American tribes, where kinship terms are used more commonly than names.

601
nɛ́pofigà	father's father
mótigà	father's mother
nágwadigà	mother's father
nágof igà	mother's mother
djɪtaf igà, djɪtá	father
djɪdjf igà, djɪdjí'	mother
nowígà	father's older brother
nidjafigà	father's younger brother, a woman's male cross-cousin and his son,

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgi*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in [525] preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a [574] space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only [537] chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a [183] moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, [535] the dance commenced. 527 571 621

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. 101 648 [582]

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. 197

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes. 174

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven. 174 621

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans. 101 114 171

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about 101 114 172

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped ●621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built 592 upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a [562] woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and [591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under 596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less
5714 contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than
593 he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then
602 frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members
●621 gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal
603 grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence
[591] group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband
[848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or
[591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 962
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [482]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425 as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
177 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
648 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
428 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
●621 agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

1:Spier
622

Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

[All materials on political officials are filed under category 624, local officials.]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognised by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. 624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gamálva* or *kaha't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdva*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *málovagidjigdid*. Jess differentiated between them by *málvik'idja* and *pagamálvikavátéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahata* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwákhi*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called *guad-man* (information from S. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *hwa-ah-lhol* (Tripp el, 558).

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realize how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilization.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tobolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devastating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tions to healing by diagnosis and medicine, but no medical doctor was available. Washington was too far away to recognize its opportunity to teach the Havasupai and their shamans a better and a safer way to cure illness.

The people themselves had not lost their peculiar intuition. They gathered about the sick and freely expressed their opinion. Sometimes it would be, "Pretty quick, die. Maybe sun go down." If they formed a favorable opinion, the announcement would be, "You get well, four, five suns."

When I was taken sick shortly after my arrival, I found comfort in the more cheering of the two verdicts.

I could not diagnose my ailment; even had I been able to do so I should not have known which drug of those we had on hand would be the proper remedy. Perhaps each twinge of pain was intensified by the knowledge that no matter how ill I became no doctor would come to help me. But the Indians came. News went through the village that Hico (white person) was sick, and they flocked to see me. They stood off a short distance from my bed, each uneasily making his careful scrutiny. They were looking for the sunken eyes, the pinched nostrils, the pallid skin—symptoms that had a special significance. They shifted their positions, pointed and gestured and talked in low voices, then the spokesman pronounced their opinion: "Pretty quick, get well. Indians sick all same, get well all right." They had not seen "the look of death" in my face. They filed out as silently as they had entered, and their visit did me as much good as one from a medical doctor. They had said I'd get well. And they usually were right about that "look of death."

Years after I left the canyon, the doubt Navaho had planted as to the shamans' integrity began to diminish. The medicine men took courage and resumed their calling. Men again placed gourd rattles by their beds and lay dreaming, avidly awaiting the coming of the spirit, the revelation of the songs. Some of these new seekers had been pupils of mine. Among them was a boy named Mark, who learned to rattle the gourd, to sing and to suck from the flesh the spirit that caused the sickness.

2:illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the bed of hot coals. Broken pieces of stone always had to be picked from the food. So these cumbersome vessels were discarded as soon as other containers were available. But the horn spoon, shaped from the horn of mountain sheep, was still in use. Making it was a tedious and lengthy process. The horn was soaked in water, then buried in moist sand until somewhat softened. The next steps —heating, oiling and fashioning the horn into a spoon or ladle— required the skill of long practice. Tin cups, obtained at the trader's store in Seligman, were gradually supplanting the horn spoon, and another skill would soon be forgotten.

In a report on conditions in the canyon for the year 1898, the acreage in cultivation and under fence was estimated at three hundred twenty-five. One thousand bushels of corn and fifty bushels of wheat were grown that year, in addition to an abundance of vegetables and fruits. And the tribe had a cash income of four thousand dollars. At that time, tribal affairs were managed almost wholly by the chief and head men, although the school had been in operation for three years. From the seeds their gods had given them, the Havasupai had reaped their independence.

They preferred their old system of barter and trade to a cash sale. The Navaho were silversmiths and weavers of warm blankets, while the friendly Hopi and Walapai had ponies or goods to trade. A Havasupai could measure out a small tray of beans and—after endless good-natured bargaining—exchange his beans for a fine Navaho blanket. Two spirals of their dried pumpkin or squash had the same value.

Every man of consequence kept a pony in his dooryard and sprang to its back to ride the short distance to a neighbor's wickiup. So horses were eagerly sought. A Hopi pony cost a large well-tanned buckskin or as much shelled corn as a large burden blanket could hold. A man traded, or made gifts, for the girl he wished to marry, presenting her parents with ponies, blankets or grain to the value of about twenty dollars, if the girl was popular. Ten dollars in trade was a fair price for a lazy girl.

The men, of necessity, had developed skills. The tribe needed to

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

*582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a *strong sentiment* against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Gōō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

● 622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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pean sovereign in the days of despotic power could have worn the "air" of a monarch more regally than Navaho. But it was real with him. His kingship was within himself as well as in the affection of his people.

As might be expected with their powerful physical development, the men are great wrestlers, and often may be seen indulging in friendly, but none the less hard and exhausting bouts, where Havasupai methods of cross-buttocking and other "throws" are tested to the utmost. One of the former teachers was an expert wrestler, — learned doubtless among the Sioux, with whom he used to live as a United States teacher, — and one secret of the influence he had over the Havasupais was his ability to "down" them in a wrestling match. Time and again he had given their best men great "falls," and the more he threw, the more they respected and obeyed him.

As runners and trailers they almost equal the Mohaves, Apaches, and Hopis, though, on the desert, their endurance is not so great as that of these two desert tribes. As canyon climbers, however, they surpass either of them. The climbing muscles, by life-long and constant practice, are remarkably developed, and they run up and down the long, wearisome, steep trails of canyons in a manner to excite the envy of a college athlete, and the astonishment of one who has, but a short time before, laboriously and tediously essayed a brief trip in which ascending or descending a steep trail was an essential feature.

As riders they are skilful and full of endurance, but they are neither as graceful nor as daring as the Navahoes.

Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous. Amole root is macerated

was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu ɣ tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 328). Blood was recorded as ahuá't' and red as ahuá'ta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
362 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
● [622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine man had no such role.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

622 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained such eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women.... Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions.... such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

[642] Spier reported that in 1920 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

● 622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

/100 cont./ LIKE THE FIGS, THEIR
177 peaches and apricots were derived from the whites, but so long
245 ago that they are now regarded as native.
291 The aboriginal dress of the Havasupai was simple and rather distinctive. The one arbitrary garment for the men was, of course, the breech-cloth, all additions to which were an
[554] evidence of wealth and position. For the Havasupai shirt the foundation was a large deerskin with a hole cut in the middle, like a poncho. This was loosely fastened together at the sides and held close to the body with a belt. Stitched to it were loose, baggy sleeves, open under the arms as far as the elbows. Shoulder, sleeve, and side seams were freely decorated with deerskin fringe. The leggings, close fitting and fringed at the sides, reached to the hips and were met below with high-topped moccasins. A full suit required five good-sized deerskins. The
[302] men tied their long hair in a knot at the back of the head and cut the fore part in a low bang over the eyes. The principal garment of the women, which reached a little below the knees, consisted of two deerskins sewn together at the top and sides and with openings left for head and arms. It was liberally ornamented with fringe, worn sleeveless, and belted at the waist. Their boot-legged moccasins reached to the knees. The hair, cut in a
[302] bang over the eyes, hung loose and unkempt.
285 The arts of the Havasupai are seen at their best in the
[439] basketry. Many of their tray-shaped baskets are used for barter with neighboring tribes, who know them as "Coconino." The
[415] same form, coated with earth, is used as a cooking utensil,
[251] water being boiled in them by the use of heated stones; the water bottle also is of basket-work, coated with piñon gum. A
482 coarsely woven, cone-shaped burden /101/ basket is carried on the back, supported by a strap passing across the forehead.
321 Spoons and small utensils were formerly made from mountain-
415 sheep horn.
622 Chieftainship is hereditary, the voice of the tribe determining which of the male relatives of the last incumbent is best fitted to rule. The present chief is Wimái, who succeeded Kóhat, familiarly known as "Navaho." Kóhat was considered by all who knew him to be a man of unusual strength of character, broad

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [170] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called; but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . ." Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . ."; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . ." Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adnigo*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about
648 fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai
171 in 1776.

623 On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*dmθiŋ*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 325–326. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, that is, in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 553.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 593
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clowniah manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for [651] his offices, and is usually as wealthy as 556 any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the [551] most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however 643 severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved 692 by government to San Carlos, one of 648 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supai. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re- [696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
● 623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

[p. 552 A]

643 the borders of his country for all time,
623 and that it remained with him to decide
657 how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are be-
[753] lieved to possess certain influences over the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and
755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as
756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per-
683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused
754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*e-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[439]

[P 554B] ½ [i.e., horse. Analyst]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624] [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlva* or *kaká't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdvá*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagídjígdtá*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlvák'idjá* and *pagámúlvákavatéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kaloia* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwákwi*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *hom-ak-khal* (Tripp, 868).

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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*akwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Waaákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs; at the same time it is recognised that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman.

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions.

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organiser of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I

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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwivámă was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwivámă big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwivámă died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwivámă's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tayadjávă (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seised him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwáṡa canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Sódjă, sódjă,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwivámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For *su'ldjga*, a man's older brother's son.

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159 same time. Wasákwivámă lived for a long time after this. I was a lad at the time
624 [about 1860–65].

Captain Navajo took quite a few men with him to Oraibi. The night they got
648 there, while they slept in a Hopi house, some Navajo raided and took away all their
159 horses. The other Havasupai stayed in the Hopi house, but Captain Navajo and a
624 Hopi friend, who gave him a horse to ride, followed the horse tracks. They went on toward the east until when it was nearly sunset they reached the top of a high mesa. They looked down into the bottom land, where they saw a lot of Navaho houses, with a great many horses nearby. They waited on top of the hill until it was a little dark; then they descended the trail toward the houses. The Hopi man said, "The Navaho do not turn their horses loose. They keep them close to the houses at all times. They keep their saddle horses tied to the house and continually ride out to watch the herd. I think that they will see us, and perhaps they will kill us. I think I am afraid to go down there with you. I will stay here, while you go alone and try to cut some out of the herd. I will wait here." So Captain Navajo went down alone. He went near, tied the horse he was riding, and walked close to the houses to look at the horses. He walked among the houses, where a few horses were tied to each one, until he came to a house where the greatest number was. A few were hobbled; he took the hobbles off, and walked away, driving the herd slowly before him. He got back to where he had tied his horse, and then drove them fast up the trail. Just as he got to the top of the mesa, he heard the Navaho shouting below. Then he whipped his horse and came back as fast as he could. The Hopi man had already gone. "Perhaps he was afraid," Captain Navajo said. When Captain Navajo was halfway back two colts began to nicker: they kept this up, so he shot both with his arrows. He brought the horses into Oraibi just as the sun was rising. The Hopi said they were glad. The other Havasupai had all gone home while he was away; some walked, others bought horses to ride. The Hopi said, "Hurry and eat, and then go right along." While he was eating, they prepared provisions for him to carry. The Hopi said, "Maybe the Navaho are following you and are nearly here. You had better hurry." One of the Hopi men helped him drive the horses. They drove them fast down from Oraibi mesa and on along the road. After they had gone only a little way from Oraibi, the Navaho came into the pueblo. The Hopi said to them, "He brought the horses in before dawn; he ate a little and then left before it was daylight. He has been gone a pretty long time. We think he is now on the other side of the Little Colorado River." The Navaho said they wanted to follow at once. But the Hopi said, "When he went over and took your horses, the other Havasupai who were here had half their herd left and they went back. Perhaps if you follow him you will run into them and they will kill you." Thus they lied to the Navaho. The Hopi wanted to hold the Navaho at Oraibi. So the Navaho turned back. The two men drove the horses along as fast as they could. When the horses they were riding began to slow up, they changed to other horses; they did this all the way. They followed the tracks of the other Havasupai who had gone before. They crossed the Little Colorado just above the present bridge and when they were a little way beyond on this side, at Háⁿy átovok$_y$óvă (black water precipice), they caught up with the others. Everyone felt glad. Captain Navajo did this by himself; he went alone to the Navaho camps and stole horses, so the Havasupai called him a big chief. All the other tribes around heard about him and when they saw him, called him big chief too. He was a big chief all his life long and died [about 1900] when he was an old man.

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The Walapai know Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Cave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wasákwivámă's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Nava'o, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognise him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him. 624 648 159

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lenoman [the oldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time. 624 159

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hlégа'mf'I. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hlégа'mf'I. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit 428 624 554

[Text continues on p. 243]

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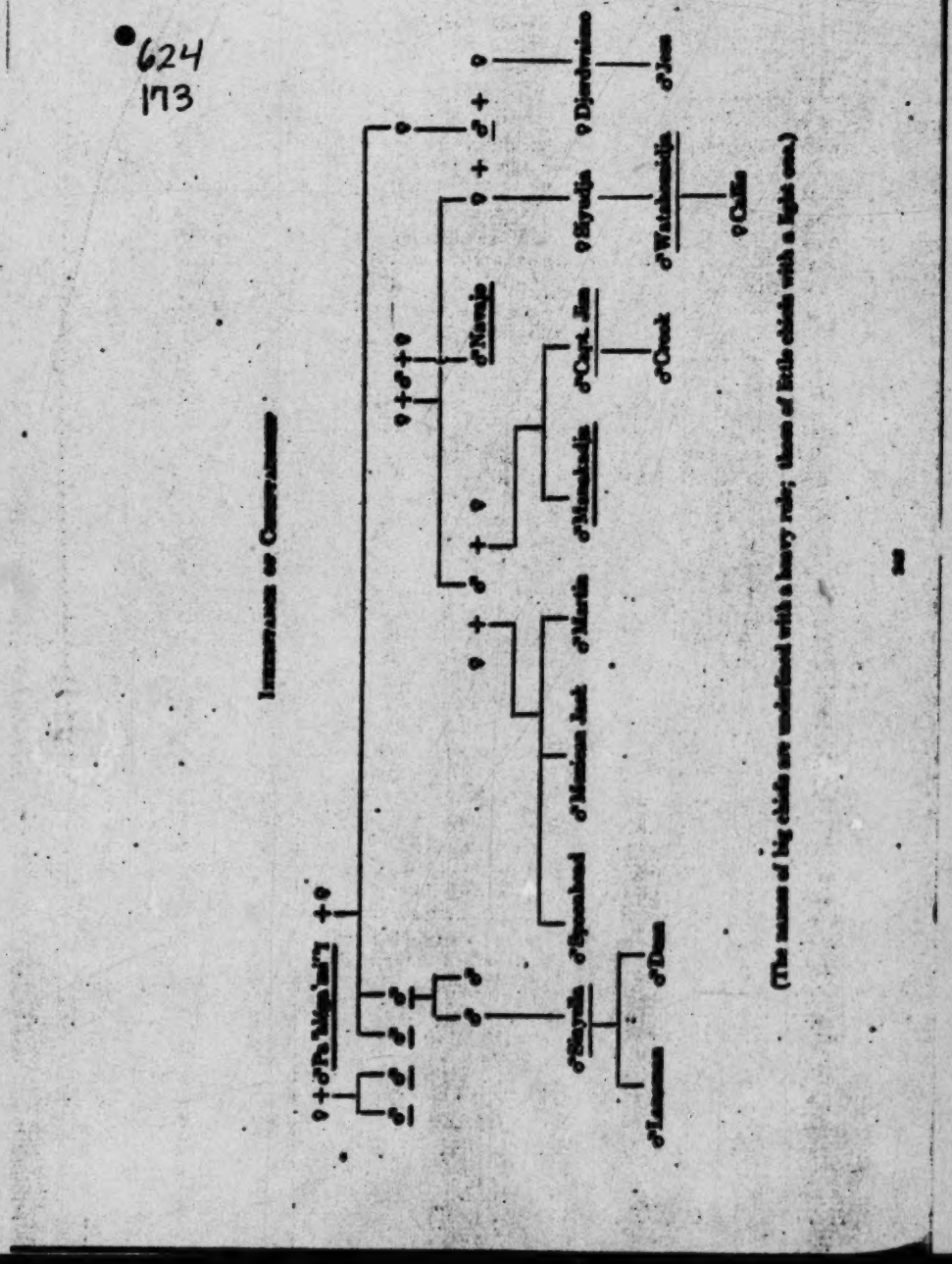

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . ." Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . ."; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . ." Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adalgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*ɑ́ʋɑkóʋɑ*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to 726 the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*ɑɑɑ́ɑɑ́ɑ*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*ɑɑwɑwiá'ɑ*, scalp; *ɑɑwɑɑwɑ*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettie, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

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171 591 ramento Valley are matrilocal, unless the couple are from different villages when they reside only temporarily with the bride's people. Similarly the Achomawi and Atsugewi have both temporary and permanent matrilocal residence.[1] Whether the rule applies only to marriages within one village in all these cases is important, but the data are not available.

171 587 The levirate does not occur among the Havasupai, but is present in this region. In addition, the Hopi, Zuñi, Yuma, Kamia, Akwa'ala, Cupeño, and evidently the Luiseño do not practise it. It is, however, the regular custom of the Navaho, White Mountain Apache (by my own observation), Shivwits and Moapa Paiute, Paviotso, and according to Clifford, who lists the tribes, universal in California with the exceptions noted. It is also known from the Hasinai of eastern Texas.[2]

171 624 Hereditary chieftainship is exceptional in the Southwest. It is true that in a Pueblo such as Zuñi there are no true chiefs, but the officers who correspond, the governor and lieutenant-governor, occupy appointive positions. Members of the controlling priesthood are also selected, and at most there is only a tendency to inheritance in that the sib affiliation of certain officers is fixed. This also seems to be the situation in the eastern pueblos; it is specified at least for Sia and Cochiti. Pima chiefs are also selected.[3] Among the Hopi, however, town chieftainship is hereditary, according to Doctor Lowie. Chieftainship is also hereditary among the Havasupai and Jicarilla, with some suggestion among other Apache and the Navaho.[4] Further east, among Caddoan tribes, the Hasinai chiefs were hereditary, but not so the Taovayas and Wichita.[5]

It is quite possible so far as the Havasupai are concerned that this represents an extension into the Southwest of the hereditary basis prevalent throughout California. It is on record for the Mohave, possibly Cocopa, Gabrielino, Santa Barbara Chumash, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, Gallinomero, Pomo, Southern Maidu, Washo, probably Paviotso, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Chimariko, and possibly Shasta.[6] Clan chiefs, [614] who in most instances amount to local group chiefs, hold hereditary

[1]Goddard, (e), 1st ed., 162; Curtis, II, 83; Mason, J. A., (d), 183; Lowie, (h), 275-278; McKern, 238; Dixon, (a), 239-241; (e), 217; Spier, (a), 310; Cocopa and Washo information from Doctor R. H. Lowie.

[2]Kroeber, (j), 90; Hopi and Akwa'ala information from Doctor R. H. Lowie; Sparkman, 214; Franciscan Fathers, 432; Lowie, (i), 275; Clifford, (b), 239; Bolton.

[3]Stevenson, M. C., (a), 166; Dumarest, 1926; Russell, (d), 196.

[4]Parsons, (e), 200-202; Curtis, XII, 221; I, 55; Goddard, (a), 1st ed., 163; Lipps, 35; Franciscan Fathers, 432.

[5]Bolton.

[6]Kroeber, (a), 278; Clifford, (a), 168; according to Doctor Lowie's information, the Cocopa have hereditary chiefs; Reid, 7; Mason, J. A., (a), 173, (but the Salinan chief is "selected because of his bravery"); Powers, 174, 346, 353, 371; McKern, 242; Dixon, (a), 223; Faye, 43; Barrett, (b), 9; Lowie, (i), 282-283; Dixon, (e), 216; (d), 301.

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointeaa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointeaa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[7] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[8] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 166, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 206, 213; Spier, (c), 309; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (c), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 60; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (c), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (c), 286.
[6] Lowie, (j), 284; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 359.

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1910, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about these. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hdnly*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, hallowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakinja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison; the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 207). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwellkómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwellkómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

ĥyámátvĭ	mà'évàhag'ĭ'ĭ	ddyĭlnĭyddjĭk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live
áhánĭgwayóhag'ĭ'ĭ		ma'évàhag'ĭ'ĭ
I want always to live well		ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kahd't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamids at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 253.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
●[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
[178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
764 178 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
768 179 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
768 [183] [428] or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 891.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly 758
acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon.

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form 152
of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, 571
the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweathodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son [736]
was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, [603]
who now took charge of him.

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the 515
Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splash- [871]
ing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweathodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid ex- [834]
posure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only in- [296]
frequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen.

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as 554
always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by 624
prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur.

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. 558
His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers.

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is 555
apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Hayella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 380; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

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hands in the same way. When the greeting was finished, one of the Yavapai, who knew Wasákwivámă, said, "All right, we just met you here; we will talk about being friends." Wasákwivámă said, "That is what I think; I want to talk friendly too." The big chief of Orailŭi said, "I want you Yavapai and Apache to stay right here by this spring. Then my people will bring their blankets and other things down here to trade. They will also bring things to eat." The Yavapai big chief said, "I do not want to do that. If I come to be your friend, to visit for a few days, we ought to go right into your houses. When a man travels around to visit, nobody leaves him outside this way. We want to go inside your houses and sleep there. Your people should treat mine right." The Havasupai all said the same. "That is the best way. If all go in there, it will be all right," they said to the Hopi chief. So he said, "All right." They all went up into the town and scattered, two or three men went into each house. 539

In the evening the Havasupai said, "We do not know which Hopi has the biggest house, so that all the chiefs can gather there and talk all night." One Hopi, we called Hopi shaman[1] (*mok"gloi'*,) was chief. "His house is all right; we will all go in there and talk," they said. When they were all in that house that night, they said to the Yavapai big chief. "You go ahead first and say what you think." So he spoke first: "My people have gone out to kill various tribes. We do that all the time, but it is wrong. We used to fight Mohave, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and your people, the Hopi. We will not do that any more. This is the truth I tell; I do not lie. That is why I came over here." Wasákwivámă spoke next: "All right, that is a good way to talk. All of us—one tribe and another—living about here are pretty bad; when any man is traveling around, who we see on the road, we kill him. All the tribes do the same thing. It is not right. If a man wants to go to some place to visit another tribe, to stay there or trade, that is a good thing. We have been pretty bad to each other in the past; now we should not be so any more. I want it stopped."[2]

Then the Apache chief talked in his own language, but the others did not understand him. The Havasupai asked the Yavapai, "Do the Apache understand how to talk your language?" and the latter replied, "Yes, they talk it." The Yavapai said to the Apache, "You can talk our language to the Havasupai; they will understand what you say." Then the Apache chief repeated what the Havasupai and Yavapai chiefs had said.

[624]

[1] There rather is a recognition that the chiefs are thought of as priests by the Hopi, or it may be this was one of the ceremonial leaders.

[2] These colloquies bear out the Havasupai view that the primary function of a chief is spokesman for his people.

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- 177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- 156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaika*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle 882
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is ●[624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

"I Too Mad"

Lanoman, the son of Sinyella, was the younger of the reservation's two policemen. According to his father's estimate of his age, he was in his early thirties. Taller than many of the men, and stockily built, his regular features and light complexion gave him a handsome appearance, which somewhat justified his vanity. He had mastered enough English to meet his needs but his courtly manners were his greatest asset. "Lanoman, the gentleman," he was dubbed by a visiting tourist, for all who met him were impressed by his graciousness. [625] 159

No one seemed to know Vesnor's age. Counted in years, it might have been forty or fifty, but the dark wisdom in his gloomy eyes made one feel that he had witnessed savage cruelty and lived with danger until he no longer knew the meaning of fear. He was thin and wiry, his muscles taut springs, his skin dark and wrinkled, but there was a sureness and swiftness about him that inspired confidence. Whenever I was in my office, Vesnor was there, ready to jump astride his pony to bring in a bad Indian at a moment's notice. Occasionally, when not too pressed for time, I laid aside my work and we talked, sometimes quite frankly. Vesnor's questions sprang from whatever thought was uppermost in his mind, and he probed into my personal affairs with native simplicity—as if he were with one of his tribesmen. He wanted the straight truth, even though the Havasupai themselves delighted in making false statements to an inquisitive white person. One afternoon when

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his mind was fumbling for words. "One day Jesus come. Stand by bed. All white. Dress, everything all white. Shine like sun. He say pretty quick get well. He go 'way. I get well quick." 159 154

That was all. Vesnor had no more to tell. Perhaps he saw the astonishment in my face, for his thoughts recoiled and tucked themselves away in a secret place back of his inscrutable eyes. My imagination conjured up the scene: a sick Indian lying on his blanket on the dirt floor of his home, by his side a Shining Presence. Vesnor, an untutored Indian, had experienced the miracle of healing much as John G. Whittier had so beautifully written of it:

> The healing of His seamless dress
> Is by our beds of pain:
> We touch Him in life's throng and press,
> And we are whole again.

This was Vesnor in a new version. His story left me awed and puzzled. Where did he get his concept of Jesus, the Healer? No missionary had ever worked among these people. The school employees held a Sunday service for the children, and the adults had received some instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith. But, it was arresting to learn that Vesnor, his mind ruled by spirits and strange gods and filled with the medicine man's lore, had had that priceless revelation.

The Indians respected and obeyed Vesnor. His background and experience made him a valuable policeman. Lanoman, however, gently sidestepped any errand that might involve ruffled feelings or bring unpleasant repercussions. If word must be sent to the men of the village that we had a load of freight at Hilltop, and would pay cash to the packers who brought it down, Lanoman was the man to send. He could escort tourists or forest rangers to any part of the canyon, and win their hearts while doing it. Everyone liked gentlemanly Lanoman. It was hard to believe that he had no white blood, or had never been taught the white man's social customs. Yet under that suave exterior was a mind steeped in the 159 625

Sitliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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159 625 traditions and superstitions of his people. He had been healed, dramatically, by the medicine man. Leslie Spier, in his "Havasupai Ethnography," relates the story as told to him by Sinyella, Lanoman's father.

159 755 "Once about 1885, when Lanoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick." He then explained that he had appealed to a Walapai shaman who decided that the illness was too difficult for him to heal. Sinyella continued:

Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there, too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman," and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy: "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars," and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights and said that the boy would not get well.

Next, Sinyella appealed to a shaman of his own tribe. His verdict was: "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness." The shaman proved his point by declaring that Sinyella's grandfather, now deceased, who had been a shaman, had sent his spirit to take Lanoman to the spirit world. However, he recommended his younger brother A'mal, also a shaman, for whom Sinyella sent a messenger. Sinyella related what followed:

The night he arrived, he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed them to us in his hand. . . . *He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning,* clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf, he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it loked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs. He did this two nights. Then the boy

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lano-man, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you (which is purely a threat). If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*skwigwauig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
● [626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626● 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige *suffers* when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, so case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

garding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability; a rather large number of them are terminated after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married. 582 [586]

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, a couple began courting when the girl was about 13, but her maternal grandparents, who had reared her, objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than the girl's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and her boy friend's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving the boy's mother and the girl's maternal aunt, married to the boy's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since the young man was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, the girl's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, the couple continued their mutual interest for about two years. When the girl was barely 14, the pair started on horseback to be married outside the reservation, but the girl's relatives overtook them and halted the elopement. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter the young man began to spend some nights with his girl at her camp. Her grandparents had not changed their view and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, the couple was in matrilocal residence and the groom was observed doing some work for his wife's grandfather. Shortly thereafter the couple had a baby and moved to the young man's camp. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while the girl was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time the youth openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period I asked the young man's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was seemingly privately acknowledged and publicly recognized.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately disapproved of the boy as a son- [626]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised
[626] the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later
on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[626] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 80 (too young to have

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son [154]
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 578
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitatha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 584
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 862
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [862]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a
712 prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
648 this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-
dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
527 rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The
535 drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
527 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
647 horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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relatives should not marry.[9] This probably helps account, in part, for the lack of 423
partnering in acquisition of land for newly-weds. Sometimes a couple may hold [512]
different small plots of land which came to them from a variety of sources.

Land is sometimes held and worked in common by a group of relatives, though it is oftener divided as a matter of convenience. Sometimes only certain plots are held in common by an extended family, while the others are tended by individual members. There is apparently no feeling that one way is better than another. The tribe owns a large tract of grazing land on the Plateau, where they keep herds of economically useless horses. This area is common tribal land with no boundaries.

It is apparent that it would be misleading to sum up Havasupai land rights as "private property," for as Spier had already indicated,[10] the superficial appearance of individual land ownership is really ownership of the produce of the land. Actually there seem to be varieties of rights which pertain variously to the individual proprietor, the family, and the village.[11] The individual proprietor's rights to the land are largely rights to use the land. His control does not extend appreciably further than this, as can be inferred from the fact that if he fails to use the land, someone else soon occupies it. He has practically no rights which involve the disposal of the land, except insofar as he may be an influential voice in the deliberations of his family.

The rights of the consanguineal family are greater, and it is they who, in an immediate sense, have control over the disposition of their land. The rights of the community tend to be ultimate rights. Public opinion, and the council, when [626] ●
it is moved to act by a strong public feeling, is often the force which brings a family squabble to a decision compatible with the tribal interests. The three principles which guide land disposition—relationship, personal merit, and need—are public or tribal conceptions. The factor of relationship tends to keep the land within the family, and thus objectifies the familial rights, while by the latter two principles land tends to be distributed according to the best interests of the whole community. 192

The fact that a feeling of community rights in land is very strong among 423

9 Out of 39 inter-tribal marriages of individuals whose antecedents could be ascertained, 30 were between individuals of no traceable relationship; 9 were of distant relatives no closer than third cousins; 10 were of various degrees of second cousins; and only 2 were of first (cross) cousins, and they were once removed in generation.

10 *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, pp. 213-222, 1929), p. 221.

11 See Max Gluckman, *Studies in African Land Tenure* (African Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, 1944) for a theoretical discussion of what he calls "clusters of rights."

They never chastise children, although, like them, they are fitfully very cruel or kind to pets and domesticated animals. The men, who constantly crowded about my host's hut, were incessantly chattering and laughing, even when the gravest subjects were approached or discussed. The women are by education less vivacious than the men. While paying no attention to pets, they are as affectionate toward children as are the men. They shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever, join in conversation, and preserve a modest bearing, not so much from nature as through fear of censure from the men. They are patient and industrious in the extreme, and while at work are inclined to chat in a sort of monotone with one another. During the absence of the men, they are more disposed to be communicative with strangers, seemingly, not sharing their suspicions of them. The women are not as passionate as the men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious to know about other nations, although not much impressed by things beyond their own comprehension, and unable readily to receive complex ideas. They are humorous and quite witty, delighting in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and look in a facetious rather than a critical light upon the awkwardness or discomfiture, even though serious, of others. They laughed and chatted and joked for hours about the death of one of our horses, and the predicament it left us in. The animal, weak after its terrible passage of the deserts, had staggered into the river and drowned. Most spirited and laughable pictures were drawn of our probable sufferings and tears, when returning without the horse; but they said we ought to be comforted in our loss, even with the prospect of famine or exhaustion, when we reflected that it was a great gain to themselves; furnishing them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapening wonderfully the contents of at least one pack. Their perceptive faculties

[P5468]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1]

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his mischiefs (p. 230).

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227).

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac-

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Pueblos (Hopkins, 73, 74).
[2] Kroeber, (2), 99; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (a), 176; Dumarest, 149; Starr, (a), 69; Lowie, 44; Curtis, I, 185-187; Mooney, (c), 253.
[3] Boscana, (d), 324; Curtis, I, 133; II, 38, 66; Gifford, (a), 173, 180; Reid, 11.

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 234) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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[2] Kroeber, (j), 99; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lloyd, 43; Curtis, I, 126-127; Mooney, (c), 253.
[3] Boscana, 66, 160; Curtis, I, 122; II, 32, 66; Gifford, (a), 173, 186; Reid, 11.

Williff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

2:Illiff Y-S (ca.1991) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 621 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 313."

591 592 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 [562] [591] [177] Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 596 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Tribal Government

622 [562] Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women never attained such eminence. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier (1928, 235-6) describes chieftainship as follows:

"Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....

"Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief..."

[642] Spier reported that in 1920 there were six chiefs. The Havasupai in 1939 adopted a tribal constitution and by-laws which provided for a tribal council consisting "of four regular councilmen, and three hereditary chiefs of the tribe, who shall be selected by the remaining subchiefs of the tribe. Each of the chiefs, as regular members of the council, shall continue his duties as councilman until death or resignation, at which time a new chief shall be selected by the subchiefs."

The custom of inheritance of chieftainship is thus overruled by the tribal constitution, but it continues to influence Havasupai thinking. Four examples may be cited: (1) Chief Big Jim, a childless man, died in 1950. Public sentiment clearly focused upon, but was divided among, several men who were of almost equal degrees of relationship to him. No decisive action was taken until 1953, when William Little Jim, son of Big Jim's half-brother, was chosen chief. (2) Chief Watahomidja was succeeded at his death in 1947 by his eldest son, Jim Watahomigie. (3) Chief Manakaja

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and [727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-no-o-na, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for
[651 his offices, and is usually as wealthy as
556] any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is
[551] nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however
643 severe, for the good of his own people.
692 When the Apache Mojaves were moved
649 by government to San Carlos, one of them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supai. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re-
[696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

[P. 552 A]

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save personal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 683 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as 754 is the case with other Indians, the uni-

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hó-te.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-pai by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ai-pa*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four [439] days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P5548] ½ [...horse. Auntyd]

648 609 643

ward evening, it was like bedlam about the hut of my still neutral host. Finally a sub-chief advanced, and told me I must consent to a re-trade. I declined. He then begged me, and my Indians, alarmed, became importunate. Still I refused. Pu-lá-ka-kai pointed to a scar over his eyebrow, which he wore, he said, in remembrance of a former proceeding of the kind, and once more implored me, for the sake of his and Tsaiis-taaih-ti-wa's wives and children, to consent. Now and then a man would leave, presently returning with a gun carelessly strapped over his shoulder, and I saw that things were growing serious; but I remained obdurate, paying no apparent attention to my own arms, yet seeing that they were within easy reach. After a little while, I suddenly drew one of the two revolvers in my belt, sheathed it again, and, stepping over to the discontented, one-eyed scoundrel, grabbed him by the arms, and ejected him from the premises. Immense excitement prevailed, but I quietly went back with a smile to my writing. The head chief was summoned. He came, gravely, through the babbling crowd, eating a kind of cake of corn-meal and sunflower seeds. I rose, and greeted him pleasantly, spreading a blanket for him to sit on; and as he sat down, with a smile, he broke the cake in two, handing me the larger piece. I began to explain my writing to him, and, after conversing a little while, he said, "I am about to go. You observe that I am never to be found in crowds of those who wrangle and gossip. It makes a father sad to see the foolishness of his children. It fills me with thoughts to see my people make fools of themselves, to hear them make meaningless noise; therefore I stay away from them. When they have anything to *say* to me, or you wish to *see* me, my hut stands under the cottonwoods, down by the river, and my fields are in front of it." Without a word in reference to our

[P.555A]

trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he went away as he had come, a picture of imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

The coming stranger is heralded by the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementoe of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

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[Some materials on relations with particular neighboring groups will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moenkopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1804. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moenkopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Herndon observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] Handbook of American Indians, II, 61; Hamy, The Moquis, 84 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mohaques," four days journey up the Rio Jesus Maria, who was "about 30 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, Personal Narrative, 136, 141.)

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Social and cultural relations with the Walapai are also very close. Members of each tribe commonly live with the other, intermarriages are frequent, and they share each other's viewpoint and antipathies to a very high degree. A few instances: Havasupai took part in the mourning for Walapai dead (p. 242); a Walapai shaman finds most of his practice with his mother's people, the Havasupai (p. 277); the latter accompanied the Walapai to war against the Paiute (p. 251); seven Walapai women live in Cataract Canyon and at least three Havasupai women among the Walapai. Garcés in 1776 testified to the same attitude. On the other hand, there are some antagonisms of which the Havasupai are conscious. The younger Walapai wives were pointed out to me at once as foreigners, although it was some time before I discovered that an equal number of older women were also Walapai. The Havasupai mock the others' gruffer mode of speech, and their eating lizards. They also came to blows over a race (p. 253).

An account of their separation from the Yavapai, wherein the latter are represented as driven from Cataract Canyon, is given in a tale. This is improbable; it is more likely that the Havasupai represent an offshoot of the Walapai which took up agriculture and then settled more permanently in the canyon.

The Havasupai call themselves *hanasteipa*, blue-green water people. By their account they are known to the Zuñi as *ki'nâna*,[1] and probably to other easterners by similar names.[2] They call the Walapai *halpáimpapi* or *pachtpaiá*; the Yavapai, *tinkhad* (enemy) or *apkwâpa*[3]; the Apache (Tonto and White Mountain?), *ahadájé*; the Navaho, *hana'dzená'a*; the Hopi, *mukú*; the Zuñi, *ai'u'á*; the Mohave (and Yuma?), *wamákwa*; the Paiute, *paiutia*; and, by my recollection, the Ute, *pâia* and the Pima, *patápi*.[4]

The Havasupai numbered 177 in 1919.[5] It does not seem likely that there were ever many more than 250, certainly not over 300. This is apparent from the earlier census reports and also from the limitation of the cultivable area. The present acreage probably could not be doubled. Garcés states that the population did not exceed thirty-four families in 1776.[6] In 1858 Egloffstein reported not more than 200[7]; in 1869 there were 300[8]; in 1881, Cushing found 235[9], and Coues, 214[10]:

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[1] Tom Keam, (q.v., 1918, gives Kinkabáwa or Kinkabáwa (silkwood people ?) as the Zuñi name.
[2] This might be ascertained on Apache, Navaho, and Zuñi, Hopi, or Yuma, but I was specifically told it does not mean black men.
[3] See p. 200 for the composition of population.
[4] Coues, 243.
[5] Ibid., 220.
[6] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 228.
[7] *Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884, XVIII.
[8] Coues, 243.

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the middle of June until September. When the harvest is abundant, invitations are sent to the neighboring Walapai, Navaho, and Hopi to join in the annual dance, a week of festivity. In the course of gambling and trading, another link is fixed in the trade route that runs from Oraibi and the Navaho settlements, through the Havasupai and Walapai, to the Mohave in the west.

The harvest in, mesquite and local seeds gathered, there is no further attraction in the canyon. In the middle of October the exodus to the plateau begins. By single families, or in groups of two and three, they go off to establish smug camps in the denser cedar thickets. These are semi-permanent, for they move from time to time as pinon nuts are reported growing thickly in one glade, wild seeds abundant in another locality, or hunting good near the mountains. When the snow falls, rabbits, deer, and antelopes are easier to track. During this season they live in part on corn which they have carried up from the canyon, and from time to time replenish from the granaries there. As spring comes they drift back, perhaps along the ledges of the Grand Canyon, to resume life in the village.

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A knotted cord or quipu (*dítsuddígá*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 20, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

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211
648

There are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

211

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

823

north	mátávigá
west	nyatáqwvi (sun's setting place)
south	háwívigá
east	nyádjá'dávé (sun's rising place)
zenith	amávigá or tsintávigá (middle of the sky)
nadir	matvilhá or ámtávigá (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ámótáta"waiyt'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

822
151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágá or hyádj	black
hyaa'gá	brown
ávwó'tigá	red
gwaiaa'gá	pink
ágwá'fig	yellow
n,hmá'vá	white
vaaívá	blue-green
vahaagá (?)	blue
vahaatídvigá	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Haughton, 64, 203); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Parsons, (a), 53). That of the Pima is indefinite; a temporal pair is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache recital is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (b), 9.)

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of native women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1] 592

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*tlatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*Admdwtlatá*, boy; *mPtdlatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahumilja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother. 592 736

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion. 621

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe. 602

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships 602 621 [648]

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Double Descent*) how a sub-system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *cilégid*, a man's older brother's son, or *djihéigd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [649]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [590] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Yuman tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. 586
Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said 684]
that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children.

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*ptě'ĭgtěěntdĕj*, barren women) the husband would take a [595]
second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out.

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives 595
would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate 684
by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character.

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation 582
today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women 648
and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies.

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied [459]
their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. [586]
Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the [837]
following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common.

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] p. 441.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

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582 Smiley, Jess' paternal grandfather, Watahomidja's father-in-law and Arthur's father, 648 wanted to go hunting. I went along with them up the Moki trail. We went on and on until we were near ȟdegiiźtȟiźja (Dripping Springs, near Grand Canyon Station). That night we had a little snowstorm. Next morning there was snow on the ground when we went out to hunt. We found tracks where someone had been walking along in the snow; we followed the tracks, and after a little way found the person. It was a Navaho woman. Our people talked to the woman in the Navaho language; "Are you all alone, or are there other Navaho camping near from whom you have strayed?" The Navaho woman said, "I am just by myself: no Navaho are camped near here. I just came by myself from a long way back there. I come from northeast of San Francisco Mountain." There were more Navaho over there with whom this woman had been living. They had told her that her relatives were living along the rim near Grand Canyon Station and Dripping Springs. "I wanted to see them; that is why I came to look around," she said. "I looked around here but I have seen no one as yet, only you people who found me."

We took the woman over to where we were encamped and told her, "Do not be afraid of us and do not go away. Stay with us. While we are hunting about stay at the camp and do some cooking, such as boiling deer meat; get it ready, so that when we get back home we can eat it." She was pretty good at cooking and boiling deer meat and she remained there as she was bidden. When we found her she had no matches or firedrill. We saw that she had taken cedarbark and rubbed it soft, and rolled it into a long thin roll, about two meters long, binding it with soapweeds. She rolled this slow match up and set fire to one end of it, carrying a little fire that way.

The Havasupai asked, "Where is your camp? Show us where that place is." She said, "All right," and she went ahead with the Havasupai following. She went to the edge of the canyon directly above Dripping Springs, and we saw where she had built a nice little house. She had nothing there; no bed or anything at all. We asked her, "What things have you been eating?" She said, "I have no provisions to eat at all." At that time there was snow on the ground and when she saw rabbit tracks, she tracked them. When a rabbit went into a hollow log, she thrust a long thin stick, pointed and barbed, which she carried, into the log and twisting it into the rabbit's fur, pulled it out. Then she roasted it. "That is what I did in order to eat," she said.

The Navaho woman showed us where she had camped and then we went back to our camp. Next morning we went out to hunt and caught two more deer. The following morning we started home. My father said, "I am the man who is going to have that Navaho girl. I will lend her my horse to ride." Everything was packed on that horse, and the girl rode it. We put no bridle on the horse; we just tied a long rope around his neck, so that my father, now dead, could lead it, and we started home. That is how we led it along and brought her down home.

After we brought her home up there in the canyon, where there were a lot of men and women, everyone gathered to look at her. We said, "We found a Navaho girl, who was lost in the woods." Everyone looked at the girl and was friendly to her. That girl was afraid of our people and she cried, so we said to her, "Do not cry; they will all be good to you and will treat you well. They will give you plenty to eat." My father took this girl for his wife, and kept her for a pretty long time, I do not know how many, maybe five years. She had no children and then she just ran away.

582 586 648 Some Hopi men came down here and they told her the road by which they had come. The Hopi told her they wanted her to go back to her home. "You go on

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ahead; after you have gone two or three nights, we will leave. Perhaps we can catch up with you on the way," they said. She had been gone for a day and a night, when my father looked around but could not find where she had gone. Then my father thought, "Perhaps she has gone back home. I will follow her tracks. We want her." My father told Panamida's father, and the two of them went off. They knew where to go, so they rode on fast. They found her tracks just beyond Red Butte. They saw tracks where the girl had gone ahead. The Hopi, going home, had come behind her. They followed along until they reached Oraibi. There my father said, "I have a Navaho girl who is my wife. She ran away and came with the Hopi men." So they talked to the Hopi. One of the Hopi who had come down here had already married that Navaho girl and she had gone back with him. That girl's Hopi husband would not give the girl back to my father. He said, "No." My father said, "You must give me something; then you can have her." So the Navaho girl's husband gave him a good-sized blanket, and so my father let her go.

There are few formal regulations for relatives by marriage. There is no taboo between a wife and her parents-in-law. A man might talk freely to his wife's parents, even on obscene topics. Neither husband nor wife address their spouse's parents or grandparents by name. The woman has no relationship term to apply to them, though she may use their names by way of reference. Jim's wife Lina, when speaking to him will say *mamádjídjia*, your mother, *mamádjitatha*, your father, or *huwadpitum*, your parents (*huwadpá*, two). A man uses *gíngígi* in referring to his wife's parents, but not when speaking to them. Reciprocally neither a man nor a woman uses the names of their son-in-law and daughter-in-law (and their families?). They use *wíngígi* for the son's wife, usually in indirect reference only, but they may also address her by that term. Both use *gíngígi* for their son-in-law at all times. I cannot find anything corresponding to joking-relationships.

A record of sixty-seven marriages is appended in full. This includes all living Havasupai, with a few exceptions, but it does not cover every marriage they contracted. Nevertheless, it is reasonably adequate. Forty-five of the fifty-two marriages where the information is precise, were initiated by temporary matriloeal residence. The number is probably slightly greater than the facts warrant, for I suspect Sinyella, who furnished the data, of systematizing. The remaining seven marriages are nearly all with widows. A complication that could not be eliminated is due to the temporary matriloeal residence of new couples when on the plateau during the winter, with patriloeal residence on their return to the canyon. An unexpected feature is the marriage of neighbors: this in spite of the fact that neighbors are usually paternal relatives, their common seat of residence being the land inherited by the men from their fathers. Possibly twenty or twenty-five marriages are of this type: a

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Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 956 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognized by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. 624 [649]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámálsel* or *kuhá'l*,[1] but he is also known as *kanátdsé*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *málseglélgélá*. Jess differentiated between them by *málsélk'élgá* and *pagámálsélkanétéha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kuhate* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwáhóí*.

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called good-man (information from H. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *kun-ak-lual* (Tripper, 1916). [171]

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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organiser of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I 554 752

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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wanákwtvámi was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 237). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wanákwtvámi big chief also. (See p. 278 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wanákwtvámi died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wanákwtvámi's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tuyadjívi (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1826] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They 159
seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the 624
ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very 648
emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people 754
said to him, "You are a big chief." 682

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mätä'wisi canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Hätja, hätja,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now."

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; 624
then they made him the big chief. Wanäkwiwämä, who was big chief, was still alive 159
at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For ne'hätjat, a man's elder brother's son.

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159 624 same time. Wanikwivimá lived for a long time after this. I was a lad at the time [about 1860–65].

Captain Navajo took quite a few men with him to Oraibi. The night they got there, while they slept in a Hopi house, some Navajo raided and took away all their horses. The other Havasupai stayed in the Hopi house, but Captain Navajo and a Hopi friend, who gave him a horse to ride, followed the horse tracks. They went on toward the east until when it was nearly sunset they reached the top of a high mesa. They looked down into the bottom land, where they saw a lot of Navaho houses, with a great many horses nearby. They waited on top of the hill until it was a little dark; then they descended the trail toward the houses. The Hopi man said, "The Navaho do not turn their horses loose. They keep them close to the houses at all times. They keep their saddle horses tied to the house and continually ride out to watch the herd. I think that they will see us, and perhaps they will kill us. I think I am afraid to go down there with you. I will stay here, while you go alone and try to cut some out of the herd. I will wait here." So Captain Navajo went down alone. He went near, tied the horse he was riding, and walked close to the houses to look at the horses. He walked among the houses, where a few horses were tied to each one, until he came to a house where the greatest number was. A few were hobbled; he took the hobbles off, and walked away, driving the herd slowly before him. He got back to where he had tied his horse, and then drove them fast up the trail. Just as he got to the top of the mesa, he heard the Navaho shouting below. Then he whipped his horse and came back as fast as he could. The Hopi man had already gone. "Perhaps he was afraid," Captain Navajo said. When Captain Navajo was halfway back two colts began to sicker; they kept this up, so he shot both with his arrows. He brought the horses into Oraibi just as the sun was rising. The Hopi said they were glad. The other Havasupai had all gone home while he was away; some walked, others brought horses to ride. The Hopi said, "Hurry and eat, and then go right along." While he was eating, they prepared provisions for him to carry. The Hopi said, "Maybe the Navaho are following you and are nearly here. You had better hurry." One of the Hopi men helped him drive the horses. They drove them fast down from Oraibi mesa and on along the road. After they had gone only a little way from Oraibi, the Navaho came into the pueblo. The Hopi said to them, "He brought the horses in before dawn; he ate a little and then left before it was daylight. He has been gone a pretty long time. We think he is now on the other side of the Little Colorado River." The Navaho said they wanted to follow at once. But the Hopi said, "When he went over and took your horses, the other Havasupai who were here had half their herd left and they went back. Perhaps if you follow him you will run into them and they will kill you." Thus they lied to the Navaho. The Hopi wanted to hold the Navaho at Oraibi. So the Navaho turned back. The two men drove the horses along as fast as they could. When the horses they were riding began to slow up, they changed to other horses; they did this all the way. They followed the tracks of the other Havasupai who had gone before. They crossed the Little Colorado just above the present bridge and when they were a little way beyond on this side, at Hátay dtovak,ǫ́vi (black water precipice), they caught up with the others. Everyone felt glad. Captain Navajo did this by himself; he went alone to the Navaho camps and stole horses, so the Havasupai called him a big chief. All the other tribes around heard about him and when they saw him, called him big chief too. He was a big chief all his life long and died [about 1900] when he was an old man.

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The Walapai knew Captain Navajo as chief very well. After his death, the Walapai big chief thought who would be big chief here: "I think that old man Captain Dave would be pretty good, but he is a very old man and could not be chief long." Next he thought of me [Sinyella] and of Supai Charley [Wanikwivâmâ's oldest living son], but he thought Manakadja, who is related to Navajo, would be better. "He is not old; I think he would be pretty good; I think he can take Navajo's place." We had no chief, so we took Manakadja in his place at once. Manakadja had never done anything notable but we accepted him. They called him just a little chief [?—I think he means that Manakadja would only be a little chief if the agent did not recognize him as head chief]. The Walapai big chief and Captain Navajo were fast friends; that is why he interfered. The Havasupai owed no allegiance to him.

Captain Jim was [probably] not a chief before Navajo's death. He always went to the Walapai death ceremonies, where he would make speeches after the Walapai chief. So the Walapai call him a little chief. Our people do not call him chief. [This is not true.] Perhaps if Manakadja or Captain Jim died, one of their half-brothers would take his place.

My father's paternal grandfather was a big chief, a very big chief. He had two wives, each bore him two boys. The oldest brother was told, when he was a young man, that he would have his father's place. He was big chief a short time when the enemy killed him. The oldest boy by the other wife was told to be big chief; after a very short time the Yavapai killed him too. This man's younger brother was made big chief; he was killed by the Paiute after a short time. The last one was made big chief when he had grown to manhood. They said, "We want you to take your brothers' place and be big chief." This one was my paternal grandfather. He had two sons; the younger died. The older was my father. When my grandfather was killed, people said that his big chieftainship was gone. So they did not call my father chief. After my father died, I traveled everywhere so that the Walapai, Oraibi Hopi, and the Navaho came to know me well and they called me little chief. I did not want to be big chief.

Dean [Sinyella's second son] said to me, "You are descended from the big chief, but you are not big chief. Pretty soon you will die; then I will be big chief." Lemman [the oldest son] will be little chief in my place, but Dean wants to be big chief. He said, "That big chief down there [Manakadja] don't go about. When I am big chief, I will ride around all the time and talk, talk, talk." I said to Dean, "I will die soon and then you will be big chief." Watahomidja will be a big chief too some time.

Watahomidja is a little chief; his father was not. But he inherits the chieftainship from his maternal grandfather who was also little chief by inheritance from Pa'hîga'mi't. Watahomidja is a good man, and old enough. He tells the people what to do, and they do it, for his advice is good. Soon they will call him big chief, because he is related to Pa'hîga'mi't. I hear him; he talks well.

Big Jim's father was not a chief, but his older brother was a little chief. Big Jim took his place when he died. The Walapai, Hopi, Navaho, and Yavapai all know him: he is a good friend of theirs, so they call him little chief. [Jess added that if Big Jim died they might call Little Jim, his half-brother by the same father, chief in his place.]

The principle involved in these cases is clearly that a man is recognized as a leader because of a combination of distinguishing characteristics, bravery, enterprise, and shrewdness. There is a tendency to transmit

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognize that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. 623 Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to 623 attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, 648 who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . . " Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . . "; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . . " Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adnigá*, good. The Walapai brought and 623 passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots 648 representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start 805 in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) 211 the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making

[1] These speeches were not recorded. the

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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

●648 The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai

171 in 1776.

623 On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*amθiŋ*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 325–326. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, that is, in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 553.

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovök,óvá [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same place. So we all came down the Tovök,óvá trail and went around into the canyon where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

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hole, and buried him.[1] Then we all went back to the camp and the next morning we went on. 484 648

At that time we did not have many horses to ride; perhaps our family had only one. We just kept walking along. I do not remember exactly where we camped. I know we camped above Dripping Springs [west of Grand Canyon Station], where we stayed two nights. Then we set off again and got to Long Jim Canyon [east of the station], where there are big caves in which we camped one night. Next day we got to Hagáʔuvád'ĭ [Hance's Ranch, east of Grand View] and the next day we camped at I'ĭ'mà'hwa'áhá [Deer Tank, to the north of Coconino Basin]. The next morning we went on down to the bench above Hagàʔa'là [Little Colorado River] and along it up the canyon. We stopped that night at Tatá'áhà, where we found a lot of Paiute. We stayed with them for two or three sleeps. Then one morning we continued up along the bench to its end [?] where the Navaho Bridge is now; we went up a little further and crossed the Little Colorado. We climbed up on the red bench on the other side and camped at Wihwátágĭl'íá (red pinnacles). Next morning we went up the slope toward the east. When on top we made pretty good time traveling and got close to Oraibi. This camp was at K'eyúdtgà (gulch). Next morning we went on and reached Oraibi about midday.

All the Hopi came out to see us. They said in their language, "It is very good to bring the women and children with you. We are glad to see you." We went into Oraibi and each of our families took up quarters with friendly Hopi. The Hopi said, "It was pretty good of you people to come to see us. Do not go away soon; stay with us a long time. That is what we like." I think it was about harvest time; the Hopi were gathering their corn. The Hopi wanted the Havasupai to go with them and gather their corn; so they did so. I was a little boy and I played about with the Hopi boys. 648

We stayed at Oraibi a long time: I think, until it snowed. When it was very cold, we started back. We stopped at Wihwátágĭl'íá for a little time. Again we moved back across the Little Colorado, but not by the same road; this time a considerable distance above. We came out to the west on top of a high mesa, Amáá-l'ⁿnyuĭnyá (antelope trail). When we were a little way to the west of this, we stayed in a big cave in another canyon, Waigátídà. We stayed at this place a pretty long time. When snow lay on the ground we hunted rabbits. We stayed nearly all winter, until there was only a little snow left on the ground; then we came right along. At each camp we stayed for two or three sleeps. At that time the trail came by the north side of Wigàdàwĭ'sà [Red Butte]; this was the road we followed. We got to Ha'apu [Rain Tank] where we stayed a long time again. Again we moved toward home: we stopped to camp at Huwafàdjahwĭlà [Little Red Rain Tank]. Next morning we came on and got to Huwafàʔàldùvà. Here some said that they wanted to go down into Grand Canyon onto the red bench. So they went down Padjmyáhamà [man's trail, i.e., Bass's trail] where their home was. My father and some other men just kept coming along the rim of Grand Canyon and along the rim of this one, to Lee Canyon where we camped for several days. Then a lot of our people came down that canyon wanting to go to the village. Some of the others wanted to go down on to the red bench in Cataract Canyon. My father and an old woman took their families along the bench. We followed down that canyon which runs westward from the 484

[1] At this time it was customary to burn the dead; they are now buried.

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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

●[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *Itcahud.* They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (e), 160.

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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwidágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátafá [Colorado River] a little below Huúltovôkyóvá [pine precipice, Moho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1]

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239).

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227).

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac-

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 73-75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 29; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148; Starr, (a), 43; Lippe, 45; Curtis, I, 125-127; Mooney, (c), 253.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Gifford, (a), 173, 186; Reid, 11.

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DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgi*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days.

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7-18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44-53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced.

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hdaly*$^{(a)}$, good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamida, a chief, bellowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; later food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Mpaukaiya, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [526] [648] [537] [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kâθâdâ, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.
[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 92.

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Cosnute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 306.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2]

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (suck), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly.

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things.

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 552.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma.

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756 If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on.
755 In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealously is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

755 Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess added that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wasted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

756 The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They
● [648] also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own.

755 Once about 1885 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[1] The Pima have the same caution (Russell, (d), 110). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 9). Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a thong loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 50). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his lush (Dixon, (b), 432).

[3] Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 574 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a [439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop- [697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared, [576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *hdnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

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541 giθa giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gàθigánágóagó nóŋágábá isunéa hineyá
533 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋá ,hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yólgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'ówigd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a [515] covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [484] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Havasupai Home Life

595 I had discovered by this time that there were polygamous marriages among the Havasupai, and often wondered how much they disturbed the serenity of the homes involved. And then one day during a visit to the village, Head Chief Manakadja led me to one of two brush wickiups set in the same yard. Entering, with me, he pointed to an elderly woman sitting in a corner, shelling corn, and said laconically, "Old wife." Returning to the yard, we entered the second wickiup. A woman much younger than the "old wife" sat within, weaving a basket. In the same matter-of-fact fashion Manakadja pointed to her and remarked, "Young wife," then hurried through the low doorway to identify, by name, his children playing in the yard, several of whom were enrolled in school.

595 The innocent way in which he had called my attention to his
648 two households made it difficult for me to break the news which surely would be a staggering blow to him. But I could not ignore the Commissioner's order to field officials regarding polygamous relations without taking a chance of being called to account. So I explained, "The Great Father in Washington made a paper talk; he said an Indian may have one wife, only one. You have two."

Manakadja stood for a bewildered moment just staring at me, then he asked, "What they do, wife, chillen, I no keep? Where go?"

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That was one phase of the situation the Great Father had not thought out; neither had I. The old wife and her children would be the ones to go, and she had borne her share of trouble. I told him to keep both families, and give them equal care. I did not report his case to Washington, nor did I seek advice as to the best method for disposing of surplus wives and children.

The Indians said that Manakadja had first married the older woman, a member of his tribe. Years later, while camped on a mesa, he met a young Paiute woman whom he wanted for his wife. Whether the Paiute girl objected to sharing his affections with another or whether he had tired of the "old wife," he discarded her. Later, they were reconciled and he established homes for the two women in the same dooryard.

Leslie Spier relates a story,* told him by Sinyella, the elderly tribesman, which helped me realize that not all broken marriages involved the heartache I had imagined.

While hunting on the mesa, Sinyella's father met a young Navaho woman, living in a brush shelter of her own contriving. She must have been a venturesome girl to have walked across the snow-covered desert from "away back there" to her camp site, searching for Navaho relatives whom she had heard were camped in this region. The girl had anticipated her need for a campfire by carrying the Indian's "slow match." This was made by rubbing cedar bark until soft and pliable, binding it with yucca leaves into a slender rope, and igniting one end. The rope was carried in a loose coil. By blowing on the smoldering end, fire could easily be lighted.

Sinyella's father wanted the girl and took her to his home as his wife. Years later, some Hopi men came into the canyon to trade. The woman slipped away to the Hopi village and became the wife of one of the visiting men. Her Havasupai husband followed, demanding her return. When the Hopi man refused to let the woman go, Sinyella's father stated his alternative: "You must give me something; then you can have her." The "some-

* *Havasupai Ethnography*, American Museum of Natural History.

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Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert region, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted soapweed leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took to the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance, as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

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It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Gods Speak Again

With shocking suddenness we learned that the Blue Water was to be commercialized. Mr. Ewing wrote that an Eastern firm had been granted authority to harness Mooney Falls to manufacture electrical power for distribution to cities in Arizona and neighboring states. Engineers, surveyors and workmen swarmed into the canyon where so few white men had ever ventured. Miners had once worked the ledges on the walls for silver, but never had the Indians' authority over the Blue Water or its canyon been questioned. These white men who were now tinkering with old Mooney Falls did not consult the Indians. They were authorized to complete the project, they explained to me, and, intent upon this, they kept pretty much to themselves. We sensed an intimation of things to come. 648

Did we owe this quick but orderly invasion to the visit of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve supervisor that day he had accompanied us to Mooney Falls? Had he determined then the power which the falls could generate, and by his report encouraged this firm to speculate? While we pondered these questions and I protested to Mr. Ewing repeatedly, the men quietly but determinedly went on with their work.

The Indians realized now that, before they were through, these white people would fill the canyon. After the machinery was installed, men would remain to attend the plant; their families would come. To whom then would the canyon belong, and who would be

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648 forced to go? Who always went when the Indian had land that the white man coveted?

The white men had plenty of cash with which to allay the Havasupai's fears. They bought alfalfa from them for their horses, [482] paying five dollars for the load a woman could carry suspended from a strap across her forehead. They gave a silver dollar to those who posed for a picture. But this proved little compensation for the Indians, who could only stand by and watch as heavy machinery rumbled in along the widened Lee Canyon trail, and old Mooney began to lose her wild timbered beauty. This trail, these falls, everything here had belonged to the Havasupai since the day the gods had led them into the canyon. Lanoman, gray-faced and angry, went about his duties. The foreign men were desecrating the "Mother of the Waters," sacred to his wife and those other dead whose spirits could sometimes be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The Indians feared these invaders as they had never feared the Yavapai or the Apache. They could meet the latter and deal with them as they deserved, but these white men—working like ants, building roads, making permanent improvements—had taken possession without need of battle. Mr. Ewing wrote that the contract had been negotiated in Washington; he was powerless to interfere. And in increasing numbers the white men continued to come.

The Havasupai recalled the story the Navaho had told them of how the white men had elbowed them out of their ancient home. When, in retaliation, they killed those who had stolen their hunting ground, the Great Father in Washington sent soldiers with fire-sticks, who punished the Navaho, and took the guilty to some far place.

648 The people again gave thought to the warning of the Cheme-
175 huevi Indian who had come to them as an evangelist, reminding them of the old ways and warning them of the penalties of forgetting the customs of their ancestors. Mr. James, in *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, recorded the Chemehuevi's impassioned appeal to the Havasupai at a dance where an agent from

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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

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And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *toholwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

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48 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [189 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

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was following the trail through the village when laughter and shouting broke the silence. At a home a short distance off the trail, Chickapanyegi, hot and tired, with headband askew, stood by his horse, unlashing from his saddle the carcass of a small deer. My first thought was of the violated game law. I said to him, "You know this is the closed season. Why did you kill that deer?"

He wiped the sweat from his face on his sleeve before he replied, "Indians, deer, here first. White man no here. Now white man make law. We got no meat. My family hungry."

"Eat your meat, now that you have it, but don't break the law again. I can't protect you. You will be taken away from your wife and children and sent to jail."

The crowd had grown while we talked, but they were silent, knowing well enough what was wrong and wanting to see what would be done about it.

They and the deer were here first; a close relationship existed between them. They killed only for food, and the deer spirit understood that. If one of them killed wastefully, the spirit that protected the deer would punish him with sickness and death.

I explained to the forest ranger the Indians' idea as to his ancient relationship to the deer and reminded him that the white man killed for sport, taking the legal limit and leaving to spoil the meat he could not carry away, while the Indian killed game for food and this was a sacred privilege. The ranger was as helpless as I. We both were obligated to demand respect for the law, regardless of our sympathy, but I wanted him to understand their idealistic attitude. The time would come when these Indians would need a friend at court.

"My sympathy is with the Indians too," he admitted, "but that will not keep them out of jail if they break the law."

So Vesnor and Lanoman went through the village, warning every man of the penalty of breaking the game laws.

Life among these people had taught me that we could not force them into an alien mold. We must teach them, lead them, give them time. Suspicion and superstition went hand in hand, con-

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trolling their actions. I realized that if, quite innocently, I made a decision or gave a dose of medicine and tragedy followed, I would face the same Indians, armed with the same knives and guns, who had demanded that a former teacher retract an order. Two hundred fifty against one was too great a hazard. The pleasure of working with these people had not dulled all thought of needful caution on my part. I still believed that it was better to be safe than sorry. Aside from this, I respected their deep-rooted traditions and primitive customs. So it was easy to make my administration one of give and take. I had violated an order by encouraging Manakadja to keep his two wives; my "take" had been his good will—a powerful influence in my favor.

Not long after I left the canyon, a decision by the man in charge of the tribe resulted, apparently, in the suicide of a young man. The Havasupai could not tolerate suicide. Murder—yes! What could a man do but kill to avenge a wrong? But a man should not destroy his own life. The body of a suicide could not be burned nor buried with those of their respected dead. Again they reasoned: cause and effect. And they proceeded to take action against the official who had made the decision. A hurried call to the outside for help quieted the rebellion. The old spirit of self-assertion had not yet been completely crushed, but again, as in times gone by, they felt the restraining hand of the white man's law.

All too well the Havasupai realized how government control had affected them and their way of life. Their right to kill game for the purposes of food and their freedom to roam would never be restored. One old man expressed the sentiments of all when he cried bitterly, "We are no longer men, but are little children who must *ask* when we go out or come in!"

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000 the Indians out on the mesa, and no school to teach, perhaps the new man would have time to do just that. I envied him. Yet I knew that this was his first association with the Indian people, and he would need the time to become acquainted with those remaining in the village and to understand the Indians' slow transition from primitive life to the complexities of modern civilization.

48 On the day of my departure the few friends who were still in the village came up to say good-by. Vesnor and Lanoman, Walapai Bill, old Captain Gabe came—and precious, old, Gentle Annie, wearing my strawberry-red dress, much dimmed by constant washing in the stream and exposure to sun. We shook hands. Questions were asked, "Why you go? You no come back?" Gentle Annie's gnarled fingers clung to my hand. "You no go," she insisted. "Pretty good you stay."

They were anxious about the future. The one in charge of the reservation could assume almost any authority over them that he pleased; and strong men that they were, they resented being told when they might "go out or come in."

000 Few farewells have been so difficult for me.

At Hilltop that night we cooked our supper on a stove that had been set up in the warehouse for use during inclement weather. We ate outside in the frosty air, only a few yards from that bowl-shaped abyss which had so filled me with awe the last time I stood on its rim. I had been uncertain then as to what I might find at the end of the trail. Now I knew that there were floods, and falling columns of stone; that the thermometer soared to one hundred and seventeen degrees and forgot to come down. But I [18] knew also that a kindly, trusting people lived there—a people gifted with native wisdom, warm with laughter and carefree play; and children who needed an uncrowded school, offering better opportunities for adjustment to the alien culture we were thrusting upon them. And there were canyon walls with their guarded secrets—one of them a sealed cave filled with the ancient arms and tools of Those of Old.

I climbed to the wagon seat for the two-day drive to Seligman,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Havasupai

133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
798 take place.

776 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the canyon from the Hue-gli-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

000 One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated
[648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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From leading Havasupais I learn that many years ago the various tribes of this region were at war one with another, until finally a treaty of peace was entered into and boundaries defined. The Paiutis were to remain in Nevada and Utah and not cross the Colorado River, the Wallapais had their region to the west of Havasu Canyon, the Mohaves, Hopis, Pimas, Apaches, Navahoes, Chimehuevis, and the rest their prescribed limits, over which they were not to go without permission from the chiefs into whose territory they wished to pass. And, generally speaking, this treaty has been observed.

Of the exquisitely beautiful waterfalls that give the commonly accepted name to Havasu Canyon, viz., Cataract Canyon, I have not space here to treat. I have already somewhat fully described them in my book on the Grand Canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

sible — which their traditions say were once occupied by certain families, the names of which are still remembered. All throughout the Grand Canyon region, too, from the Little Colorado River to Havasu Canyon, their cliff-dwellings, and smaller cliff "corn-houses" and mescal pits, are to be found. Indeed, the Havasupais built all the trails that are now being claimed as the work of white men into the heart of the Grand Canyon. The Tanner-French trail, the Red Canyon trail, the old Hance trail, the Grand View, Bright Angel, and Mystic Spring trails, are all old Indian trails. Not only are the cliff-dwellings and mescal pits proof of this, but the Havasupais can tell the families to whom they originally belonged and to whom the rights in them have descended. These rights they rigidly adhere to. It is the white man who knows no law as far as the Indian is concerned, and little by little the aborigine has lost springs, water-pockets, and trails, and is regarded and treated as an unwelcome visitor.

By this it must not be inferred that the Indians built the trails as white men build. In the main their trails were rude paths such as the mountain sheep might make, but in every case they had one of these rude pathways down into the canyon somewhere near to where the modern trails are now located. At the Bright Angel this path was changed when white engineers took hold of it, and at Mystic Spring Mr. Bass had built an entirely new trail, down a different slope, long before he discovered the Indian trail. Both unite near two great natural rock-cisterns, and then deviate below, the Indian trail zigzagging to the left, while Mr. Bass engineered a new trail of easy grade on the talus to the right.

Some of the Havasupais are returning to the cliff-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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342 dwelling style of homes. My friend Wa-lu-tha-ma is forsaking his wood and brush "hawas," and constructing a house under the cliffs, where, as he quaintly puts it, he can "keep dry when much rain comes."

174 342 648 It seems to me a reasonable supposition that it was from the frequency of the occurrence of these corn-houses in the walls of Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, with the occasional appearance of a few of the larger houses used as dwellings by the Havasupais, that the absurd and romantic yarns had their origin that fifteen, or less, years ago, were current in Arizona and elsewhere about this interesting people. The cowboys, miners, prospectors, and others, who accidentally stumbled upon the upper entrance to the Havasu Canyon, and wandered down its meandering course for ten or forty miles, even to the village of the simple Havasupais, returned to civilization and propagated and circulated stories that out-Munchausened Munchausen. They said these people were cliff-dwellers, living at the present day in the walls of the canyon; they were of powerful physical presence, and possessed great endurance. Their fields and gardens were wonderful, and their peach orchards surpassed those of most civilized cultivation, and they held in slavery a lesser people, dwarfs or pigmies, doubtless, who were cliff-dwellers like themselves, and whom they compelled by great cruelty to perform the most arduous labors.

Others, having heard these stories, but whose spirit of adventure took them no farther than the "rim" of the canyon, claimed to have looked into the village and side canyons, and there seen the truth of these stories demonstrated. They had seen the pigmies and the gigantic Havasupais, had heard the harsh yells of the

latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648 ●

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [857]

was often annoyed by finding, on his return from an absence of a few days, that Silver and the mule, one or both, had been taken from the pasture and ridden by the Indians. When he completed his trail across the river and finally established the ferry that bears his name — the only ferry, by the way, across the Grand Canyon, and the only one on the Colorado River between Lee's Ferry and the one below the mouth of the canyons — he decided to swim Silver and the mule across the river and keep them for use on the north side. When this was done Chickapanagie was present. With a twinkle in his eye he said: "Bass heap sopogie (understand). Havasupai no ride 'em Silvern, and Red Mule no more."

There is wide diversity in the attitude different members of the tribe hold towards the whites. Some are friendly, others openly hostile and ugly, while others merely receive strangers on sufferance as a necessary evil, useful for the purchase of baskets and such other things as they may have to dispose of.

Manakacha was elected to his kohot-ship because the majority of the men were in favor of keeping out the whites from Havasu Canyon, and he was ever averse to the white man.

Those, however, who are friendly, are good and true friends, as those who knew Hotouta, Spotty, and others who are gone can testify.

Spotty was a genial, kindly soul, with whom I had various dealings. He was intelligent and reliable in his intercourse with me, though a medicine-man and ready to dispense charms, incantations, and native medicines on the slightest pecuniary provocation. On one of my early trips to Havasu I negligently overlooked

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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609 taking a sufficient supply of extra films. What an idea! To start on such a trip and forget one's camera rolls. There were about thirty exposures left on my film and I was sure I should need two hundred and fifty. Indeed, long before I had reached the Havasupai village all the roll was exhausted, and no more pictures could be taken.

I was disgusted with my own want of forethought, and generally disgruntled, when lo! on sight of Spotty the idea occurred as if by inspiration: "Why not send Spotty for it?" No sooner suggested mentally than I broached the subject. The round trip was a good fifty-five to sixty miles, and much of the road up Havasu Canyon, and I must have the roll within twenty-four hours. Spotty's eye was on the main chance, and he at once expressed his willingness to go provided there was "enough in it." "How much you give me?" he inquired. I considered for a while, and then with a Pecksniffian air of benignant charity offered him "two dollar!" "Al lite, I go! Maybe so I go quick you catch 'em two dollars and a half?" he asked. I studied over it awhile before committing myself, and then queried "When you start, Spotty?" Looking up towards hue-a-pa-a (the man image) on the upper rim of the near canyon wall, he pointed. "I go when you see 'em *ha-ma-si-gu-va'-te* (the evening star)."

"When you come back?"

"I come back next day all same time you see 'em *ha-la'-ha* (the moon). Maybe so I come back sooner you see 'em, you give me two dollar half?"

A twenty-four hours' ride on horseback — nearly sixty miles — through a solitary country where his only company would be coyotes, mountain lions, and other

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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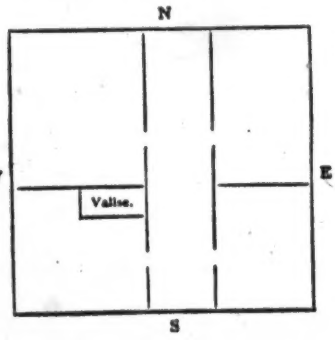
wild animals, and a large portion of it ridden in the dark night, for two dollars, with a bonus of fifty cents if the trip was made within twenty-four hours, — it was not extravagant pay, so I cheerfully acceded to his request for the bonus. But now came the difficulty of fully explaining to Spotty what I wanted, and where he could find it. The tent at Bass Camp was divided into five compartments, — two small rooms with canvas walls on either side of a long room which ran through the centre of the tent, its entire width. Making a plan of the tent on the ground, so, and giving him the compass points, I showed that my "all same white man's basket made of leather," viz., my valise, was in the northeast corner of the southwest room. The film was in the valise, but I also needed my ruby lamp, so I deemed it best for him to bring valise and lamp, which latter was separate. Off he went cheerfully and merrily, and two hours before the moon rose he was back at the camp with valise and lamp safe and secure. He received his bonus and we were both happy.



Like all other Indians, they used to have an abnormal dread of the camera.

One of my Havasupai friends, U-math-ka, thus stated his reasons for refusing to be photographed. With graphic gesture of horror and dread he said: "If you make my picture I die pretty soon. I look at the Sun. He get heap hot. I no breathe. I lie down. I die!"

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

Some of the skins are dressed with the hair on and are used for clothing, as sleeping mats, or are sold to the travellers at the trains or traded at the stores on the railway. But many of the better skins are carefully tanned and dressed and converted into buckskins, as before stated.

This, indeed, is one of their staple articles of trade, good buckskins fetching as high as five dollars and even ten dollars cash. I have several times seen a blanket for which I had offered eight dollars or ten dollars readily exchanged for a simple buckskin, and it is not an unusual occurrence to note a trade where a fair Navaho pony is given for a large and well-dressed skin.

The outside Indians that the Havasupais are familiar with are the friendly Wallapais, whom they call their cousins, the Hopis and the Navahoes. They have often had wars with the hated Mohaves, Apaches, and Paiutis. The Chemhuevis, Pimas, and Maricopas are their distant, little known, but accepted friends. Far-away Zuni is Si-u, and still farther Acoma is Ac-o-ca-va, and though intercourse with the people of these villages is rare, it has always been friendly.

For the grazing and watering of their horses and other stock each head of a family has a certain region allotted to him, over the boundaries of which he may not allow his stock to wander, except when removing them or by special permission. Manakacha, the head Kohot, takes the range formerly owned or controlled by Captain Navaho, the late Kohot, viz., the region of Black Tanks. Rock Jones (the chief medicine-man) has Topocobya Canyon and the plateau above as far as the other side of the Grand Canyon towards the Mystic Spring Trail, where begins the territory of Vesna, Captain Burro, and

231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Horse Tank), Havasupai use these water holes when him go hunt deer and antelope. Now white man him come and say, 'D— you, you get away. I've got no water for any blanked Indian.' We no catch 'em water, we no go hunt, and we no go hunt we no catch 'em deer and antelope and jack rabbit, and by-em-by our squaws and boys and gels go heap hungry. Maybe so you see 'em Great Father at Washington and you tell him, and ask him what Havasupai do."

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. 121

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). 131

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. 133

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

133 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Economy, Old and New

The Precontact Pattern

Before pressures of the white culture were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau. Men, singly or in small groups, went there on summer hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a nonagricultural way of life." Whiting points out that even today, when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. He states further (p. 53) that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. This view evokes the question of how the neighboring Walapai survived in a similar environment with virtually no farming.

Whiting's thesis is in contradition to Spier's that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier 1928, 101). Wild food plants were primarily a winter supplement to field products. Spier notes further (p. 108) that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, Pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Cataract Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

When adverse conditions brought Havasupai subsistence to a dangerously low level, as occasionally happened, some families would go to live with friends or relatives among the Hopi and Walapai. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

Spier (1928, 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, and the harvest continued until September, when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semipermanent winter camps on the plateau.

When families were camped in Cataract Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the Esplanade. A number of springs there served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were inherited.

311 [231] were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer [131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

●648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls. [135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure [657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

525 177 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] [562] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 266-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 648 [562] Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 562 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

586 A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal ef-
562 fects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband
[177] without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, in the acculturation situation, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

562 Among the seminomadic and polygynous Navaho and also among the sedentary Hopi, women are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket weaving or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no prop-
[423] erty comparable to sheep, and their income from basketweaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

562 While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the Hopi under aboriginal conditions,
648 their closest neighbors were the Walapai and, in one or two periods, they
[439] also associated rather closely with the Paiute (Kroeber, 1935, and Ramon Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956). The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women, except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupied a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women, whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The ex-
[582] treme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with white women has done
[177] most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. Education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [114]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

175 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Hava-
648 supai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs.
[175 Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon,
[177 who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following
233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand
[428 and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev-
591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct
[591 unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot
[768 lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the
[433 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in
25 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

THE HAVASUPAI

fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 824

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a *shaman* does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful *shaman*, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

527 The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
535 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a
[782 prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
648] this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
[533] rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
[623] intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
[535] night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
[541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
648] horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953)1956
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hunting and gathering. As the whites moved into the upland area for cattle ranching, the territory of the Havasupai was gradually usurped. This movement of ranchers and farmers into the surrounding area may have forced the Apache and Yavapai to raid the Havasupai for food. On the other hand, their sporadic raiding may have been the continuation of an older pattern, on a less intensive scale. 175 [648]

Most of the articles of aboriginal manufacture were still being produced, such as pottery, clay pipes, stone knives, bone tools, fire drills and hearths, bows and arrows, basketry, skin clothing, etc. Three main architectural forms lasted from the preceding period: the brush structure, the rock shelter, and the talus top granary. Throughout this period many of the old customs, such as cremation, remained unchanged. 172

The old pattern of Hopi trade continued throughout the period, but the items which the Havasupai received shifted in part to white man's goods such as crockery, metal pans, guns, plants and cloth, replacing Hopi pottery, fabric and seed. 175 [439]

The main factors which caused changes in this period were the gradual increase in trade goods from the Americans and the shifts in Havasupai culture to accommodate them. The new traits were usually received through indirect contact, probably through the Hopi and the Walapai. For this reason the sixth period of Havasupai history has been termed one of diffusion, in contrast to the remainder of Havasupai history, which is characterized by acculturation.

Period VII — Anglo-Acculturation

The present period of Havasupai culture is a time of acculturation. It began with the establishment of the Havasupai Reservation in 1880, followed closely by the growth in Anglo population in the whole upland area due in part to the construction of the railroad, which reached Flagstaff about 1882. During the 80's and 90's the first popular accounts of the Havasupai began to appear (Cushing, 1882; Shufeldt, 1891; James, 1899), but the adventurers who wrote these accounts were preceded, as is usually the case, by prospectors, who unfortunately left no written records of their impressions. 175 648

In the late 1890's the federal government sent a farmer into the canyon, and shortly thereafter a school teacher. This was the beginning of intensive acculturation. The farmer introduced new and better tools, and perhaps a few modern farming methods. The first teacher and those who followed began the conversion to other parts of white culture, especially the English language. The school was also influential in changing the old pattern of plateau winter gathering, by gradually forcing the children to attend school during the winter. The increasing use of the upland area by white cattlemen also lessened its value to the Indians. 175 177 648

Clothing, which had already begun to change, now rapidly switched to the white man's garb, Southwestern variety. Moccasins were probably

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
175 and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
464 either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
439 income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
432 trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
943 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Problems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and coöperation.

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

181 and winningly. It would not be an overstatement to call these people easy-going. Unpleasantness arises occasionally here as it does wherever human animals live together, but in Supai it seems of a less offensive nature. It is peaceful place where people are loathe to interfere in each other's affairs, yet ready to help when asked.

101 Leslie Spier once pointed out that culturally the Havasupais are closely associated with the tribes of the Great Basin. This is especially true of the material, economic and the social aspects of the culture. At the same time, these people are primarily agriculturalists like their eastern neighbors, the Pueblos. This places them in a distinctly intermediate cultural position.

221 In aboriginal times, when the tribe was often smaller than it is today,
[161] early spring found the Havasupais returning to Cataract Canyon from the plateau where they had spent the winter hunting and gathering piñon nuts and other wild seeds. The spring planting was done and the dirt covers on their houses repaired. It was at this time that much of the food, which had been dried and stored the year before, was eaten.

[361] During the summer everyone lived in the canyon, though trading
[439] expeditions were often sent out to neighboring tribes. When the corn
[527] and peaches ripened in September, the harvest was taken in and a dance
[648] held to which Walapais, Navajos, and Hopis were invited.

221 By the middle of October an exodus of families and groups of families
361 began and within a month the entire population moved up to the cedar thickets on the plateau where semi-permanent camps were established and once more the winter activities began. This annual cycle has changed considerably, however, in the past half-century.

177 The food-getting economy of today is no longer divided between the
221 spring and summer agriculture and the hunting and gathering of fall and
241 winter. There is a concentration by both men and women on agriculture and remunerative employment on the plateau. This makes it possible for families to depend on food purchased from the store as well as that which they grow. The hunting and gathering aspect of their economic life has been nearly given up, making the seasonal migrations unnecessary. The
[361] village is now the center of activity throughout the year.

such items as Lucky Strikes, Carnation Milk and Tide washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati.

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year.

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings.

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy.

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows
[312] or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware,
[648] upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

101 their immediate neighbors were, before their removal to the San Carlos agencies, the Apache Mojaves and Apache Yumas. Both, in common with the Hua-la-pai, their relatives by blood and tongue, were formerly their inveterate enemies. The Hua-la-pai now remain nominally neutral, although occasionally aggressive and thieving. Further to the north were the Utes; to the west, the Chemehuevas; to the southwest, the Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and Coco Maricopas; to the south, the White Mountain Apaches. These were the only tribes they knew, with the exception of their distant eastern neighbors, the Moquis and Zuñis, and the still more distant Navajos and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. Separated from the Ha-va-su-pai by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon, which turned him southward to new sufferings and discoveries. Certain it is that the Ha-va-su-pai have been vaguely spoken of by the name of the Coçoninos by the Spaniards, and their descendants the Mexicans.

175 It was not until the expeditions of Captain Sitgreaves and Lieutenant Ives were undertaken, some thirty years ago, that anything came to be definitely known of the Coçoninos. Sitgreaves tells of the theft of some mules from his party by a band of "Cosninos;" and a daring doctor of the Ives expedition, almost famished for want of water, records how he nearly lost his life in attempting to descend a ladder, on the western trail, which, breaking, precipitated him several feet upon a rock-shelf, whence he was drawn up by his companions with a rope improvised from the straps of their packs. He saw, far below, some Indians, he says, and smoke from their huts. But the first white man who tells us anything of their actual home lives only as the nameless char-

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175 acter of a frontier and Indian tradition; a strange adventurer he, who, possibly
● 648 in search of mineral treasure, was driving about the Colorado Plateau in a buckboard, the remains of which may yet be seen, it is said, at the head of the eastern trail. Lost and nearly exhausted, he sought water and refuge in the cañon, and came upon the Ha-va-su-paí village; he narrowly escaped with his life, to tell his tale only to incredulous frontiersmen, and then to pass out of knowledge.

Some six or seven years ago, a party of prospectors, three in number, headed by the adventuresome Mooney, penetrated the cañon, in search of mineral. *Mooney's survivors*, unable to reach his body, returned to Prescott to tell the story, not only of their comrade's death, but also of the mineral riches they had discovered, and of the strange people, whom they called "Su-pais," that they had seen. An article in the Arizona Miner, narrating these things, caused other visits of prospectors to this country. The Mormons attracted by their characteristic zeal for the conversion of Indians, made an expedition to the cañon, under the leadership of the celebrated Lee. The Indians received the little band of Saints suspiciously, and listened gravely to their preaching; then, rising, escorted them to the trail leading out of the cañon, and directed them on their way, but assured them that their visit might be repeated only under penalty of death.

648 The attention of General O. B. Wil-
657 cox, commander of the Department of Arizona, having been drawn to the Ha-va-su-paí by the reports of prospectors and others, he feared disturbance for their lands, as well as for the safety of citizens visiting them; and, with characteristic kindness, he secured for them in 1880 the declaration of a reservation. He organized a cavalry expedition to survey this reservation during the season of my visit. This, under command of

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the *Nation of the Willows*.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-paí men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are

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643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for
[651 his offices, and is usually as wealthy as
556] any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the
[551] most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however
643 severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved
692 by government to San Carlos, one of
●648 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supaí. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re-
[696 turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

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521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

● 648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four [439] days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. -Analyst]

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ward evening, it was like bedlam about the hut of my still neutral host. Finally a sub-chief advanced, and told me I must consent to a re-trade. I declined. He then begged me, and my Indians, alarmed, became importunate. Still I refused. Pu-lá-ka-kai pointed to a scar over his eyebrow, which he wore, he said, in remembrance of a former proceeding of the kind, and once more implored me, for the sake of his and Tsai-iu-tsaih-ti-wa's wives and children, to consent. Now and then a man would leave, presently returning with a gun carelessly strapped over his shoulder, and I saw that things were growing serious; but I remained obdurate, paying no apparent attention to my own arms, yet seeing that they were within easy reach. After a little while, I suddenly drew one of the two revolvers in my belt, sheathed it again, and, stepping over to the discontented, one-eyed scoundrel, grabbed him by the arms, and ejected him from the premises. Immense excitement prevailed, but I quietly went back with a smile to my writing. The head chief was summoned. He came, gravely, through the babbling crowd, eating a kind of cake of corn-meal and sunflower seeds. I rose, and greeted him pleasantly, spreading a blanket for him to sit on; and as he sat down, with a smile, he broke the cake in two, handing me the larger piece. I began to explain my writing to him, and, after conversing a little while, he said, "I am about to go. You observe that I am never to be found in crowds of those who wrangle and gossip. It makes a father sad to see the foolishness of his children. It fills me with thoughts to see my people make fools of themselves, to hear them make meaningless noise; therefore I stay away from them. When they have anything to *say* to me, or you wish to *see* me, my hut stands under the cottonwoods, down by the river, and my fields are in front of it." Without a word in reference to our

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648 trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he
609 went away as he had come, a picture of
643 imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

609 The coming stranger is heralded by
574 the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

576 On meeting a stranger or a long-ab-
574 sent friend, the Ha-va-su-paí grasps him
[609] by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-paí will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-paí-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-paí have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] ● 648 721 They are not so fair-dealing toward the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

648 177

ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

The worship of the Ha-va-su-paí consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

"Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

The Ha-va-su-paí believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

The /99 cont./
131 inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
342 life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[221] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
● 648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 262 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their

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stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable 312
amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields.
Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand,
banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet
deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are 241
dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may 312
then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of
earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess
from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the
water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches
would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been
constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans
to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent
footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a prim-
itive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been
irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn 241
planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, [413]
harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, [177]
along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the [655]
Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately,
most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have
little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men [463]
do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. [782]
The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of
this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that 197
spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified
as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are
particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other
than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these [101]
two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each
other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of 142
the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined
to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily
and WINNINGLY.

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

such items as *Lucky Strikes, Carnation Milk* and *Tide* washing soap are preferred. The new package cake mixes have been as much a boon to the women of Supai as they have to the women of Cincinnati.

In addition to running the store, the Tribal Council also appoints one of the tribal members to function as a "tourist manager." The Havasupais are well aware that their most valuable resource is the unmatched beauty of their canyon home and much effort has been put forth to develop a lively tourist trade. The tribe as a whole never seems to be able to get excited about the idea at the same time, however, and progress is slow. Tourist cabins have been under construction for the past three years and may perhaps be finished next year.

Since World War I and even before, each year has seen a number of white visitors come into the canyon. Until about the last decade, most of these outsiders were photographers, writers, prospectors, geologists, National Park officials and even a few anthropologists. They either camped near the falls below the village or stayed in one of the government buildings.

In more recent years, a few tourists include a trip to Supai in their visit to Grand Canyon. There is a travel agent in Los Angeles who has made it part of a packaged tour and Hiking Clubs and Boy Scout Troops visit it in droves.

Although visitors are free to walk in if they please, they are encouraged to use saddle and pack horses, for they must be rented from the tribe at reasonable but sizable fees. The women have put new energy into their basket-making and though theirs are not the finest to be found in the southwest, they are attractive enough to induce more than one tourist to buy.

With Supai receiving more attention in travel and vacation magazines and with the tourist cabins nearing completion, it is possible that the Havasupais' hope for more and more "paying guests" may be realized. When one visualizes this lovely spot as littered with beer bottles and gum wrappers, however, it is difficult to know whether to wish them good luck on their venture or not.

000 At last Mr. Ewing had the report, months late. But neither he nor the Commissioner of Indian Affairs would ever know what a good time I had had collecting information that never went into it.

657 'We were led to believe that such reports were never read by the officials in Washington. This one was read. It brought results. The Havasupai enjoyed the nearest thing to Christmas they had ever known when a large shipment of gardening tools arrived for them.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

talking and chattering broke out again, as if the sound of their own voices helped, in some measure, to relieve the painfulness of the solemnity of this not-very-welcome religious ceremonial. I was actually gazing upon the preparations in progress for the sacred peach dance. One by one the notables of the tribe were pointed out to me. There stood Kohot Navaho in proud solitariness, eyeing the preparations with a moodiness which became his serious and taciturn nature. Not a thing of importance passed his eye. His keen powers of observation took in the frivolity of certain young Havasupai belles as well as the actions of the Chemehuevi Indian who was to be director of the music of this religious festival. By his side stood his second son, who, in gentle and mellifluous speech was talking to those with whom he came in contact. Hotouta, the second chief, was by my side, acting as guide, chaperon, and instructor in the mysteries. Here was his daughter, a fine buxom lass of sixteen summers, with merry, laughing eyes, saucy lips, thick black hair, cut with the usual deep fringe on her forehead, and a voice that would have been the fortune of an American girl who desired a place on the operatic stage. Yonder stood Ha-a-pat-cha, a fine athletic fellow with muscles of steel and a chest like that of an ox, whose only costume was the gee-string. He marched to and fro as if consciously proud of his fine figure, came up at a call from Hotouta and seemed to be highly pleased with his introduction to us, although there was an air of condescension in his handshake which suggested that I was the honored p[illegible]n. Perhaps I was! *Quien sabe?*

[illegible]r by stood Mr. Bass and a special commissioner sent by the United States Indian Department to report

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

796 [65?] on the condition of the Havasupais, and seek to gain their consent to send their children to the Indian school at Fort Mohave.

I was too tired that night to stay long. So after an hour's watching I returned to Hotouta's hawa, stretched myself out on the sand — *outside* — in my blankets, and was soothed to sleep by the monotonous chant of the dancers.

796 123 Next day, in a burst of frolicsomeness I exclaimed to my friend, who was commonly called Tom by the whites: "Hotouta, why you no let me dance, all same Havasupai?"

It never entered my comprehension that Tom would regard the remark with serious attention, hence my astonishment can better be imagined than described when thoughtfully he turned to me and said:

"Maybe so! Me no know! Maybe so Havasupai no like 'em you dance. Maybe so they all same like 'em! *I see pretty soon.*"

"Pretty soon" he came back with a cheery "All right! Navaho say you dance. Havasupai like 'em you!"

Here was a fine predicament! I had never danced a step in my life. In the few ball-rooms I had visited I had been a "wall flower." But in this case I had provoked the invitation myself, so, after a brief mental struggle, as gracefully as possible I accepted the consequences of my own rash speech.

When the hour arrived I placed myself under the hands of Hotouta, Yunosi his squaw, and their daughter, in order that I might be properly and appropriately apparelled for the occasion. The first salutation somewhat daunted me. Tom said, "You catch 'em white

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

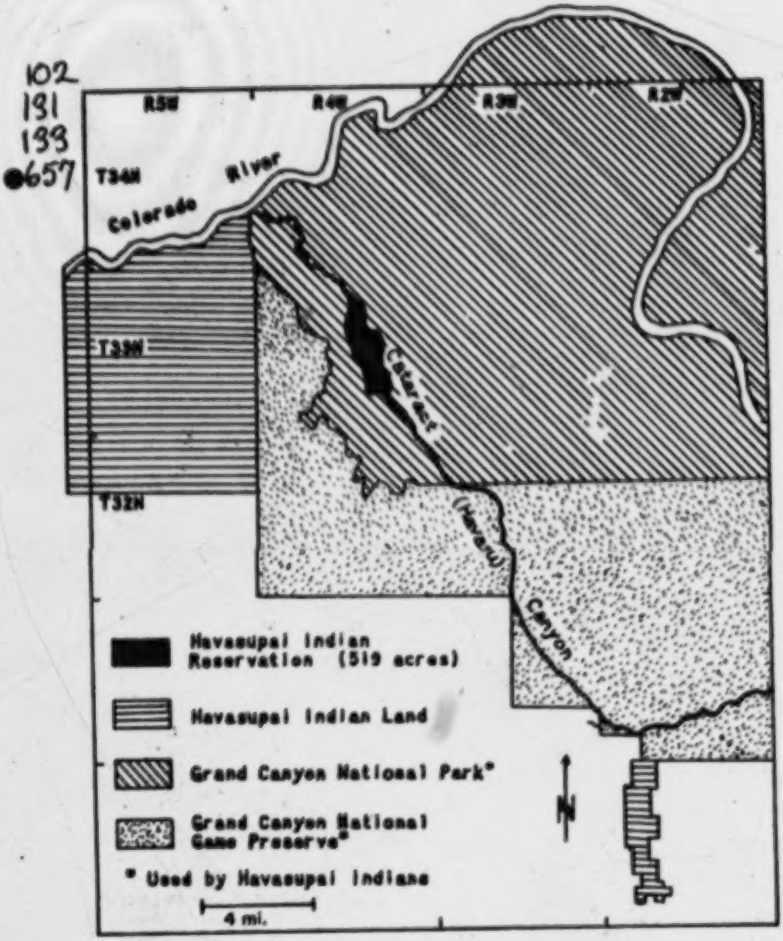

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

133 731 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[342] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 [648] About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 311 731 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft. fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 648 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1895 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1956, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix, Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

657 871 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence [762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1952, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 56). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier (1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the following century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls. Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school in Cataract Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the coldest winter months.)

Encroachments on their range reduced the quantity of wild plant foods and game, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as cirtical both by Havasupai and white men who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d., 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations. Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

About 1940 the Havasupai tribe received a grant of $10,000 under the Indian Rehabilitation program. This sum was invested in the Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program designed to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area. Havasupai need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a tribal grocery store, and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, and V. C. Collins, 1958, personal interviews).

Kelly (1953, 56) placed the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) as under $300. According to Kelly, of a total of 34 families, 19 received total support from welfare and one received partial support in the fiscal year of 1952. The 20 families receiving aid would include households with dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and aged or infirm persons. Financial assistance is given under the categories of Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance, Social Security, and General Assistance, the latter fund designated for disabled persons who do not qualify in other categories. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities. Kelly found 14 families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and 11 from outside wage work. It is significant that not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt were among those of the following Havasupai employed by the government or tribe; agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager. O. G. Barnard, formerly a resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of these positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $85; postmaster, $70; mail carrier, $300; government packer, average of

464 $50 to $70 for most of the year; school laborer, $35 to $50, and school house-
●657 keeper and cook, $120.

465 In 1958 the salaried positions open to Havasupai living on the reservation included postmaster, tribal tourist manager, policeman, and mail carrier. Salaries for three of the jobs ranged from $60 to $150 per month. The mail carrier was on an annual salary of $4100. Of 30 families, 24 received welfare assistance, the income from this source totaling about $2,500 per month. Victor Collins, the resident agent, estimated that 15 men packing for the store and the tourist enterprise averaged approximately $750 each annually. He placed the garden crop value at about $300 per family. Perhaps an index to the cash income for the tribe may be found in the amount spent for groceries at the tribal grocery store. It was reported that an average $2,000 grocery order is stocked at approximately six week intervals.

For some years prior to 1951, the Indian Service annually paid an estimated average of $800 to $1,000 for repair of ditches damaged by flood in Supai. Kelly (1953, 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in addition to wages.

231 About 20 Havasupai families each own a few head of cattle which bring
511 a small and sporadic cash income and furnish some meat for family consump-
434 tion. The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which the owners could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years their herd was further reduced to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. However, the presence of wild horses which deplete available range continues to pose a problem.

434 Some minor sources of income include sale to tourists of baskets
511 woven by a few of the Havasupai women, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring communities. Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more
[464] than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn roundups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by white ranchers.

464 Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may be-
166 come permanent residents of neighboring communities, but their ties with
[574] relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such
[925] individuals do not voluntarily relinquish claim to lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 60 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 759 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

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primitive appliances. The gentile system of descent or organization seems to be absent among the Havasupai, their society consanguineally being patriarchal. They are polygamists, the number of wives a man shall have being limited apparently only by his means for supporting them. Betrothals by purchase are common, and divorces are granted only on the ground of unfaithfulness. The Havasupai occupy a reservation of about 38,400 acres, set aside by Executive order in 1880 and 1882. Their population was 300 in 1869, 233 in 1902, 174 in 1905. (H. W. H.)

Agua Supais.—Hodge, Arizona, 169, 1877. **Ah-Supai.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. **Ăk'-ba-sā'-pai.**—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Walapai form). **Akwesá-pai.**—Gatschet in Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 127, 1885. **Ava-Supies.**—Bancroft, Ariz. and N. Mex., 547, 1889. **Avěsépai.**—Gatschet, op. cit., 123. **Casinos.**—Ind. Aff. Rep. 1869, 91, 1870. **Cassinos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Mar. 27, 1863. **Ce-a-ni-nis.**—Powell in Scribner's Mag., 213, Dec. 1875. **Cochinenas.**—Emory, Recon., 96, 1848 (trans. 'dirty fellows'). **Cochnichnos.**—Bartlett, Pers. Narr., II, 178, 1854. **Cejoninos.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882. **Cohoninos.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 80, 1884. **Cojnins.**—Sitgreaves, Expedition, 15, 1853 (name by which a Havěsupai called himself). **Cojonina.**—Scott in Donaldson, Moqui Pueblo Inds., 52, 1893. **Cominas.**—Vargas (1692), cited by Davis, Span. Conq. N. Mex., 370, 1869. **Cominos.**—Browne, Apache Country, 290, 1869 (mentioned as a branch of Gila Apache). **Coninas.**—Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, leg. 960, 1726. **Cosninos.**—Pumpelly, Across America and Asia, map, 1870. **Cosninas.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 472, 1900. **Cosninos.**—Whipple, Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt.1, 82, 1856. **Cuesninas.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 445, 1900 (erroneously said to be Maricopa name for Mohave). **Cuismer.**—Orozco y Berra, Geografia, 59, 1864 (misquoting Garcés). **Cuisnura.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 446, 1900. **Culisnina.**—Ibid., 473 (erroneously said to be applied to Mohave). **Culisnura.**—Ibid. (erroneously said to be applied to the Mohave). **Habasopia.**—Gibbs, MS. map of Colorado tribes, B. A. E., no. 282. **Ha-ha-vasu-pai.**—James, Inds. Painted Desert, 195, 199, 1903 ('people of the blue water'). **Havasopi.**—Thomas, MS., no. 602, B. A. E., 1868. **'Havasus Pai.**—Ewing in Great Divide, 203, Dec. 1892. **Ha-va-su-pai.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 374, Sept. 1882. **Hava-su-pay.**—Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Papers, IV, 368, 1892. **Havesu-pai.**—Ewing, op. cit. **'Havisus Pai.**—Ibid. **Jabesúa.**—Garcés (1776), Diary, 340, 1900. **Java Supais.**—Baxter in Harper's Mag., June 1882. **Javesus.**—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés). **Kechninakwe.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Piñon nut people'?). **Kechnino.**—Ibid., 259. **Ko'-hni'-na.**—Gilbert, Yuma vocab., B. A. E., 64, 1878 (Hopi name). **Kĭhnino.**—Voth, Traditions of the Hopi, 19, 1905 (Hopi name). **Kekninos.**—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XVIII, 97, 1886. **Kĕnino.**—Ibid., XV, 124, 1883 (Hopi name). **Koχ-nina'kwe.**—ten Kate, Synonomie, 7, 1884 (Zuñi name, borrowed from the Hopi). **Kŏχniname.**—Ibid. (Hopi name). **Kŏchaikwe.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. A., 300, 1885 (Zuñi name: 'Piñon nut people'?). **Kuhni kwe.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, Sept. 1882 (Zuñi name; *kwe*='people'). **Ku'h-nia.**—Escudero, Noticias de Chihuahua, 228, 1834 (misquoting Garcés, 1776). **Kŭχni-kwe.**—Gatschet in Zeitschr. f. Ethnol., XV, 124, 1883 (Zuñi name). **Nation of the Willows.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., L, 362, 541, 1882. **Nĕvĕsĕ-pai.**—Gatschet, op. cit., XV, 127, 1883 (a Walapai form). **People of the Willows.**—Powell in 3d Rep. B. A. E., xix, 1884. **Supais.**—Cushing in Atlantic Mo., 544, Oct. 1882 (after "Arizona Miner"). **Supies.**—Hinton, Handbook to Arizona, 253, 1878. **Supis.**—Orozco y Berra, Geografia, 59, 396, 1864 (erroneously given as part of Parson Apache). **Suppai.**—Ind. Aff. Rep.,

175 acter of a frontier and Indian tradition;
648 a strange adventurer he, who, possibly in search of mineral treasure, was driving about the Colorado Plateau in a buckboard, the remains of which may yet be seen, it is said, at the head of the eastern trail. Lost and nearly exhausted, he sought water and refuge in the cañon, and came upon the Ha-va-supaí village; he narrowly escaped with his life, to tell his tale only to incredulous frontiersmen, and then to pass out of knowledge.

Some six or seven years ago, a party of prospectors, three in number, headed by the adventuresome Mooney, penetrated the cañon, in search of mineral. Mooney's survivors, unable to reach his body, returned to Prescott to tell the story, not only of their comrade's death, but also of the mineral riches they had discovered, and of the strange people, whom they called "Su-pais," that they had seen. An article in the Arizona Miner, narrating these things, caused other visits of prospectors to this country. The Mormons attracted by their characteristic zeal for the conversion of Indians, made an expedition to the cañon, under the leadership of the celebrated Lee. The Indians received the little band of Saints suspiciously, and listened gravely to their preaching; then, rising, escorted them to the trail leading out of the cañon, and directed them on their way, but assured them that their visit might be repeated only under penalty of death.

648 The attention of General O. B. Wil-
●657 cox, commander of the Department of Arizona, having been drawn to the Ha-va-su-paí by the reports of prospectors and others, he feared disturbance for their lands, as well as for the safety of citizens visiting them; and, with characteristic kindness, he secured for them in 1880 the declaration of a reservation. He organized a cavalry expedition to survey this reservation during the season of my visit. This, under command of

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
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Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the Nation of the Willows.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-paí men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for
[651 his offices, and is usually as wealthy as
556] any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is
[551] nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however
643 severe, for the good of his own people.
692 When the Apache Mojaves were moved
648 by government to San Carlos, one of them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supai. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re-
[696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
● 657 hót that their mission was to determine
[P. 552 A]

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and jugglery are practiced by them, and as the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save personal abuse, unless the doctor be accused of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

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2:11ff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Day the Mail Did Not Go

000 At four o'clock one morning I was awakened by a loud pounding on my bedroom door. Miss Goenawein was calling excitedly, "Miss Gregg! Miss Gregg! Come here—hurry!"

I sprang out of bed, shoved my feet into slippers, pulled on a robe and ran to her room. There in the open doorway stood Spoonhead, the mail carrier, the mail pouch clutched in his hand. His long, queer head looked more than ever like the bowl of a spoon as I stared at him, wondering what mischief he had cooked up to get me out of bed at this hour.

484 His pony stood in the yard, bridle rein dangling. The saddle
674 was decorated like a Christmas tree with Spoonhead's numerous bundles: food for himself and his horse, extra clothing for the cold nights on the mesa, and those mysterious knickknacks he took on such trips. I did not notice the absence of the large, red Navaho blanket he always carried neatly rolled and strapped to the back of his saddle, until he began gesticulating wildly and shouted, "My blanket! He steal 'em. He go there." He pointed to the base of the canyon wall.

674 There I saw a short, heavy-set Indian with a blanket thrown
578 across his shoulders, crouched low, running stealthily from bush to bush, seeking cover for escape. In the dim light we caught only fleeting glimpses of the man. I could not understand why Spoonhead did not give chase and try to retrieve his property.

8:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

"Go after him and get your blanket!" I exclaimed, almost as excited as Spoonhead was.

He did not move. Instead he was watching me brightly, sure that the Hico would settle the difficulty; why else was she here? When he realized that I had no intention of chasing the thief, his elongated face grew inches longer.

"Tell me that man's name," I said. "You know who he is."

"Plenty dark. No can see," was his naïve reply.

Later, I learned his reason for evasion. If he betrayed the thief, he would betray himself. Spoonhead wanted his blanket but with no questions asked. He had no intention of catching the thief, and when he made up his mind that I had none, he said, "No take mail. No go. Got no blanket. Plenty cold up there." He dropped the mail pouch to the floor.

"Get on your horse. The mail must go," I told him. "I'll get you a blanket."

At that moment the thief dashed from behind a boulder to a mesquite bush, and I recognized him.

"That's Walapai Bill!" I exclaimed. "You knew all the time it was he. Find Vesnor and tell him to meet me at Walapai Bill's camp. You go there with him."

In the excitement I too was forgetting the sanctity of the United States mail and the tradition that come hell or high water nothing must interfere with its transportation.

The morning still held that drabness that precedes the dawn, and the usual thick fog hung just above the ground, so I went to my room to put on warm clothing.

Like a damp thread the narrow trail wound through dense underbrush so high that it met overhead, with every leaf and twig dripping water. Along the path I caught glimpses of watching eyes that moved through the brush as I moved, but drew back and vanished when I looked directly at them. The village was astir and palpitating with the news that an old feud had flared up anew. Like curious, impetuous children the Indians peeped from bushes and doorways, unwilling to miss an instant's excitement that could

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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674 578 be caught and later exaggerated to entertain relatives and friends.

Walapai Bill's house was a low mound of earth with a door in one end. He was in the yard chopping brush in short lengths for his cooking fire.

"I want Spoonhead's blanket," I told him shortly. My patience was not improved by the fact that I was cold and soaking wet.

"Didn't see blanket," he said, his graying head bent over the wood. "You look my house, you no see blanket."

I pushed open the rickety board door that hung on leather hinges and entered. The dirt floor was worn to a saucerlike depression, the sides sloping to the flat circle in the center. A search did not reveal the blanket, which was too large and too vivid in color to be concealed easily. His wife also had disappeared. I went outside as Vesnor and Spoonhead rode up on their ponies.

With his usual astuteness, Vesnor knew exactly where to find the blanket. He pursed his lips and pointed to the canyon wall. "Over there, I think," he said. "Maybe wife hide 'em in storehouse."

"Bring the woman here," I told him, "and make her bring the blanket."

He sprang through the brush, climbed the talus, and followed a trail on a shelf of rock until trees and shrubs hid him from view. The Indians crowded in, forming a half-circle about the hut, eager to see the culprit brought in.

Vesnor returned, his hard right hand firmly grasping the woman's wrist. She followed, pulling back angrily with each step, the heavy blanket across her shoulder. Her lord and master had ordered her to hide his loot in their granary and she had had no choice but to obey.

I sent the Indians home except those actually involved in the theft. I told the women to give their children food and get them ready for school, then I investigated the affair.

674 578 695 Walapai Bill's cockiness melted rapidly when he was told that he could be sent to jail for theft, and that his interfering with the transportation of the United States mail was no light matter. His

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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fat shoulders slumped and his bold daring changed to indecision. He prized above all else his freedom to go where and when he pleased, so built up his defense.

"Long time ago, I go on mesa. I hunt seeds, nuts; make good food. I hunt rabbits, deer. Gone long time, maybe so many"—he held up four fingers—"moons. Come home, door all break. Somebody go in house, take saddle blanket. Little one. I think Spoonhead steal 'em. That why I steal Spoonhead blanket. He steal me, I steal him. That way Indians do. Make play like little game; little mad, too."

Spoonhead angrily met the accusation, for not all of the truth had been told, and the blame had been shifted to him. "Long time, Walapai Bill, me, gamble. He lose. One dollar. He no pay. I take blanket. Little one. Worth maybe one dollar," he shouted.

Walapai Bill sheepishly admitted the truth of Spoonhead's statement. Each of them was entirely willing to return the other's blanket for they now realized the gravity of the situation. Spoonhead went to his camp and returned with the saddle blanket which he exchanged for his big Navaho. It remained only for Walapai Bill to pay his debt of honor to wipe out the long-standing feud. Unless this were paid, the good-natured pilfering would start all over again. I suggested that he take care of it. I was not sure that he had the money; if he had, where he kept it was a mystery.

He ducked through his doorway, very reluctantly lifted a rug from the center of the floor, dropped to his knees and began digging in the dirt with both hands. He clawed out the hard-packed soil, tossing the dirt back as a dog throws it when digging a burrow. I watched his queer antics in bewilderment, amused at the concentration with which he worked. Then his pudgy, brown fingers scratched metal and he drew from the hole a rusty baking powder can, with the word "Royal" still legible on its paper cover. He twisted and turned the lid until it came free; then, fumbling around inside, he took a silver dollar from the coins in the can. He handed the dollar to me, and the woebegone look on his face told how hard was the parting. I gave the money to Spoonhead,

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâ-kâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-paí have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy
● 674 the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the
[855 861] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 721 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them.
648 177 "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realize how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilization.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shaministic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tobolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devastating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 [115] The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

Panamida's father, Wasákwívámă was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwívámă big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwívámă died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwívámă's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tcyadjává (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 624 648 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then. Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her; she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwíðà canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Súdjā, súdjā,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwívámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] *Vur su'ldjipa*, a man's elder brother's son.

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Yavapai, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 74 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 29; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148, Starr, (a), 43; Lipps, 45; Curtis, I, 125-127; Mooney, (r), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Gifford, (a), 173, 186; Rust, 11.

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

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More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-paí go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save personal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 683 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

[P. 552.8]

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most
752 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

Labor is not regularly divided, except
460 between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
461 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quan-
221 tities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white, and very yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[P 553A]

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *súldjĭgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djĭkávigd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives 428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is [587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe0gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe0gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Teikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Teikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of 684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 684]

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*pik'iglθdatdɨj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In such marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's parents. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: *many Havasupai were camped up there. We* [illegible] *my father,*

[1](a), 861.
[2]Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1893 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled, he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a [515] covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [684] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Havasupai

595 157 or four summers, evidently knew how to hold her own, for she once or twice refused to obey wife number one, though she readily obeyed the same request when given by Navaho personally. This woman is now married to my old host, Waluthama.

582 684 Marriage with a white man is unknown among the Havasupais, and unlawful cohabitation with one is punishable by death.

582 The question of marrying is becoming a more serious one with the Havasupais each year. While occasionally a man will marry a Wallapai squaw, there is a strong sentiment against marriage outside of the tribe. Yet the number of the tribe is so small, and intermarriage has so long been carried on between them, that it is no uncommon thing for a young man or woman to be debarred from choice in marriage. At the present time Goō-fwho's son can marry but one girl in the whole tribe without violating their own laws of consanguinity, about which no people are more particular.

622 156 The present Head Chief — Kohot — of the tribe is Man-a-ka-cha, a heavily built man, who is popular with the younger element. But he suffers much in comparison with the former Kohot, Navaho, who died in 1898.*

[142] Kohot Navaho's was a strong face, marked and furrowed with bearing the cares of his little nation. A firm chin, powerful nose, gentle mouth, courageous forehead, eyes which were once fiery as well as piercing, but of late years had little of their primitive fire, — these gave a key to his character, in which firmness, courage, bravery, and gentle tenderness were commingled. His whole demeanor was of dignity and pride. No Euro-

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

182 834 836 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 183 178 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand, that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 864 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 684 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the [626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 964 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 834 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 13 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 18, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 840

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 18 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Pawnee (Hopkins, 71 7th).
[2] Kroeber, (1), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 149, Starr, (a), 43; Lowie, 43; Curtis, I, 125-127; Mooney, (c), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 122; II, 33, 98; Gifford, (a), 173, 180; Reed, 11.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

They are petty thieves, but years of experience have taught me that they could not be persuaded to engage in larceny on a grander scale. One of my first experiences in this line was to have some little thing taken from my camp many years ago (I forget now what it was). Immediately I sent for Hotouta, and told him the article must be returned. In a few hours the boy thief (now a hang-dog looking buck) came and brought back the article. 157 181 685

On my last visit, coffee and candy were taken from my sacks at Wa-lu-tha-ma's hawa, and three necklaces which I had taken as presents for some of the children. I spoke angrily to my host of his negligence to protect my goods when they were in his care, and, as for the necklaces, said if they were not returned by morning I should complain to the agent, and have the thief discovered and punished. Long before sunrise in the morning the necklaces were returned.

There is a good deal of craft about some of them. For a long time Captain Jim and a few others had wished to have a road or trail made around Hue-gli-i-wa that would make it less dangerous, and add much to the comfort of the people, who lived both above and below this spot, when they wished to visit each other. For years nothing was done. But when, this year, he took the matter up again, he did it in a round-about way that won success. He urged that an invitation be sent to the leading horsemen of the Wallapais to bring their best horses and come and run races with them. The Wallapais accepted the invitation. Now was Captain Jim's opportunity for the display of his finesse. He casually suggested to some of the most ardent racers that the way to beat the Wallapais was to make a race-track 157 181 541 574 499

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lanoman, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

He stooped and carefully examined the earth, "Maybe woman's," he volunteered. 58 69

"Yes, you said in the beginning that women had destroyed your corn. You will have to tell me their names."

He frowned deeply as he viewed the broken stalks, but finally admitted, "I think two womans: Billy squaw; Prince squaw."

"I'll have Vesnor warn them not to bother your corn," I assured him. "I'll also investigate this myself. They must have a reason for destroying your crop."

I took my departure, and Little Jim joined his family, his wife E-e and two small sons. They formed a circle about the food for the evening meal—burned squash, cold and unpalatable. E-e broke off hunks of the sodden stuff and handed them to the children who devoured them hungrily while she and Little Jim shared the unappetizing fare. E-e was an indifferent housekeeper and one of the poorest cooks in the village, but she was a good-natured wife and her cheerful companionship pleased Little Jim.

Vesnor was waiting for me at the office as usual, so I sent him to instruct Prince and Billy that their wives destroy no more gardens. I also told him to bring the two women to my office on Monday evening for a hearing.

School had not yet convened Monday morning when Billy appeared at the building, carrying in his hand seven stalks of newly cut corn. He held them out for me to see.

"That my corn," he said angrily. "E-e cut with knife."

I examined the seven stalks. They were cleanly cut. "What has happened in the village that causes the women to destroy one another's gardens?" I asked Billy.

"No un'erstan'," he said, still angry.

"You know that your wife walked on Little Jim's corn. He has a family and needs all the food he can raise. Did you tell her to leave his garden alone?"

"Vesnor say. She hear." Billy looked chagrined. It was a different story when blame fell on his own household.

"Did Vesnor tell your wife to come to my office this evening?

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

578 We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am
691 going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

800 I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

578 Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were
691 waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the
695 door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

203 At that moment a woman, her *sutam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutaw* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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to make go hungry. I walk thirty stalks his corn. I plenty mad." She gave E-e a glance loaded with malice and hesitantly took her seat.

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We discussed their crimes with great seriousness. They were quick to agree that the destruction of food must stop, and they expected to be penalized, but I hadn't the heart to levy against their pitiful possessions. So I asked them, individually, if they would drop the feud and never revive it, if allowed to go unpunished.

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The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved by government to San Carlos, one of them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supaí. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but return to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

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We are going to put a stop to this destruction of food, and I am going to learn the reason back of it."

"He say. She hear."

"I'll have E-e brought up too," I told him. "We'll find out why she got into this feud."

Billy turned and walked slowly home, carrying the wilted corn in his hand.

I was so eager to get at the trial and learn why these complacent, childish women were determinedly destroying one another's food, that I forgot this was a school day until the bushes parted. The little folks came through at a comfortable walk and entered the classroom. Vesnor had learned to restrain his impatience, but experience had convinced me by now that if he and his pony were absent, the children would spend the day playing in the creek.

Vesnor, Little Jim, Billy, Prince and the three women were waiting at my office when school was dismissed. I unlocked the door, and they filed in, the women abashed by the formality and frightened by Vesnor's disapproving mien. They had been accustomed to indulging their love of trickery until the time came for physical combat; the victory then went to the one who could scratch and pull hair faster than her antagonist. A hearing in the superintendent's office was something new and quite disturbing.

Since Little Jim was one of the plaintiffs, he was the first to testify. He stated his case briefly: "I go work corn. Little light. Sun no come up. I see Billy squaw, Prince squaw in corn. Make walk on stalk, break down. I see run in bushes. Run to camp." Little Jim sat down, his troubled face creased by an angry frown.

At that moment a woman, her *sutam* floating behind her, breezed through the door and eased her plump body into a chair. She was Vesnor's wife, a giggling woman, much younger than he, whose ears were attuned to gossip. She had come to gather news, first hand, so that she might gleefully dispense it later to an eager audience. This feud had been going on for some time, possibly years, and interest was keen, for word of the trial had swept through the village.

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Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sutaw* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

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be caught and later exaggerated to entertain relatives and friends.

Walapai Bill's house was a low mound of earth with a door in one end. He was in the yard chopping brush in short lengths for his cooking fire.

"I want Spoonhead's blanket," I told him shortly. My patience was not improved by the fact that I was cold and soaking wet.

"Didn't see blanket," he said, his graying head bent over the wood. "You look my house, you no see blanket."

I pushed open the rickety board door that hung on leather hinges and entered. The dirt floor was worn to a saucerlike depression, the sides sloping to the flat circle in the center. A search did not reveal the blanket, which was too large and too vivid in color to be concealed easily. His wife also had disappeared. I went outside as Vesnor and Spoonhead rode up on their ponies.

With his usual astuteness, Vesnor knew exactly where to find the blanket. He pursed his lips and pointed to the canyon wall. "Over there, I think," he said. "Maybe wife hide 'em in storehouse."

"Bring the woman here," I told him, "and make her bring the blanket."

He sprang through the brush, climbed the talus, and followed a trail on a shelf of rock until trees and shrubs hid him from view. The Indians crowded in, forming a half-circle about the hut, eager to see the culprit brought in.

Vesnor returned, his hard right hand firmly grasping the woman's wrist. She followed, pulling back angrily with each step, the heavy blanket across her shoulder. Her lord and master had ordered her to hide his loot in their granary and she had had no choice but to obey.

I sent the Indians home except those actually involved in the theft. I told the women to give their children food and get them ready for school, then I investigated the affair.

Walapai Bill's cockiness melted rapidly when he was told that he could be sent to jail for theft, and that his interfering with the transportation of the United States mail was no light matter. His

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fat shoulders slumped and his bold daring changed to indecision. He prized above all else his freedom to go where and when he pleased, so built up his defense.

"Long time ago, I go on mesa. I hunt seeds, nuts; make good food. I hunt rabbits, deer. Gone long time, maybe so many"—he held up four fingers—"moons. Come home, door all break. Somebody go in house, take saddle blanket. Little one. I think Spoonhead steal 'em. That why I steal Spoonhead blanket. He steal me, I steal him. That way Indians do. Make play like little game; little mad, too."

Spoonhead angrily met the accusation, for not all of the truth had been told, and the blame had been shifted to him. "Long time, Walapai Bill, me, gamble. He lose. One dollar. He no pay. I take blanket. Little one. Worth maybe one dollar," he shouted.

Walapai Bill sheepishly admitted the truth of Spoonhead's statement. Each of them was entirely willing to return the other's blanket for they now realized the gravity of the situation. Spoonhead went to his camp and returned with the saddle blanket which he exchanged for his big Navaho. It remained only for Walapai Bill to pay his debt of honor to wipe out the long-standing feud. Unless this were paid, the good-natured pilfering would start all over again. I suggested that he take care of it. I was not sure that he had the money; if he had, where he kept it was a mystery.

He ducked through his doorway, very reluctantly lifted a rug from the center of the floor, dropped to his knees and began digging in the dirt with both hands. He clawed out the hard-packed soil, tossing the dirt back as a dog throws it when digging a burrow. I watched his queer antics in bewilderment, amused at the concentration with which he worked. Then his pudgy, brown fingers scratched metal and he drew from the hole a rusty baking powder can, with the word "Royal" still legible on its paper cover. He twisted and turned the lid until it came free; then, fumbling around inside, he took a silver dollar from the coins in the can. He handed the dollar to me, and the woebegone look on his face told how hard was the parting. I gave the money to Spoonhead,

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who stuck it in the pocket of his jeans, grunted loudly, mounted his horse and rode off. Now that he had his blanket, he would ride up the trail tomorrow and across the mesa to Seligman, the mail pouch tied to his saddle.

We settled our troubles as they came to us, so the Postmaster General never knew that a game of chance, played several years before, had that day delayed the delivery of the United States mail.

Walapai Bill took the matter seriously when he realized that his crime could have landed him behind bars, and was grateful for the settlement. He offered his hand in friendship, grinned broadly and said, "You ride my horse. I think good you ride him."

The big bay was in a brush corral near the house. His long bony head and long legs reminded me of that dash across the race track on our way to the Grand Canyon. I declined as graciously as possible, for the morning had taken on a new beauty and I wanted to walk home. The fog, that rose nightly from the stream, drifted upward between the red walls, trailing long streamers. The white clouds it formed sailed majestically eastward across the wide strip of blue sky above the village. Rills of sparkling water traced patterns from the stream to the thirsty gardens. The people were tilling the soil, irrigating their crops or eating their early meal.

Kate sat by her outdoor fire, eating toasted sunflower seed from a shallow basket. She grinned at me and I squatted by her fire; its warmth on my cold, wet clothing was something to appreciate. She did not permit my presence to interfere with her breakfast, but scooped up a handful of the crisp seeds, poured them into the right corner of her mouth, moved her jaws for a few seconds, then let an uninterrupted stream of hulls drop from the left corner. Repeatedly she scooped up more seeds, poured them into her mouth without disturbing the outward flow of hulls. It was as mechanical as a gristmill.

"How do you do it, Kate?" I asked, laughing.

She thrust out her tongue. *"It,"* she said, moving her tongue across her mouth from right to left. "You try," she invited, pushing the tray toward me.

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

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832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of
574 cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a
[439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop-
[697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared,
[576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *Adnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

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624 [183] They are told not to be lazy, to care properly for themselves and their families, their farms, and their property.

If a man refused to obey their advice, refusing to work, they would 624 repeat their admonitions: "Do not be lazy, do not cause trouble. If 626 you do not work or help others, you may get into trouble or you may starve and nobody will help you then. Somebody might even kill or whip you [which is purely a threat]. If you work and raise plenty to eat, people will come to eat with you, so you and they will have a good time; but if you are lazy, everybody will treat you accordingly. When you marry your wife and children may starve to death. Do not be lazy!" In an obstinate case, they paid no more attention to the delinquent, but let him go his way. He would go about from camp to camp, receiving a little food in return for such small services as collecting wood.

Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate 624 occasions (*akwiguuig*, to stand up to talk), such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges. The [156] advice of the big chiefs carries more weight than that of the others [554] partly by reason of their position, but largely because they were stronger characters. No one chief was either war or dance leader. In battle any [701] chief temporarily assumed a directive capacity; the warriors would give more attention to a big chief.

It is not clear that there is any other function beside giving advice. After the flood in 1918 washed the lower irrigating system completely away, Manakadja went about setting stakes to re-locate the ditch. Possibly this is his function, but this ditch supplied his fields as well as those of his neighbors. During the dances all of the chiefs took some leading part in the feasting, racing, etc., but it did not appear they had any peculiar functions. It is quite clear that chiefs have neither power nor prerogatives; they are simply leaders.

Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess 624 in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom dis- 554 played in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications 428 are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief. Sinyella's father failed to inherit his father's status as big chief, partly because he was such a man and partly because he was completely eclipsed by a rival big chief, Wasákwívámă. Captain Navajo instructed Manakadja and Captain Jim, his older brother's sons, in the ways of a chief; Manakadja in turn is instructing his own sons in the same informal way.

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HISTORICAL TALES

A Yavapai Raid[1]

539 A little way above Lee Canyon in Cataract Canyon were some Havasupai camps. Three Yavapai[2] men came down the main canyon. Just a little way from the camp were some horses. A boy was sent to look for them early one morning. He could not find them. "I saw tracks where someone has driven the horses up the canyon," he said. My paternal grandfather, Big Jim's father and another man[3] followed the tracks up the canyon. They thought those men would go out by the Moki trail, but they did not; the tracks led on up Cataract Canyon. They thought that the three men might go out by another trail far up the canyon. Perhaps the enemy did not know that trail, for they kept right on up the canyon. When they were far up, the Yavapai stopped a little while. They were famished; they were going to kill one of the horses and roast the flesh. They gathered wood in a big pile. The three Havasupai came up and saw them. When the Yavapai saw them coming, they were afraid and ran off and climbed up the cliff. The Havasupai reached the horses, where the Yavapai had tied them. They untied them and led them off a little way. Then the Yavapai on the cliff said, "We got your horses, but we did not kill any. They are all alive; now that you came and got them, it is all right again. Just go right home." My grandfather said, "You are no good; if you had come down to our houses, it would have been all right. But you did wrong; you stole all our horses. We are going to kill all three of you. You made us run afoot and we are very tired; now we have got you here. I will send one of my men on a good running horse down to the village, to tell more to come. Then we will kill you three." So he sent one on a fast horse.

He got down here at the village very quickly and told the people. Some of them had good horses which they got ready, with some buckskins for shields, and rode up there where the enemy were. The Havasupai big chief, my grandfather, said to the enemy, "You Yavapai are no good. You stole all our horses; you are pretty bad men. We will do just as you intended; we will fight you—but we will kill all of you." Then they

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[1]These historical tales were told by Hapaille. The first apparently dates from the first half of the last century.

[2]These raiding parties were probably throughout comprised of both Yavapai and Western Apache. They were described as Hualpai, meaning specifically Yavapai, but generically enemy. This was translated as Apache, which is used interchangeably with Apache-Mohave for the Yavapai when speaking English.

[3]The narrator's interest seems to lie throughout in stating precisely who took part. The dead are rarely called by name.

[4]The colloquy between enemies is quite characteristic. One would believe it, despite their seriousness, these affairs are not in a sense blustering games.

[701]

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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwhágwit [Hinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátafá [Colorado River] a little below Hudltovók,óva [pine precipice, Mohu Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

Sitliff Y-5 (ca. 1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 Were they carved there by Those of Old? A short trip might give the answer.

We scrambled up the talus on one of the steepest trails I had ever climbed, followed a ledge until we came to many openings in the face of the wall, each a tiny doorway. Stooping, we passed through one of the doorways, but could not stand erect under the low ceiling. The sandstone walls were bare. The floor beneath our feet gave a hollow sound for the caves were in tiers; a row of such cavities was immediately below the ones on this level. The ledge formed a path on which the occupants could pass from one cave to another.

We returned to the ledge and looked down on the peaceful scene so far below: the village, bathed in dazzling sunlight . . . men drying buckskin . . . women weaving baskets or gambling fiercely under their porch shelters . . . a wide pool, dark with the bodies of frolicking children. What need had these people for dome-shaped holes in their canyon wall, holes that bore no evidence of recent use? Yet across the canyon on a flat-topped bluff stood a [712] fort; through the portholes in its masonry, the canyon could be defended from wall to wall—with help from these ledges.

726 714 With the battlefield a panorama below us it was easy to visualize the battles that had been fought on the canyon floor, Gentle Annie and others of her generation unwilling participants. In preparation, the Havasupai armor-bearers hastily scrambled into their armor—buckskin robes falling from their necks almost to the feet protecting the body front and rear, a wad of buckskin in the left hand to protect the face, a roll of it about the neck, the right hand free to wield hatchet or club. The shield-bearers, carrying strong wooden sticks from which buckskin aprons depended, accompanied the armor-bearers in the forefront of the battle or, in retreat, covered the rear. The shield-bearers were of particular importance, for the enemies' arrows clung to their buckskin shields or fell harmlessly from them. Armed men, crouched in the protection of these shields, sent their salvos against the enemy at every opportunity, while the armor-bearers clubbed and beat the invaders.

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert region, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted soapweed leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took to the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance, as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

Cliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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712

HAVASUPAI FORTRESS AND HUE-GLI-I-WA, OR ROCK FIGURE.

[facing p.206]

3:James T-6 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
778 take place.
776 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the canyon from the Hue-gli-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

000 One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated [648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

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Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgînyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgamund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sûwdkôvd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to 726 the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gdgôgd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*gdwawid'g*, scalp; *gdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettis, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fig. 81. Distribution of Tunic, Rod, and Slat Armor in North America.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 411 Pima, Luiseño, Clear Lake Pomo, Trinity Wintun, Puget Sound Salish, and on southwestern Vancouver Island.[1]

171 213 It is well known that armor is used in a wide area of western North America from Bering Straits into the southern continent. The only variety we are concerned with here is a tunic formed of several thicknesses of heavy skin, commonly joined and stiffened by layers of glue and sand. Something of the sort is in use among Havasupai, Navaho, Western (?) Apache, Zuñi, Opata, Aztec, Comanche, Pawnee, Pavioteo, Maidu, Atsugewi, Achomawi, Hupa, Yurok, Wailaki, Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, Takelma, Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Chinook, Quinault, Twana, Chimakum, Klallam, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Nootka, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, Loucheux, Hare, Nass, Taku, Chilcat and other Tlingit, and undoubtedly others.[2] The Blackfoot have a tradition of its use. The Pima evidently do not use armor.[3] To the south quilted cotton armor was used by Mexicans, Toltecs, Mayas, Isthmians, and Peruvians, according to Hough. Slat and rod armor reach no farther south than the Maidu: north from this point these types are used by Achomawi, Atsugewi, Shasta, Klamath, Hupa, Takelma, Chinook, Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Chilcotin, Carrier, Babine, Sekanai, and Tlingit.[4]

171 411 So far as the information goes the curtain shield is used in the Southwest by the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai only. The Thompson use a large piece of stiff elkhide and the Lillooet roll marmot skins thickly around the left arm. The circular shield used in the Plains and Mexico extends into the Southwest among Comanche, Zuñi, Hopi, Navaho, Western Apache, and Pima. Kroeber adds Yuma, Mohave, and Diegueño to this list.[5] In the Basin-Plateau it is known to the Ute, Wind River and Northern Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Shuswap, and Thompson.[6]

171 278 411 The poisoning of arrows may have been more common than the collected data indicate; at any rate it is a widespread custom. One poison of a curious sort suggests that some cases at least are historically connected. This is made of a liver which a rattlesnake has been made to

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 75, 333; Pettie, 130; Bourke, (b), 89; Sparkman, 203; Powers, 215, 241; Kelly, 632; Monroe, 176.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 458; Hough, (b), 626, 631, 642, 645, 646, Pl. 16, 17; Russell, (c), 78; Winship, 845; Bandelier, (a), 70; Lewis, (i), 245; Dixon, (a), 205; (c), 213; Mason, O. T., (a), 230; Kroeber, (c), 299; Catechet. (b), 98; Lowie, (a), 192; Lewis and Clark, III, 21; Franchère, 253; Quinault information from Mr. Ronald L. Olson; Gibbs, 198; Spinden, 227; Kelly, 633; Teit, (c), 338, 785; (h), 224; (a), 285; Mooney, 254; Morice, (c), 217; (b), 140, 149; Krause, 209; Sapir, (a), 273; (b), 157, 244.

[3] Winslow, (a), 165; Russell, (d), 20.

[4] Hough, (b), 631, 640, Pl. 14; Farrand, (a), 667; Sapir, (a), 273.

[5] Kroeber, (c), 299.

[6] Lewis, (i), 242; Lewis and Clark, III, 19. I have not attempted to complete its distribution to the northwest.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

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Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

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Spliff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *tcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (e). Ed.

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Havasupai

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scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwidágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátaiá [Colorado River] a little below Hudítovŏk,óvá [pine precipice, Moho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Hava- 101
supai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the 114
Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been 101
longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs 648
with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes).

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Hava- 648
supai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two 721
tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai.

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were 648
somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding 439
years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 360) some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place.

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Inform- [582]
ants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent.

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through 622
inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor.

525 most, thus accommodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it
177 was the woman and not her husband who arranged the games, owned the cards, and received the profit.

Anyone, male or female, was at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she could attract interested persons. Apparently, there was little competition for this position. Players seemed to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who made it known that he wished to act as gambling host.

[625] By the summer of 1958, public card games had been abandoned under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, but there was a hint that now and then players assembled at some secluded spot or secretly played in a private home. The men, however, openly played their native hidden ball game, and apparently no attempt was made to stop them.

Dancing

[535] Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In
[562] former times they were excluded only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, 268-7) and which today is referred to as a rain dance.

Raiding

721 Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding
648 party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the
[562] "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Cataract Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went into a cave to sleep before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters, a man who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about 10 days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

721 One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone,
562 he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâ-kâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] 648 721 They are not so fair-dealing toward the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

● 721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
539

> "One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above: others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

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439 The rate paid by the Navaho is probably abnormally high as their demand for foodstuffs exceeded their ability as refugees to pay.

Trade was not solely in the hands of the Havasupai. The abundant harvest and the attendant dances in the canyon provided a strong incentive for visiting and trading, especially to the Navaho and Walapai. The Walapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi. Journeys to the Walapai for visits, dancing, and trading, were frequent. On the whole, trading was incidental to other pursuits, and, considering the relatively small amount that changed hands, was little more than an exchange of presents and the profits of gambling.

177 439 648 554 Trade visits, etc., provide an effective mechanism for culture exchange. But more particularly participation in intertribal relations and the acquisition of knowledge of the foreigner's ways reacts to a man's credit. It is clear that a man's prominence is enhanced in this way, and may even become the basis for recognition as a chief.

202 Columns of smoke are raised from time to time by traveling parties to attract attention or to signal friendly intentions. This is evidently customary among all the tribes of this region (see pp. 371, 379).

[439] 648 The following account indicates the type of casual visit for the purpose of trade. It is clear, however, that gain is not the chief interest.

484 722 When I [Sinyella] was four feet high the Yavapai liked to come to this place to fight; they killed so many every time. My relatives were afraid on this account and they wanted to go to stay at Oraibi where there were many men. So we went and there I played with the Hopi boys and learned the Hopi language.

224 484 648 This was the very first time I made a trip to Oraibi. We started from the village to go up by Tovŭk,ôvă [the dry bed of a waterfall, Lee Canyon] and camped in a little cave nearly at the plateau. There were a good many people with us. They said among themselves, "We would like to go out and hunt for mountain sheep. If we kill some we will eat them," and others agreed. In the morning all the men went hunting on the plateau to the west. When the sun was halfway down in the sky we heard someone holler from the hilltop in that direction. They shouted, "One man has fallen down the white cliff and has been killed." Then all the hunters came home and told us. "They found a flock of mountain sheep. There were several rams with them. One of the men shot a very big one with an arrow, and the other sheep, the big ones, ran off. The wounded ram jumped part way down the white cliff, and ran along a very narrow ledge. Two men jumped down from rock to rock and along the ledge, following him. The ram stopped at the abrupt end of the ledge. My father and Jess' grandfather followed the ledge. The ram turned toward the men and ran fast at them: he held his head down sideways. My father stood right against the wall; the other stood right on the edge. There was not room enough; it was very narrow there. The ram butted Jess' grandfather off the cliff to the bottom. The ram stood right there, until all the others came and killed it, and then it too fell down the cliff at the same 484 place. So we all came down the Tovŭk,ôvă trail and went around into the canyon 648 where we found the man at the bottom of the cliff. We carried the body away, dug a

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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484 point of the plateau to where our home was on the red bench. Then we gathered mescal and roasted it in a pit. That was pretty good for me; I ate plenty. I was a long way off and felt pretty bad, and when I got back, I was glad. When I was out of my country over at Oraibi, I thought all the time that I would like to be home, so I felt pretty glad when I got home.

[648] After I was home a little while that first Yavapai raid occurred.

War

721 Warfare among the Havasupai was chiefly defensive, for they numbered too few to carry on effective offensive operations. However, they made raids against their nearer enemies from time to time.

Their traditional enemies are the Yavapai and the associated western 648 groups of White Mountain and Tonto Apache. The tribal designation [196] for the first is in fact also the generic term for enemy, *Itcahud*. They were intermittently hostile to the Navaho, with whom they seem to have come but infrequently in contact until the Navaho were forced westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thereafter they were usually inclined to be friendly. Their relations with the Paiute were similar. These people were sometimes encountered along the lower Little Colorado, but more frequently they were met in hostile engagements in their own territory north of the Colorado. They were probably fought with no more than were the Navaho, but this seems largely to be due to their inaccessibility. The friends of the Havasupai were the Hopi and of course the Walapai, with whom they maintained steadfast amicable relations. Oraibi figures in the tales as a sort of neutralized trading station, with its inhabitants strongly biased in favor of the Havasupai, or at least so the latter thought. The concerns of the Walapai were always those of their eastern relatives, who joined them in raids on the Paiute and who vicariously shared their enmity for the Mohave. Other tribes were too far away for conflict.[1]

726 Raids into Cataract Canyon, which make up the largest part of 722 their hostile relations, were made by the Yavapai with their Apache associates and on rarer occasion by the Paiute. The raiders would suddenly appear in the village at dawn. This gave them the advantages of surprise and a long period of daylight in which to make good their escape. At the first alarm the women and children scattered, climbing up the cliffs to hide among the rocks on the red sandstone bench. Some men, at least, would fly with them, until an effective skirmish line could be formed to repel the invader and recover their booty, chiefly horses—

[1] I believe Mooney must be mistaken in identifying the Havasupai with one of the groups raided by the Kiowa. (c), 169.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

and scalps. It seems that raids were sporadic, and I gather, may have averaged not more than one a year. During these periods of insecurity, the natives were accustomed to live in the little caves and on the ledges along the cliffside in order to make their escape more easily. 726 722

The Navaho did not raid into the canyon, but they would sometimes drive off the Havasupai horses when the latter were trading in the Hopi villages, or they would descend on some returning, heavily-laden trading party, and kill or despoil them. 721 [439]

Offensive operations did not figure to any extent in Havasupai life, partly because of their numerical inferiority and partly because their material existence was better than that of any of their neighbors, with the exception of the Hopi. War activities do not appear to have offered absorbing interest as a general rule, although prowess in war was a decisive factor in bringing social distinction, i.e., chieftainship, to some. [511]

Weapons are bows and arrows, hatchets, and clubs. The hatchets may only have been iron tools acquired through the Hopi. The club is a single piece of heavy wood, with a round head 10 to 12 cm. in diameter, and devoid of a rawhide cover. This was used with a descending, smashing blow, not at all like the punching stroke of the Mohave with a club of a different shape. A sling is also used, although it was not seriously considered a weapon. Sinyella said, "The last time the Yavapai came I was a young lad. I made a sling and threw rocks at them. I do not know whether I hit any or not; I was high up near the top of the red cliff." 411 [439]

Arrows used in war are said always to have been poisoned. Poisoned arrows are kept in the quiver with the untreated variety. It did not harm the meat of a deer, for example, but this is at odds with the supposed effectiveness of the poison as recounted in the tale of a raid by whites. The poison (*paisdha*) was made of a black substance in the big scorpion, centipedes, red ants, *matgĭnyué* (a small black bug that bites), jimpson weed, and *qwdgămund* (a weed growing on the canyon bench). These are mashed, dried, and stored. Soapweed leaves are thrown into the fire to get hot, and wrung to expel the juice. The little finger is wet with this glue, dipped in the powder, and a little is put on arrowhead and foreshaft. A mere scratch is sufficient to kill. 278 411

Armor took the form of a shirt or smock, fitting close around the neck and hanging nearly to the ground. It was composed of two thick buckskins before and two behind; the thicknesses sewed, but not glued, together. A small buckskin was twisted into a thick loose rope and worn around the neck like a muffler. A big buckskin was rolled into a bundle 713

1: Spier
●726

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[Some materials on warfare with particular neighboring tribes will be found in category 539, pp. 356-80.]

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713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sūedkŏvd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

726 In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gdgŏgd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727 captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

Scalps (*gdwawid'g*, scalp; *gdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being 727 made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 550.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pattie, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 551.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwídágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátafá [Colorado River] a little below Hudltovǒkyóvá [pine precipice, Moho Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

726 of their number back to tell the main party, who then moved forward. When they found this camp, one brought the news back and the party stopped. They waited for the sun to set, and when it was very dark, they moved close to the camp. They sent two or three young men to crawl right into the camp. They hid under a wood pile, where they spied on what the Paiute were doing.

They were all dancing. They had a pole as tall as a man set upright: this was a small tree with short branches. They had tied their bows and quivers together and hung them all on the branches and had the whole tied around with a rope; there was just one heap of weapons. They were dancing a little way from this. The boys returned and told the others. They said, "The Paiute are a little more numerous than we are. They are dancing; all their arrows are hung in one place apart from where they are dancing." The Walapai chief and the Havasupai chief both said, "All right. At dawn we will rush them. You strong young men should run fast and jump right into their midst and get those arrows. We others will break into the dance and catch and club the Paiute or shoot them." At daybreak, when they could see a little, all rushed into the camp, catching the enemy unawares, and clubbed and shot them. They killed a great many. Some of the Paiute young men, who were good runners, escaped and ran off to other places round about where there were many Paiute living, and told them.

Some of the Walapai and Havasupai said, "That is the way we like to do: kill a lot of them. But we think we had better go back right away." But the Havasupai and Walapai chiefs said, "No, we do not want to go back right away. We will stop here at this camp. You people cook; we are hungry. Then we will wait to see if there are any more. Some of the Paiute young men are good runners; perhaps they have told the others. We will wait here to see if they will come to fight. We do not want to go back at once." So they cooked, using the Paiute water baskets to carry water in. When they had finished cooking and were eating, a few Paiute came. Each party shot at the other. By and by more Paiute came, a few at a time, until they numbered a few more than the Walapai and Havasupai. Then the latter felt afraid. The two chiefs said, "We are afraid of the Paiute now; we had better turn back." So they traveled back, fighting as they went, just shooting. They did this all the way back to the rim of the Grand Canyon. Two of the Havasupai wore armor, double on the front, back, and on their arms, with small buckskins twisted up and muffled around the neck; and they held other skins twisted in their left hands to protect their faces. These two men walked in the rear of the party as a guard; arrows hung from their armor everywhere. They stopped right at the rim to fight a while. There was only a narrow trail leading down the cliff there; it was difficult to descend. The Paiute continued to gather until there were a great many. Then the Havasupai and Walapai dashed down the narrow place a few at a time until all were in it. There were cliffs on both sides of this defile through which they were descending on which the Paiute perched, rolling big rocks down on them and crushing a great many. Some of the Walapai went into a deep cave; others went on right down to the Colorado River. The two who had armor crossed. The good runners who got down to the river first, plunged right in, and swam across. Some of those who were wounded and weak were carried off by the stream and drowned. Nearly all the Walapai were killed. Those who had taken refuge in the cave were difficult to kill; so the Paiute dragged logs and green trees along the plateau and threw them down by the entrance,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Tepecano, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 7:1 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 30; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148, Starr, (a), 43; Lipps, 46; Curtis, I, 125–127; Mooney, (c), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 134; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Gifford, (a), 173, 188; Rsd. 11.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

171 story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the
537 Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

171
726 divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialisation was general in this area.

At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribu-
171 tion. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in
411 the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 116, 122.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 230, 318.
[3] Powers 334; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly Californian tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (a), 120, 202.
[7] Whipple, Fairbank, and Turner, 80; Barrows, 80; Hoffman, in Reid, 29; Trippel, 377; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 96; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 331.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 398.
[9] Bourke, (b), 89; Lewis, (l), 248.
[10] Spier, (e), 334.
[11] Means; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 602.

[Text continues on p 258]

2:IIIff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Over at the rim, we looked down into the canyon we had so recently left, trying to locate the farmer and his dog, but they were not within sight. We stood about, discussing the Indians' frantic escapes through the crevice, and the fact that now it was a short cut for men who had a few ponies grazing on this level. Then one of the girls, just to hear the racket it would make, pushed a small boulder over the edge. Others followed. As they clattered over the wall, striking projections and bouncing far out into the canyon, the farmer came into view, running for his life, his dog leaping at his heels. We were as frightened as he, for we still could hear the falling stones crashing their way down, and knew that if one struck him, the blow would be fatal. We returned, as fast as the slippery crevice would permit and descended the wobbly ladders to the canyon floor.

The farmer confronted us with blazing eyes. "Those stones you rolled down would have killed me and my dog if we hadn't run with all our might," he exploded.

We tried to explain and apologized, but realized we could never again persuade him to accompany us on an exploring trip.

At our cottage, old Gentle Annie in her accustomed place at the foot of the cottonwood, waited for me. She wore a strawberry-red dress, my dress. She had wanted clothes, but could no longer see well enough to make them. So each time I came within reach, she grabbed my skirt and begged, "Dress, you give 'em." I was obligated, in a way: hadn't she shared her mescal slab with me? So I had given her the brightest dress I owned. She had been effusive in her appreciation, put it on over her other dress and walked proudly home. As I watched her, aged and tired, making her slow way down the path, I thought of the young wife she had been, standing by her man's side, fiercely defending their possessions, their home and her own body from the grasping hands of the enemy. One of these battles was particularly vivid in her memory.

In their younger days, Annie and her man had lived for a time in a cave high up on the canyon wall. In the dark hours of a summer morning, they were awakened by the soft scuff of moccasined feet.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Dimly they saw the hurrying forms of the enemy slipping stealthily past the mouth of their cave toward the village. Escaping through a rear opening, the young couple were working their way down the wall, leaping crevices, scrambling down cliffs, hurrying to warn their tribesmen, when, with a triumphant yell, the invaders gave chase. Gentle Annie and her man outran their pursuers and reached the village already alarmed by the commotion and frantically arming for defense.

At nightfall, when the thieving marauders retreated laden with booty, fighting their way up the trail, many dead, both enemy and tribesmen, lay on the canyon floor. Houses had been emptied of their dried corn, pumpkin and venison. Warm blankets were gone. Corrals held no ponies. Children had been orphaned. Bitterness was in the hearts of the Havasupai at the loss of their tribesmen, and the prospect of the almost impossible task of again providing against the cold winter.

In trying to describe the bitter fight, in the few English words at her command, Gentle Annie's knotted hands clenched and her dark eyes flashed with the violence of her emotions in living again the cruelty and hardship. "We work, we make—they take," was the simple statement that ended her story. The strawberry-red dress was a small gift but it had brought momentary happiness to an old woman in whom the fire of youth had not completely died.

On this visit, Gentle Annie was not thinking of wars; she had business to transact. She carried a little basket containing five fresh figs; offering them to me, she said, "Figs, pive cent." I bought her figs, split them open and laid them on my window sill to dry. Within a few days they would be rich and sweet.

One day Miss Goenawein mentioned some small rooms or caves excavated in the sandstone wall beneath the gods, that held secrets of the tribe's exciting Days of the Long Ago. My old urge to explore flared. I wanted to learn what possible use the caves had been to these canyon dwellers. Were they granaries such as honeycombed the walls on either side of the village? Were their interiors brightened with pictographs recounting the tribe's turbulent past?

2:111ff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 Were they carved there by Those of Old? A short trip might give the answer.

We scrambled up the talus on one of the steepest trails I had ever climbed, followed a ledge until we came to many openings in the face of the wall, each a tiny doorway. Stooping, we passed through one of the doorways, but could not stand erect under the low ceiling. The sandstone walls were bare. The floor beneath our feet gave a hollow sound for the caves were in tiers; a row of such cavities was immediately below the ones on this level. The ledge formed a path on which the occupants could pass from one cave to another.

We returned to the ledge and looked down on the peaceful scene so far below: the village, bathed in dazzling sunlight . . . men drying buckskin . . . women weaving baskets or gambling fiercely under their porch shelters . . . a wide pool, dark with the bodies of frolicking children. What need had these people for dome-shaped holes in their canyon wall, holes that bore no evidence of recent use? Yet across the canyon on a flat-topped bluff stood a [712] fort; through the portholes in its masonry, the canyon could be defended from wall to wall—with help from these ledges.

●726, 714 With the battlefield a panorama below us it was easy to visualize the battles that had been fought on the canyon floor, Gentle Annie and others of her generation unwilling participants. In preparation, the Havasupai armor-bearers hastily scrambled into their armor—buckskin robes falling from their necks almost to the feet protecting the body front and rear, a wad of buckskin in the left hand to protect the face, a roll of it about the neck, the right hand free to wield hatchet or club. The shield-bearers, carrying strong wooden sticks from which buckskin aprons depended, accompanied the armor-bearers in the forefront of the battle or, in retreat, covered the rear. The shield-bearers were of particular importance, for the enemies' arrows clung to their buckskin shields or fell harmlessly from them. Armed men, crouched in the protection of these shields, sent their salvos against the enemy at every opportunity, while the armor-bearers clubbed and beat the invaders.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 · NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert region, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted soapweed leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took to the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance; as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

P R 266 727 R [783] they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

P 266 727 Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

R 756 727 789 Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

R 727 766 Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

P R 173 726 On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukâvi'k tatâpoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Cocopa
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

P R 173 726

sent travelling over the mountains, but killed never an enemy. The Yavapai had come down and killed some whites and their mules, taken the harness and burned the wagons. The Pima-Maricopa went to Fort McDowell, where they stayed a year looking for Yavapai. They came over to Sacate near the Maricopa villages where they heard Yavapai were stealing horses.

They pursued the Yavapai. There were three of them, armed one with a gun, another a bow, the third a sword. Some followed their tracks directly northward toward the mountains. Others, a large number including the boy Kutox, circled to get ahead of them.

The three Yavapai walked along side by side. When someone rushed at them, they turned to face him and the one with the gun made as though to shoot. Those following came up with them first, but no one dared go close. They continued following. Toward morning the three came to where Kutox's party was. Kutox started toward them to see if he could not beat one down. The man with the gun was facing those following, so he thought he would chance it. But as he drew near, the bowman turned on him; so he retreated. The one with the sword disappeared; perhaps crawled under a bush. The man with the gun walked backward, holding off his pursuers, so they kept trying for the bowman. Kutox tried again. Just as he got close, someone at a distance shot the Yavapai. He tried to rise, but Kutox dismounted and hit him on the head with a stone, killing him. (Because of this Kutox would have had to undergo purification when he returned, so he gave the credit to the one who had shot the Yavapai, "rather than starve", he said.[48]) This was at early dawn.

They knew two had escaped, so they scattered to search. Kutox felt very sleepy. He came close to a giant cactus, which he mistook for an enemy. He was afraid, so he dismounted and ran away. This has always been told as a joke on him.

PURIFICATION

R 783 727

The theme that physical contact with the enemy was defiling threads through all the proceedings that follow on the return of the war party. The enemy, his scalp, his women and children who were made captives were all extremely dangerous. They were "diseased"; they brought sickness to such as touched them; they had potentialities for harm of a magical order. Once struck down, the very sight of the enemy must be hurriedly avoided. Even the mountains of his land, spiritually his in a literal sense, must no longer be looked on. This was clearly not for fear of the dead as such, for they had no comparable strong concern for their own dead, but because the enemy had maleficent powers on his side. All persons and things that had had intimate contact with him must undergo a stringent rite of purification (mata-

R [753]

[48] Gifford recorded the same yielding of credit among the Cocopa. The one who took the credit had to undergo purification (Cocopa Ms).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Yuma; Maricopa
Mohave; Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

R 727

satisfied with the killing and scalping of a single enemy. They preferred, if possible, to scalp their victim alive: together they rushed the man selected, sat on him, and cut away the scalp. It was sometimes taken from the dead, but "they do not call that a brave deed." Immediately it was thrown into the air and allowed to fall to earth. (It was not kicked in Yuma fashion and the singing and dancing which Cocopa and Yuma indulge in at this point were absent.)

As soon as they were ready to return one of the younger lads was dispatched with the news, whereupon everyone gathered at the meeting house to await them. Some of the old people might join in expressing their happiness by such songs as Ivâ∂o' and Mountain Killdeer.

R [202]
R [533]

Only a man who had dreamed of it could scalp, hence the taking of a single scalp was sufficient to establish the fulfillment of his dream. His dreams were of winning battles against fearful animals. If he had not the requisite dream, no man, no matter how brave, would take a scalp. There was a saying that if he had not dreamed but forced himself to take a scalp, the dead enemy would grin, so that he would flee in fear. Scalps were exceptionally dangerous: they caused paralysis unless those that took them or handled them underwent the purification described below.

R 727 787
R [753]

The scalps taken were those with long fine hair: not all the slain were scalped. They took the whole skin of the upper half of the head cut away just below [*sic*] the eyes and above the ears. (The scalp was hie'∂au'g, "hair taken.") Sometimes the ears were taken separately, but not the whole head nor other parts of the body.

R 727

Dead foemen were eaten by the Yavapai, according to Kutox; a practice quite willingly corroborated by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant[27] and recorded by Dr. Kroeber for the more northerly Yavapai. The Maricopa and Halchidhoma never did (nor, according to Kutox's knowledge, the Yuma and Mohave), not so much because of repugnance as because

R P 266 727

[27] Who, however, accused the Maricopa of the practice (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 186).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

P R 266 727 R they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an [783] enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

P 266 727 Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

R 756 727 787 Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

R 727 766 Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

P R 173 726 On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukâvl'k tatâpoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

713 with a thong tied to one side to form a handle. This was carried in the left hand to protect the face. Such armor would turn arrows.

A shield-like device was formed by hanging one or more heavy buckskins like a curtain from a bow held out horizontally before the body. Arrows striking this curtain would either fall harmlessly or hang in it. Men with such temporary shields and those with armor carried 726 clubs in their free hands. They were expected to advance steadily in close formation in the forefront of the attacking party. Others followed with bows drawn closely crouching in this protection. The bearer would lower his curtain-shield an instant while his companions shot, and quickly raise it until they were ready to fire again.

The curtain-shield is credited to the Walapai and Yavapai by my 171 informants. The usual rawhide circular shield (*sūvdkóvd*) is not made by 411 the Havasupai, although it is said to be used by the Hopi. Slat armor is not made. Spears are not used, but they have been seen in the hands of the Yavapai and Hopi. Cushing, however, credits them with a wooden pike about 125 cm. long, pointed and hardened in the fire.[1]

726 In taking the offensive, as against the Yavapai, they proceed to the neighborhood of the enemies' camp and wait in hiding while a few scout ahead. When scouts are out of contact with their own party, or [198] when they fail to find the enemy, they communicate with one another by calling in imitation of the horned owl, coyote, or screech owl (*gdgōgd*, a little bigger than a man's fist and having horns). If they locate the enemy, they return without disclosing their presence by such calls. Then all move together, approaching the enemies' camp in the night. The bull-roarer is swung to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before the wind. A short time before dawn, some surround the camp, while the others remain waiting for the first flush of daylight. As soon as they can barely see, those in the main body rush into the camp, shouting and clapping their mouths.[2] The enemy, confused with sleep, attempts to flee, but those surrounding the camp wait to catch and club or shoot them. So far as I know it was not customary to take [727] captives. There is no special war leader, either on such raids or in [624] defending the canyon home; those who are chiefs are normally leaders.[3]

727 Scalps (*gdwawid'g*, scalp; *gdwdwd*, hair) were taken, the cut being made around the margin of the scalp. "Taking the scalp is like taking the hide of a deer; the man who kills the enemy gets the scalp." (The

[1] Cushing, (a), 330.
[2] Cf. Mohave (Pettie, 133).
[3] Cushing, (a), 331.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

scalps are washed with soapweed by an old woman in one tale.) He hangs the scalp from a pole set up in a clearing and calls everyone to come and dance. Men and women wash and don their gala dress, painting their faces in any style and color they choose. All the men and women dance around the pole with the same shuffling sidewise step used in the social dance. They pat their mouths as they shout. They probably do not care for the scalp after this dance. It is interesting to note that while these people have observed a Paiute victory dance they have not borrowed any of its peculiar features. There is no definite system of war honors.

Taking the whole scalp is also credited to the Yavapai by my informants (although Corbusier says they took none.) There is no purificatory rite after killing, nor set speeches made to war parties as among the Pima. The wolf dance (beating on a hide) of the Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and many Plains tribes, is unknown.[1] Scouts wore neither wolf hides nor grass headdresses for concealment.

War with the Paiute. This happened at Gwídágwit [Uinkaret Mountains] either before I [Sinyella] was born or when I was a little baby.

There were many Paiute living on the east side of those mountains who wanted to fight. They crossed Hagátafá [Colorado River] a little below Huúltovôkyóvá [pine precipice, Mohe Canyon in the eastern Walapai country]. They came across country north of Pine Spring. Many Walapai lived along there. There they killed many men, women, and children. They repeated this once or twice, killing quite a number of Walapai. The big chief of the Walapai thought that the Walapai ought to cross the Colorado against the Paiute. They talked this over and all agreed. Then the Walapai chief sent several men down here to us. The Walapai said, "Our people want to cross the Colorado and kill the Paiute. Our chief wanted us to come down to persuade some of you to go with us." The Havasupai agreed, and some went with them. They went where the Walapai were already assembled. The Havasupai big chief said to the Walapai, "The Paiute killed a lot of your people so you are angry and want to fight them. That is all right."

Then the Walapai chief said, "We are all ready to go. We know the place to climb down to the river." So all went down directly opposite the mountains to the south side of the river. They got long logs and put cross pieces between them, making a raft to put their beds, provisions and arrows on. A lot of them took hold of it on all sides and pushed it before them as they swam. They unloaded it and pushed it back to fetch those who could not swim. So they ferried all over. They camped there on the north shore over night. In the morning they went up out of Grand Canyon. The old men pointed out the spot to me from this side and it looks like a good place to climb out. When they got up on the plateau, they traveled straight toward those mountains. They found a road a little way back from the rim. When they were about halfway from the canyon to the mountain, they came upon a Paiute camp. Some of the strong young men always traveled ahead; if they found nobody, they sent one

[1] Lowie, (a), 194; Spier, (b), 465.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

strike (White Mountain Apache, Seri, Northern Maidu[1]), or part of a deer struck by a snake (Shoshoni and Bannock), or a mixture of liver and venom (Paviotso, Teton), liver and the juice of the wild parsnip (Achomawi), the spleen of an animal and pulverized ants (Northern Shoshoni[2]). In several of these cases this is allowed to putrefy: the Yuma also used putrid flesh. Others prepare compounds of poisonous insects and plants (Havasupai, Yavapai,[3] and Wishram[4]). Rattlesnake venom is used by the Southern Diegueño, Blackfoot, Lillooet, and Thompson; rattlesnake blood by the Takelma.[5] In addition to these the Jovas, Opata (and the tribes of Sonora generally), Lipan, Navaho, Cahuilla, the Indians of the vicinity of Santa Barbara, Clesiute,[6] and Snohomish are known to have used poisons.

Scalp taking is general in the Southwest, although it seems everywhere a matter of little concern. It is specifically attributed to Havasupai, Yavapai,[7] Tonto and Pinal Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Mohave, Yuma, Cocopa, Maricopa, Papago, and Opata.[8] In the Basin we may add the Paiute, Uintah (?) Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, and possibly Paviotso.[9] Kroeber states that scalps were taken in the greater part of California, possibly excepting the Yokuts, Valley Maidu, and Pomo, and surely excepting the tribes of the northwestern area. Powers also excepts the Trinity Wintun although ascribing the practice to other Wintun. I have found records for one of the Mission groups, Salinan, and the Maidu of the mountains.[10]

Removing the entire scalp in the Havasupai manner, not a small patch, is attributed to the Yavapai. This, according to Kroeber, is the general Californian practice, and, by my own information, that of the Klamath and Wishram further north.

The Havasupai do not take the whole head although it might have been expected. This is common in California (specifically Salinan and Patwin), in the Northwest area, and in Mexico it is noted for the Tepehuane.[11] Friederici believes that scalping is a substitute for head taking stimulated by the whites.[12]

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[1]Dorsey, G. A., (b), 186; Bourke, (b), 58; Bartlett, I, 465; McGee, 256-258; Bandelier, (a), 76-237; Dixon, (a), 205, 332.
[2]Hoffman, 67-71; Lowie, (i), 245; (a), 185, 192.
[3]Trippel, 576; Corbusier, 232.
[4]Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.
[5]Spier, (e), 253; Teit, (b), 235; (a), 263; Sapir, (a), 272.
[6]Bandelier, (a), 70; Franciscan Fathers, 186; Hooper, 355; Yates, 374; Chamberlin, 368, 384.
[7]According to the Havasupai, although Corbusier (331) denies this.
[8]Smart, 419; Bourke, (d), 36; Franciscan Fathers, 368, 438; Pattie, 132, 139, 165, 199; Parsons, (f), 13; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bartlett, II, 221; Gaillard, 295; Bandelier, (a), 153, 242.
[9]Lowie, (f), 820, 833; (a), 193; (h), 242, 245; Powers, 320.
[10]Kroeber, (a), 307; Powers, 238, 241, 321; Bocana, in Robinson, 308; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Dixon, (a), 300.
[11]Powers, 321; Bandelier, (a), 95.
[12]Friederici.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

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A scalp dance is also common in this area. Details are lacking, but we can note the distribution of at least one feature. Kroeber observes that in California (e.g., Maidu, Wintun, and a Mission group), it is usual to hang the scalp on a pole about which the dancers move. This is also the case in the Southwest (Havasupai, Navaho,[1] Zuñi, Papago, Opata), in the Basin (Paiute, according to the Havasupai; Uintah, and Lemhi Shoshoni), and in the Plains at least among Pawnee and Omaha.[2] On the other hand, in the northern Plains the scalp is hung from a stick in the hands of the dancers (Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Cheyenne,[3] and to the northwest the Klamath and Wishram), which appears in the Southwest only as one of the Navaho practices. Both usages have a wide distribution.

[1] Cosgrove, 326; Fattie, 184.
[2] Fattie, 64; Fletcher and La Flesche, 432.
[3] Wissler, (b), 433; Lowie, (a), 230; Grinnell, (a), 205–210.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

began to shoot at each other. There were many Havasupai; some of 539
them went around and climbed up to the cliff; some did the same on the other side of the enemy; and some went right straight up the talus slope toward them. They kept shooting; all shot at once, and each time a lot of arrows flew at the Yavapai. In a short time, those three were wounded all over, but none of the Havasupai were wounded. After a time the Yavapai hid behind a big rock and built up a wall there. They were badly hurt, so they climbed up the white cliff where there was a somewhat better place to stay. They kept shooting down from there. The Havasupai big chief said, "Do not shoot too many arrows up there; just one or two of you shoot once in a while. If a lot of arrows are shot there, they can use them to shoot back." The three Yavapai kept shooting until they had no more arrows. Right up there where they were there were some small rocks. They rolled them down, until they had no more; they had nothing left. By this time the sun had set and it was dark. All the Havasupai were down at the foot of the cliff; they camped there, watching the Yavapai to prevent their escape. So they stayed all night.

In the morning the Havasupai cooked and ate until their stomachs were filled tight and they felt strong. My grandfather said to Panamida's father, "You are the man: I want you to climb up." Just two men climbed up; the other was Manakadja's father's father. The enemy threw some little stones at them. The latter parried the stones with buckskins hung from their left arms. They kept on climbing until they got there. Then Panamida's father seized one of them by the hand and pulled them down after him. Then he led the other two down similarly to where the other Havasupai were. All of them walked together down to the bottom of the canyon. They gave them some food to eat. Then they killed them one at a time. They cut around their heads just above the eyes and ears, and pulled off their scalps, throwing the bodies aside.

The Havasupai big chief said, "Let us take the scalps of these three 539
men home with us to show the women and children and the old men." 727
They brought the three scalps to the camps above Lee Canyon to let the women and children there see them. Then those people moved down here to the village. They showed the three scalps to everyone. They gave them to an old woman, who washed them with soapweed and cleaned them. A man got a good straight pole and tied all three scalps to its top. Some of the men cleared the ground and set up the pole; then everybody, men and women, came to see the scalps hung up there. Everybody felt glad and wanted to dance. Everyone danced around and hollered, clapping their mouths. The Havasupai said to the three scalps, 539

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 · NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Fortunately, this tribe, unlike the roving Indians of the desert region, had never come in serious conflict with the United States Army. Had they done so, I am inclined to think the Havasupai may have won, at least the first bout. For an American soldier, confronted by enemy whose armor resembled buckskin nightshirts, and whose shields—their only protection from bullets—were tanned deerskins, would have been so convulsed with laughter that he could not fire a shot.

However, the Havasupai had one weapon that no enemy laughed off—their poisoned arrows. Juices extracted from the Jimson weed and other toxic plants, combined with the poison of scorpions and poisonous insects, cemented to the arrow tip with glue from roasted soapweed leaves, made a deadly weapon. They were expert marksmen, and if the flesh was penetrated by one of these poisoned arrows, there was no known antidote.

At the approach of the enemy, women and children scurried up the wall to their huge stores of food on a higher level, saved for just such an emergency. Men fought from their homes until driven from the canyon floor, some retreating to the fort to shoot arrows at the pursuers or to roll stones down upon them. Others took to the ledges along the walls, running ahead of the desert pirates, slaughtering them with poisoned arrows. But many, according to the Indians, retreated to this ledge with its little scooped-out rooms in which ammunition and food could be stored and the wounded cared for. Crossfire from the fort and this ledge could annihilate the invaders in this wider section of the canyon, which held the main part of the village. Protected by their armored men and their shield-bearers, the Havasupai warriors descended for hand-to-hand fighting, while archers slaughtered the fleeing enemy from stations along the walls.

By nightfall, the canyon was cleared. Women and children scrambled down from their high perches, joining the men in caring for the wounded, cleaning up the village, cremating the dead and repairing, as best they could, the damage. Then they held the victory dance; as bloodchilling as had been the conflict itself.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

727 162 It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

648 Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

712 We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

713 823 High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and a dance, celebrating the death of the [727] enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [727] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

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221 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gătágăma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gătágăma also was singing his own songs."

796 533 177

Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

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We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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"One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this [north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy [who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 266) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidjiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined 221 hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork 461 pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete 178 government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, cer- 221 tain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau 178 residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit the Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed 657 the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allottments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consid r moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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133 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisas, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and piñon trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

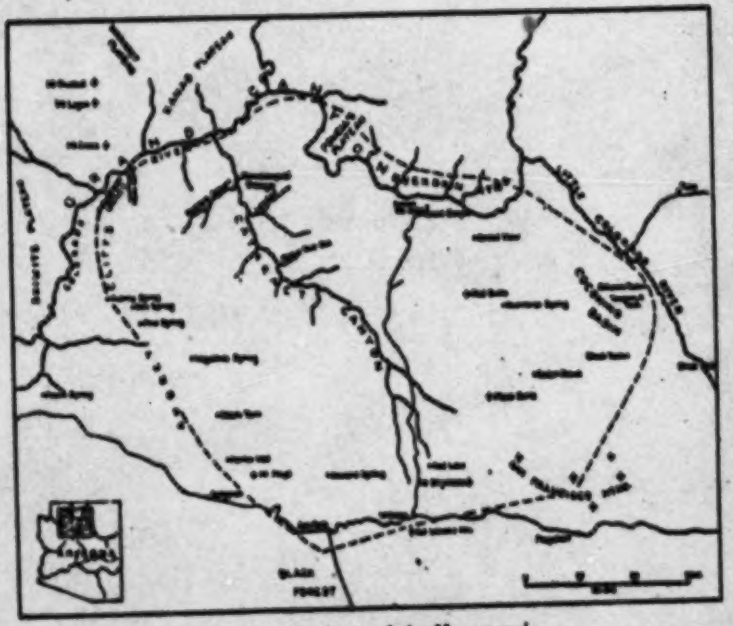

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[Text continues on p. 94]

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132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 36 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

131 Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*hdéedjivá'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigátl'dá, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pökádcspai'lvá, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigivilí'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nolíedhá*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakdad*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Moho Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

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251
243
[252] Corn is gathered in all stages of ripeness: the first edible ears are welcomed after the winter's dry provender. Green corn is boiled, made into bread, etc. Green corn may be partially roasted in the husk by placing it in a roasting pit over night. The husk is stripped off and the corn dried. Bush ears are boiled during the winter, when they have the taste of fresh corn. When the the ears are ripe and hard the crop is gathered by the men and women who planted it, with the assistance of any one who is willing to help. A woman breaks off the ears as she walks along, throwing them into the burden basket on her back. The corn is spread to dry in the sun, either on the roofs of the rectangular shades, against which ladders conveniently lean, or on heaps of brush around which little smudges of dung are built to scare off rodents. Corn is placed in the stone storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or it is shelled and heaped in a corner. Seed-corn is husked and placed in a separate pile in the storehouse. Pumpkin, squash, watermelon, and sunflower seed are selected for sweetness, dried, bundled in a cloth, and set to one side in the chamber. When going up to the plateau for the winter, two small sacks of corn are carried along: they return for more as it is needed. The corn may be stored in three chambers: that in the first is eaten during the winter, that of the second during the spring planting period, and of the third, only a little may be eaten, not all. "We don't eat it all: we don't plant it all." This remainder is saved against the contingency
● [731] of flood, etc.

Sinyella has five storehouses convenient to his fields; these were all emptied of the previous year's crop by the end of September. His family (p. 212) did not plant much this year as they have no women to grind their corn, so that only one storehouse will be filled. This is intended to supply himself, his four adult sons, and the five grandchildren. If this proves insufficient, more will be given them without compensation by Wes, his younger brother's son, who has plenty this season. Jess, who plants in his parents' field, stores his corn with theirs.

244 In former days two kinds of beans (*naddipá*) were raised, one a big red variety, the other yellow. These were planted in the cornfields on the same day as the corn, placed midway between the cornhills, 10–12 cm. deep, four to a hole. Both crops ripen at the same time. Surplus
[251] beans are also stored in the stone chambers for winter food, leaving enough to plant in the spring.

Squash (*hawáll'*) is planted like beans, at the same depth, four seeds to a hole. Two varieties were known in Sinyella's boyhood, one large and round, the other long. Squash ripens in October. It is brought home by burden baskets full and piled up. The rind is hacked off with a
251 knife and the squash set aside to dry somewhat. The stem end is cut

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sleeper is free from troublesome dreams, will sleep soundly, and arise refreshed. The head of the house or a guest would sleep anywhere he chose. A man's personal belongings were hung over his bed. Food, baskets, etc., were placed nearer the entrance; the food furthest from it to guard against animals. If the house was high enough, a pole on which to hang blankets and skins, was fastened across above man height, but ordinarily this was placed at one side. Cooking is usually done outside.

Every camp has one or more shades which shelter the common domestic activities, and in some instances serve in lieu of a summer house. The shades are built in a great variety of forms; some, in fact, are quite amorphous. The commonest is the rectangular flat-roofed type described above; others are simply a slanting roof, like half a gable, a quarter sphere, like half a dome-shaped house, a barrel vault, and so on. Most are carelessly covered with brush, with dirt banked against them. Ladders (two poles with rungs tied on) are often provided to reach the roof of a house or shade in order to replace the dirt covering, store corn, etc. These are sometimes logs notched on one face. A cooking shelter may be made of boughs set up in a semicircle before the outdoor fireplace, forming a breast-high screen.

There are a series of small caves and rock-shelters (*oyâ''â*) along the cliffs at the top of the talus slope which were used during inclement weather, particularly in the spring, during floods, and the uncertain period when raids were frequent, for they were conveniently located for escape up the cliffs when the alarm was given. A breast-high wall of rocks, laid dry, was built across the opening. Poles were set vertically in the space above the wall, others were tied horizontally across these, and the frame was thatched. A blanket partly covered the entrance, the open space above it providing a smoke vent.

A little ring of brush is raised for a temporary camp. This serves at least to keep out animals and the blowing sand. The White Mountain Apache have a similar usage.

Innumerable storage houses line the ledges at the foot of the cliff all along the canyon, standing high above the reach of floods. A stone wall is built about the mouth of a natural enlargement in a crevice to form a little house of a capacity of 3 to 5.5 cu. m. (Fig. 36). The wall is carefully chinked and plastered with a hard mortar to render it rodent proof. This is made of guano, found in the crevices of the cliff, mixed with dirt. A flat stone is set in the little entrance and sealed with mortar

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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132 with laughter, released at once from the numbness of strain and fatigue.

We walked back to the buildings, admitting, with chagrin, that we would have been safer and drier had we never left them.

I took my camera and went out to get pictures of the rivers that still cascaded over the rim in five or six places between the school and the village. They were rapidly diminishing in size, but some of them drained in until late the following day.

731 The Indians' gardens and orchards that had been in the path of the main current were washed out and swept over the falls. The houses that stood on low ground were destroyed; however, the sagacity the Indians had acquired through long and bitter experience with floods enabled them to escape without the loss of a life, and with only minor losses of clothing. Each family had a crevice in the canyon walls that made a safe shelter. Here they set up temporary housekeeping.

I expected the children to appear for school Monday morning half-clothed, but only one pair of pants was missing. Six-year-old Dan, face clean, hair brushed and dripping wet, wore his uniform blouse, shoes and stockings, but no pants. He was a comical sight, but no one laughed.

133 731 The Indians warned us that nature would deal us another blow before we could settle down with our usual feeling of security—which wasn't very secure, after all. Many columns of stone stood out from the parent wall, separated from it by fissures in which water from rain or melting snow collected. Freezing weather turned the water into ice, increasing the pressure which widened the crack. This freezing and thawing, over a period of years, left the column unattached. A flood brought such sections tumbling down. This new danger was almost as exciting as the flood had been. It was always a gamble with us, not with the Indians, as to which section would topple over. The one directly back of the school building leaned out threateningly, but when I asked Bob for his opinion, he shook his head.

"Him no fall yet," he assured me, and since Vesnor agreed, we

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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continued our school sessions. The men pointed out another pillar, farther down the canyon, that endangered neither school nor village, that would come down "four suns, maybe five." 133 131

From the day of the flood, falling boulders and landslides had kept us in an unsettled state, but on the fourth day, as the men had predicted, the big column fell. It leaned out from the wall, toppled crazily, its center buckling, and burst apart with a roar as if the gorge itself had split open and was shaking itself to pieces. A bedlam of sound struck the angled walls to be tossed back, echoing and re-echoing until it seemed there would never be an end to it. We hurried down to view the ruin, arriving before the dust had settled, while the stones were still sliding over one another, groaning and grinding as they shifted to a lower level.

The Indians patiently repaired their houses, dried out the furnishings, rebuilt fences, replanted gardens and orchards. How many times in the past had they undertaken this same task, I wondered. I wondered, too, at the leisurely way they worked, stopping to gamble a little, to visit and make merry for awhile, or to eat food some neighbor brought. If a task could not be done one way, try another; if it could not be done today, try it tomorrow. They had never worked by a clock, nor permitted time to become their master, so they, as a people, remained cheerful, unhurried. 131 461

Portions of the Walapai trail had been wiped out. The Indian men, using their native methods with brush and stones, soon had it passable but dangerous, so we were greatly surprised when several men rode down from the plateau and stopped at the school. One of them, Mr. Jacobs, an engineer in charge of a surveying party on the government reserve, expressed his surprise in finding us alive and the buildings standing. He said, "We watched the storm from our camp a few miles back on the mesa. From there, it looked as if a cloudburst hit right in this canyon. We expected to find this place swept clean as a whistle." 131

According to his report and that of his men, our danger was as real as it had seemed. But now that it was over, I was prepared.

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73/ The next time I was caught in a flood, I'd climb to a crevice and live like an Indian.

Several years later the canyon was again flooded, and this time the destruction was almost complete. The teacher and his wife, the only white people at the school, were no more prepared than we had been. They too had failed to learn from the Indians how to survive a deluge in comfort and safety, so they scrambled to the roof of their house—the same cottage in which we had lived—and climbed from that into the rugged old cottonwood. The old tree weathered the storm, saving their lives. They watched the maelstrom beat against the stone houses until they disintegrated like so many lumps of sugar. Today, the Indians can point out only one stone remaining on the site of the old buildings.

133 In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled
731 melted snow resulting from a sudden thaw on the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Cataract Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a predawn flight to the talus slopes. A wall of water smashed through the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food [657] stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel as it flows through the village area.

[312] An irrigation system, installed about 30 years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly 1953, 56).

133 About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a
[648] series of waterfalls which attract tourists. The scenic aspect of Cataract Canyon in recent years has become an economic asset and a precipitator of increasing Havasupai-white contacts.

133 Travertine terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually
311 divert the falls to another location. A severe flood in 1952 destroyed a 50 ft.
731 fall, lowered the creek channel for some distance upstream and rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity. Additional floods over the next few years further deepened the river channel, washing out adjacent fields and leaving others without water. However, some new gardens are now being planted at lower levels along the stream where land can be reclaimed.

439 Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation
648 boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal-cooperative tourist enterprise may be doomed. Private business interests may be able to bypass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accommodations there.

Climate, Plants and Animals

132 Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for 14 years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches, averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer 1933, Section 25, p. 14).

Temperatures in Cataract Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if
[827] these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last
856 the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to
the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned
to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle
does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk.
Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow;
for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the
woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink
in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh
of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be
strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any
reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child
suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported;
when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is
given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of
indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have
no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to
strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of
their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaning-
less words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than
names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have re-
ferred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1] 592

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*dlatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámdnadlatá*, boy; *mésdlatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother. 592 736

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion. 621

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe. 602

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships 602 621 [648]

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a similar system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (d), 132] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 334].

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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [734]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlθá*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [171] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these nonlineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to hi[illegible] Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in 736 which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her [562] protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several others who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
854 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
736 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with
591 her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

888
736 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

[145]

[481]

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

[153]

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

[562]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged.

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitaika*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

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The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [344] [482] [574]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
849 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 ● [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure. 753 756 [164]

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating. (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75

343 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They
75 would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated
[824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smell-
ing herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor
343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would
533 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres-
75 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337)
indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old
man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times.
343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the
75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the
343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

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302 [515] rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

[825] According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

301 [439] Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the [751] neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2-1621), modern in [171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such [439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

304 [751] When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants 301 [439] are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

[304] Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

301 306 Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sõlitõvitakõ*; *sõl*, finger, hand; *dtdtd*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

302 While face painting (*djidivigd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 358).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*agwédika* and *tcikápdia*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*halágwila iadma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

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171. 534 of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

171 751 The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

171 778 782 The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

227 171 The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

171 534 789 778 The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Hasbarlin und Günther, 33.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (a), 502; (c), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 82, 106 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").

[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 194, 197, 203–209; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 349; (d), 131.

[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 98872). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.

[5] Corbusier, 338; Dixon, (a), 266.

[6] Hough, (c), 294; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 16.

[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 320).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I know how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, (d), 491.) The Arikara-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, (e), 216.) Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, (i), 265). [773] [171]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 343

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [756]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. 787 [791]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
● [751] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was
[788] repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

755 756 776 533

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

● 75/ The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [342] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [171] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

[539]

sakàhûtaŋa ásá
eagle eagle
ìnyáhátčŋe ìnyanyáhátà
my domestic animal my dog
ìyáwuičŋe yuwaíà
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nčŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavá, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tá, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwíhalái'dái'dá, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman *presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman* may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[439]

[428]

[1]The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" (Mohave informant, Fourke (a), 172).

[2]Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3]These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alpaílìt*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* Van Denburgh), *kanapáha*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *katámtá*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus arizonae* Cope).

[711]

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

● 752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white pinon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans think it causes rabies [Bourke, (f), 136]. This is commonly thought to be fallacious, but E. W. Nelson states [1918] that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*agwdñka* and *teikaydld*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluches sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*hatdgwtld isdma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most
152 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and
a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

Labor is not regularly divided, except
462 between the sexes; save that among the
men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
461 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quan-
221 tities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[28]

[P 553A]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
532 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd̨údd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ihaIuŋkaiiild̨a*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it (from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [782]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyóga and Pagiyóvà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gIóiyᵃ'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gIsdnd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai pa-amachs, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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áswö'gà	gwewálà	wi'và	mà'ûg	539 778 782
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	

matö'kmidjpágàhögwïg'ï.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753 784
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326); they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ddjúdd*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

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854 The baby's first
[852] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last
856 the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be
[753] strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-paí go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save personal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 683 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as 754 is the case with other Indians, the uni-

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
●[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[750] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753 ●

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another 753 756 [164]

shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [302] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [171] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-58), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wastkwtvámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 337). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wastkwtvámá big chief also. (See p. 378 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wastkwtvámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wastkwtvámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tsyadjíva (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1888] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754 682

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her: she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwiθk canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond them." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Hédja, édja,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now."

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wanákwiváma, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] For *ne'édjéd*, a man's elder brother's son.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is ● 754 taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Hekdyágəlĝa*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'igəgwaáud*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind [534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed [821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to [825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He [827] then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *sagĝdlyág sadá'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

825 Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 344.
[2] See Montezuma for an account of these.

3.James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars." 756

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness. [755]

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless 164 755 754 755

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no
756 longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed [753] to possess certain influences over the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 juggary are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his kaane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hardbodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per- 683 sons abuse, unless the doctor be accused 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

[P5528]

683 754 versal punishment of death. Like most other Indians, they have a good understanding of the practice of surgery, and a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

752 826

Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

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461 221

Sedentary agriculturists in summer, the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datils, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[281]

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose [727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, [754] as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[R 556A]

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*ɨñ'ɨ'ɨ*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatsigat'ɨdmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was *afraid* as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (sick), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [648]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 552.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma. [464]

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If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on. In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealousy is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess added that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wasted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own. [648]

Once about 1885 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Cocunino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to 755
eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made
him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to
gather pifion nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is
getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to
wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will
go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon
Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the
diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return."
When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt
glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they
gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent
him another to carry it. So the boy got well.

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and
wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them
perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right."
When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We
heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He
also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man,
with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy
of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, 756
for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves.
At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a
Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and
magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, par-
ticularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative
of a patient who died.

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly 791
they are called *gîôiyê'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of [787]
clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who
dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a
gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it;
then he would try to produce rain.

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether 791
he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to 789
make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he
made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles
throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant
stated that the singing did not take place in a sweathouse; yet, on
another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to
Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweathouse. At the
moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakáhútaŋa áśá
eagle eagle
inyáhátčŋe inyanyáhátá
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaličŋe yuwaśá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwí'nčŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavá, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwíhaláí'dáí'dá, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1]The Mariceps have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" [Mohave informants, Bourke (a), 173].

[2]Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3]These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *aipaliła*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthveni* van Denburgh), *hanyapáła*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatámáhi*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus ochrorhynchus* Cope).

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special
758 provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
752 knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is
[755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans think it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be fallacious, but E. W. Nelson states (178) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*sahamł'dvidjá suvidlgá*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] ● [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgá*, race by two; *tanomdgovlgá*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 138° F. (outside 72° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 100°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 140° [345] (cf), 484.

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatpá'á*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [171] (Hrdlička, (a), 44).

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14.
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159 traditions and superstitions of his people. He had been healed,
625 dramatically, by the medicine man. Leslie Spier, in his "Havasupai Ethnography," relates the story as told to him by Sinyella, Lanoman's father.

159 "Once about 1883, when Lanoman, my oldest son, was about
755 seventeen years old, he was pretty sick." He then explained that he had appealed to a Walapai shaman who decided that the illness was too difficult for him to heal. Sinyella continued:

> Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there, too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman," and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy: "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars," and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights and said that the boy would not get well.

Next, Sinyella appealed to a shaman of his own tribe. His verdict was: "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness." The shaman proved his point by declaring that Sinyella's grandfather, now deceased, who had been a shaman, had sent his spirit to take Lanoman to the spirit world. However, he recommended his younger brother A'mal, also a shaman, for whom Sinyella sent a messenger. Sinyella related what followed:

> The night he arrived, he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed them to us in his hand. . . . He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf, he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it loked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs. He did this two nights. Then the boy

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. 159 755

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task. 159 764

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet 768 159

Hilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill. 733

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick. [609]

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanoman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set 756

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars." 756

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness. [755]

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless 164 755 754 755

3:James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

759 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no
756 longer need expect any help from the medicine-man, whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mī', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:Jama T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey o the underworld.

The lat night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about todie, the medicine-man summons the principal men andwomen of the camp to dance around him, in the hopeof driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

776 777 787 Spier (p. 288) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specialises in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

[439] "Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 282-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. [764]

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 [756] [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyowa, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyowa, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 781 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [769]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [781] [758]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the lefft hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shoman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shoman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
[782 this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-
648 dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The
[523 drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
[523 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
[535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
[541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
[541 horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hamus is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

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517
[755]
blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512
By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

643 623 657 the borders of his country for all time, and that it remained with him to decide how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and ● 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and sound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per- 683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [197] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasǎwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matěkaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chěkǔchěkǔ, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [82] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

753 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[75] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 125 143 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem geewí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai if gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[155] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 755 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
1755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
268). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
● 755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[782] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[777] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another 753 756 [164]

shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [382] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- [825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Since the little that is transmitted is acquired by the sex to which it is pertinent, there is little inheritance of a husband's or wife's goods by the survivor. 428

A dying shaman might choose a successor to whom he transmits his spirit and paraphernalia. Bob told people that when his grandfather was about to die, the latter instructed him and gave him his spirit. Bob died at odds with life; he wanted his spirit to leave him and he gave instructions that his rattles and medicines (?) be broken and buried with him rather than give them to his relatives. Chief's status is inherited, normally in the male line. There are some indications, as given in the next section, that chieftainship is not an office to be filled by a single incumbent, but transmissible and divisible property. 756● 424 428 622 424 428

Chieftainship

There are six chiefs today, one of whom occupies a superior status and is recognised by the agent as the head chief; the others are equally leaders. These men have become chiefs through inheritance, through prestige and renown, or both. Women are never chiefs. Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions. [624 [648]

The Havasupai are accustomed to speak of "big chiefs" and "little chiefs," but I cannot find that there are different words in their language expressing these ideas, or that there is any difference in function. Manakadja, who succeeded his uncle Captain Navajo to the head chieftainship established since reservation days, is called "big chief." But it is clear from the accounts that follow that all that is meant is an especially important chief, the most prominent individual in the tribe. Like the little chiefs, Manakadja is called *gámúlwa* or *kaha't*,[1] but he is also known as *hanátdwa*, superlatively good.[2] Little chiefs are also (collectively?) called *múlovagldjígdtà*. Jess differentiated between them by *múlwik'ádjá* and *pagámúlwikawátcha*, literally, little chief and big-chief-man.

Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The former are admonished to work, farm, hunt, and make clothing and moccasins; the latter to gather seeds, cook, plant, and make baskets. 183 624

[1] Compare the Mohave *kahuis* for the dance leader. The Havasupai are not familiar with the word and were inclined to believe that it was a Hopi word for chief, *kwáhóya*. [171]

[2] The Cocopa headman is also called *good-man* (information from R. H. Lowie). The Yuma head chief is *kus-ak-kwal* (Trippel, 88a).

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I [648] [537] 554 756

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

[115] Panamida's father, Wasákwivámá was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwivámá big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwivámá died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwivámá's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tsyadjáva (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 624 648 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then.

Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1858] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [156]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgátú'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Gosiute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1880 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 300.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ddjúdd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahaⁿyakitáiⁿp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógai and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyᵘ*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gíaámd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-somache*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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776 cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his
791 maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about
776 to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a
[578] Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's
[428] maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types
756 of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit
787 spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and
791 thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gl̈θiyȣ'*) have spirits; in one instance it
756 was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said
776 that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he
[755] sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatagul'ladmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes
756 before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not
[781] proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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756 If the patient does not improve another shaman may be called on.
755 In fact there may be more than one shaman working on him at one time. No professional jealousy is aroused by calling in a second, it is said. Their efforts alternate, one sings for two or three nights, then the other; they may even be present at the same time. A novice may ask instruction of an older shaman.

755 Little Jim sucked Jess' chest and neck. Although he made no incision, he spat out blood. He said that Jess was suffering from a spirit sent by the being who made everything, deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep. Later the same summer, Doctor Tommy announced the same opinion, for he too sent his spirit into Jess while the latter slept. After a week or so Jess would cough up less blood and the pain subsided; Tommy's spirit would then return to his master to inform him that the evil spirit was gone. Jess added that when hunting he killed many deer, two or three each time. He wasted the flesh, even several carcasses together. This offended the man who made the deer; he did not want Jess to kill so many, so he sent his spirit.

756 The attitude of the people at large is fairly well indicated by these examples. On the whole, they have an implicit belief in shamanistic practices, though the ability of a particular shaman may be doubted and even scouted. Personally, the shaman may not be held in very high esteem—they are half contemptuous of the dwarfed Walapai Doctor Tommy—yet they freely call on him. Now that Rock Jones, a weather shaman, is getting old and deaf, his powers are held in low esteem. They [648] also secure the services of other Walapai, Navaho, and Yavapai, whose practices are similar to their own.

755 Once about 1885 when Lenoman, my oldest son, was about seventeen years old, he was pretty sick. I [Sinyella] got a Walapai shaman to cure him, but he did not get well. The Walapai shaman said: "It is very difficult." Then I took him over to Coconino Basin; other Havasupai went there too. I found many Navaho there; I asked who was a shaman. They said, "One who is here is a good shaman" and they showed him to me. I asked him to cure my boy; "If you cure him, I will give you two dollars" and I gave it to him. He sang for the boy two nights; he had two women with him who also sang. He had four stone arrowpoints, and he stuck one in the ground at the head and one at the foot and one on each side of the boy as he lay there. He stopped after two nights, and said the boy would not get well. Then I got a Havasupai shaman, Watahomidja's father. He said, "It is pretty hard to cure that sickness. That sickness is due to your [Sinyella's] dead maternal grandfather (a shaman), who sent his spirit to fetch Lenoman (i.e., make him die)." His spirit could see this. That shaman said, "I do not think I can cure him, it is too hard for me. I think my younger brother, who is a very good shaman, can do it. So go and tell him to come and cure him." So I sent a man by the most direct route to Moho Canyon on the Walapai Reservation to ask A'mal to come. The night he arrived he began; he sang all night very loud, and sucked. His spirit brought out all kinds of things, hail (it looked like hail), lightning, clouds, snow, and something relating to a wolf. He brought out all the things that made the boy sick and showed

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather piñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gïθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

● 756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*ᵹwᵹdᵹd ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*ᵹwᵹlᵹvŏᵹ ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for fractures (*pakaúd ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for wounds (*nahᵹmĭ'dvĭdjᵹ ᵹlᵹdmᵹ*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjĭ ᵹdᵹdmᵹvd*), and for snakes (*ᵹluwĭ sᵹmᵹ ᵹᵹ*). Both doctor and medicine are called *ᵹlᵹamᵹ*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.
[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mᵹtᵹhᵹld ᵹmᵹlᵹᵹᵹ'djᵹ ᵹᵹlᵹmᵹlᵹ'*). "Your arms [black cloud?] off and make it dark," he is told (Spier, (*f*), 113).

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parents have eaten portions of deer carcasses killed and partly devoured by wolves or mountain lions, or of rabbits abandoned by eagles. The baby is sung over by the doctor who knows the songs about these animals or the eagle[1] as the case may be. Potions are not administered by the doctor nor by any other. The eagle song is as follows, the last line being repeated three times:—

sakàhútaŋa ásá
eagle eagle
ĭnyáhátẽŋe ĭnyanyàhátà
my domestic animal my dog
iyáwaiẽŋe yuwaĭá
you concern my heart my heart
huyuwĭ'nõŋa hu
head head

Descumalaua's father was a snake doctor. A man who had been struck in the calf by a rattler came to his house. He immediately made short incisions all about the puncture, tied a ligature about it, and sucked out the blood. At night he sang just as a shaman does, waving a feather (the longest from the eagle's wing, covered with white gypsum) over the wound.[2] A ring of sagebrush (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) is put around the limb to draw out the poison, not the blood, on the ground that the snake may know and use this plant. The snake doctor can cure the bites of the three snakes recognized as poisonous, viz., áluwi'tavà, the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus confluentus* Say), haiwi'tà, the Pacific rattlesnake (*C. oreganus* Holbrook), áluwĭhaláĭ'dáĭ'dà, the western striped racer. (However the last, a fierce fighter, is not a venomous snake).[3]

One who was struck by a snake would catch it and, grasping each jaw, attempt to split it in two. If the snake split quite to the tail, he would recover, otherwise he would die.

The shaman's rattle is a gourd, obtained from the Hopi. Each shaman presumably has his own, but one that belongs to a layman may be borrowed by those who want to cure. (One such rattle was also borrowed for the Mohave dance). They may also be inherited as part of the shamanistic properties.

[1] The Maricopa have eagle doctors "because they are afraid of eagles" [Mohave informants, Bourke (a), 172].

[2] Another time the informant said that this was a Walapai practice only.

[3] These are probable identifications made by Miss Edna M. Fisher from native sketches and descriptions. In addition my informant recognized three non-poisonous snakes: *alyaĭlha*, the Arizona gopher snake (*Pituophis catenifer ruthus* van Denburgh), *hanpaipáva*, the Arizona king snake (*Lampropeltis pyromelana* Cope), and *hatámáĭá*, possibly the spotted night snake (*Hypsiglena ochrorhynchus arizonae Arizohyschus*).

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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white pinon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[1] But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]

[171] [2] The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 147) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck.

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples.

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (n), 197; (l), 479; Rourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 339; Powers, 354, 369; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Rourke, (a), 460; Lowie, (i), 292, 294.
[3] Fraser, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 108; Curtis, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (a), 349.

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787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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But only a week or two later, Manakadja came to see me on a far more serious mission. His son Jasper was desperately ill. 733

The boy had developed a high fever; his flushed face and burning skin told me how sick he was when I visited him at his father's wickiup. There were drugs of all kinds in my office, requisitioned by one of my predecessors, but we had no one to administer them. Regardless of what happened to any of us, Indian or white, I had no authority to summon a physician nor funds with which to pay for his service. Jasper's parents and I did all we could to relieve the boy's suffering, but he seemed hopelessly ill, and none of us could determine the cause. I sent him crackers, canned fruit, tea, any food he could eat, but our supply, freighted out from Seligman and packed down the trail, was limited and the food expensive.

Manakadja had reverted in his distress to the primitive. Linen dusters and derby hats had no place in his life now. He told me frankly that he wanted to employ a medicine man. It was not until months later that I learned what a medicine man did to the sick, so I offered no objection. Usually when an Indian hired a medicine man, he kept the matter secret from the teachers, even to the point of denying it. This was due to his desire to protect his tribal customs from interference by officials who neither understood nor sympathized with them. Because we were instructed to discourage such practices, we usually did just that. Manakadja's candor was refreshing. I could not help the boy, so I told the chief to do whatever he thought best. I really hoped that I might see the medicine man at work and discover by what procedure he healed the sick. [609]

We had three shamans—medicine men—in the tribe at that time, A'mal ("Sack"), Rock Jones and Bob. I knew all three, and thoroughly liked Bob. For years A'mal had been considered the most successful, his reputation firmly established by his spectacular healing of Lanoman, after other medicine men had failed. He was distrustful, I think, of white people who gave him no credit as a healer, and held himself aloof. Bob was a heavy-set 756

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756 man, a good mixer, jolly, with none of the defensive reserve and ostentation of the ordinary shaman. Rock Jones was a stolid, good-natured man. Both he and Bob occasionally rode up to the school for a social visit.

These two had a common distinction: each claimed that a dying shaman, a blood relative, had instructed him in the art of healing and had bequeathed to him his own shamanistic spirit, his songs, gourd rattles and the other paraphernalia he himself had used in his practice. This was the easiest and quickest way by which a man could acquire the knowledge and skill a medicine man must have. Otherwise, he must seek one of the animal spirits created by the mythic people of the Long Ago who had hidden it away in a world reached only through dreams. This took time and the result was uncertain, for if the spirit refused to enter his body, his ambition was never realized.

756 781 If an aspirant dreamed of hunting deer, it indicated his shamanistic spirit was the deer spirit; or his dream might be of a wolf, coyote or some other animal. The animal that came in his dream was the one whose spirit he must own if he were to become a healer. Night after night he concentrated on wooing this spirit, discouraged when it coyly approached only to vanish, but continuing his efforts until he had it safely within his body. Then it was his to command. He could dispatch it on missions to ferret out information of an occult nature, things human beings could not learn for themselves, or he could send it scurrying through the body of the sick to discover the cause of the illness. While on such missions, the spirit could be heard talking to the shaman; when it returned, you could see the shaman gulp it down and hear it talk or sing, telling him all that it had seen or heard.

Those who had not inherited a dying shaman's songs must dream their own. First, a rattle was made by removing the pulp from a gourd, inserting pebbles, and attaching a wooden handle that would withstand vigorous use. This was placed within easy reach while the man slept. When a thread of song ran through his dreams, he roused quickly, seized his gourd and, rattling an

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accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

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tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

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622 it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat
756 of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly
681 akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realize how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilization.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

622 Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were
577 still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

622 Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tobolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

622 But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devas-
756 tating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

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tions to healing by diagnosis and medicine, but no medical doctor was available. Washington was too far away to recognize its opportunity to teach the Havasupai and their shamans a better and a safer way to cure illness.

The people themselves had not lost their peculiar intuition. They gathered about the sick and freely expressed their opinion. Sometimes it would be, "Pretty quick, die. Maybe sun go down." If they formed a favorable opinion, the announcement would be, "You get well, four, five suns."

When I was taken sick shortly after my arrival, I found comfort in the more cheering of the two verdicts.

I could not diagnose my ailment; even had I been able to do so I should not have known which drug of those we had on hand would be the proper remedy. Perhaps each twinge of pain was intensified by the knowledge that no matter how ill I became no doctor would come to help me. But the Indians came. News went through the village that Hico (white person) was sick, and they flocked to see me. They stood off a short distance from my bed, each uneasily making his careful scrutiny. They were looking for the sunken eyes, the pinched nostrils, the pallid skin—symptoms that had a special significance. They shifted their positions, pointed and gestured and talked in low voices, then the spokesman pronounced their opinion: "Pretty quick, get well. Indians sick all same, get well all right." They had not seen "the look of death" in my face. They filed out as silently as they had entered, and their visit did me as much good as one from a medical doctor. They had said I'd get well. And they usually were right about that "look of death."

Years after I left the canyon, the doubt Navaho had planted as to the shamans' integrity began to diminish. The medicine men took courage and resumed their calling. Men again placed gourd rattles by their beds and lay dreaming, avidly awaiting the coming of the spirit, the revelation of the songs. Some of these new seekers had been pupils of mine. Among them was a boy named Mark, who learned to rattle the gourd, to sing and to suck from the flesh the spirit that caused the sickness.

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156 On the other hand, Bob lost faith in the shamanistic spirit he had inherited. When he himself became sick, and it failed to heal him, he ordered that at his death the tools he had used in his practice be destroyed. With scrupulous honesty he refused to bequeath his shamanistic spirit to another or to teach his songs to a tribesman. Like Those of Old, Bob was an uncompromising realist, and I have often thought that in his integrity he was unconsciously pointing the way to a brighter future for his people.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

●756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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you quick. But you must promise to give me five dollars. Don't forget I must have five dollars."

In one case with which I was familiar, the medicine-man declared that the heart of one sick man had gone away to the topmost peak of one of the canyon walls. It would cost several dollars to charm it back, but he could do it. Yielding to the pleadings of the man without the heart, he began to exercise his charms and incantations, and the next day he came in and declared he had seen it return during the early morning hours, and his patient would recover. His prognostication was correct; the man was soon well and strong, and paid his six-dollar fee for having his heart returned to him, with due gratitude and thankfulness.

Another man who had been on the trail of some runaway horses had become overheated and was attacked severely with cholera morbus. He was brought into the village nearly dead, his pains increased by a terrible soreness in his back, caused by severe vomitings. The medicine-man gave him a large dose of red pepper, and, after sucking the flesh of his stomach, bowels, and back, rubbed the body of the sick man with red pepper, and then began his incantations. Soon he declared that a Wallapai doctor who hated the Havasupais had left a long white rope on the trail over which the sick man passed, and that it was this charmed rope which had entered his body and caused the sickness. On the promise of a fee of several dollars, he expressed confidence that the rope could be successfully taken from the invalid, and that its removal would be followed by immediate recovery. After a little time had elapsed, the crafty charlatan produced a long white rope, which he said his skill had extracted. Needless

3:James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
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754 to add, the patient recovered, and to this day extols
755 the wonderful skill and power of his physician.

Of late years a large number of Havasupais have
164 been carried off with a bilious fever, with marked malarial symptoms. The usual indifference in the earlier stages of the disease gives way later on to frantic sweat-
[755] ings and appeals to the medicine-man, who comes and sings and seeks by his incantations to remove the evil
[578] something within the patient that causes the disease. If the sick person is daring enough to apply to the agency teacher for medicine, he knows that he no longer need expect any help from the medicine-man,
● 751 whose curses will follow him to the world of doom. As in the world of civilization there is jealousy, sharp and keen, between the schools of medicine, so do the Havasupai medicine-men resent any innovations upon their time-honored customs.

Here, as elsewhere, one man's skill and reputation is oftentimes maintained by pulling down that of another. Dr. Tommy used to be a fairly successful medicine-man, but once, during a fearful epidemic of grippe, several children died under his ministrations. It was soon noticed that those parents whose children had been treated by another medicine-man were active in spreading the report that "they believed Dr. Tommy had killed the children by giving them coyote medicine." And this "tommy-rot" killed him as a medicine-man, for, though he was never brought to any trial on account of this charge, he was shunned and ostracized, and in very rare cases is ever called upon to exercise his medical powers.

There are now three medicine-men in the tribe, the chief of whom is Rock Jones, whose Havasupai names

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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

776 Spier (p. 389) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
787 apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

● 756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasio for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
●756 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the
844 grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together. Then she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semisupine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out."
845 During delivery the woman squats, with her husband holding her up. If a

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
766 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 754

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [768]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 784]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

785 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
756 spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a
[702 prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
648] this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
[593 rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
[623 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
595 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
[535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
[541 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
674] horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close [291] head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at [133] its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses, [241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed [312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed [342] in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows [86] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the 114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that [756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a [515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great [231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed [648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

649 the borders of his country for all time,
623 and that it remained with him to decide
657 how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

● 756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are believed to possess certain influences over [753] the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and 755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as 756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per- 683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused 754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

[P. 5528]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [190] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékuchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 585 595 421 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 756 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
844 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 Except for differences due to local coloring, the
793 Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

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Cosmology

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[823]

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

[756] ●

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ʔ°bĭ°djih.

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The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

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Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [765] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
● 756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[759] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai íj gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

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[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[755] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

On one dream journey the spirit (on horseback) took our informant to one of the highest of the San Francisco Peaks. It was very steep and the spirit told him to walk around it, stepping carefully in footholes. Under the ground he could hear a strong wind humming as though it were far away. He put out his hand and patted down the top of the peak, saying, "I'm not here looking for trouble. I came here for a good reason. I came here for alot of drinking water." The wind decreased and our informant awakened, not knowing why he had uttered his words except that it was upon instruction from the spirit. 756 ● 787

In his next dream he heard a voice and also believed he had shaken his gourd rattle. Then many short red pieces of lightning came out of the ground and lay motionless on its surface. The lightning said, "You have brought me out of the ground." Our informant reported that the lightning did something to him, that he arose in the air carrying his rattle and went to the north side of Bill Williams Mountain. There he saw two tall slabs of sandstone so high they reached far into the sky. He stood on top of one of these and heard a voice from the southwest saying, "I know you are a medicine man. I don't know what kind. You try every trick. You go around to all the places. I am going to test you." The shaman put out his left arm, where his power was, and made a slanted rock with dirt underneath from where he was standing to the ground. He walked along this until he came to a place that had high, red rock walls in a V shape. Then he said, "It has been hard for me going around. You want to test me. I want to see you go my way and follow where I have walked on this rock." The voice did not respond and the shaman thought it was unable to follow him.

Then he walked in the direction from which the voice had come and he arrived at a village that contained a long, straight row of "cabins." In each were two women. Another shaman, recognizable to our informant, appeared and preceded him into one of the houses. There he sat between the two women and put his arms around them. Our informant was angry and said, "I don't know what kind of man you are. I'm not going after ladies. I'm looking for a powerful spirit." Whereupon he left and traveled easterly until he came to two rock walls parted like a V with a plateau on top. He saw "a smoke of clouds" on the plateau. From this smoke there issued various strange types of birds all in a line. This smoke tried to bring about illness and had power like a spirit. A voice from the smoke said that the shaman had persevered and would be able to cure sickness. The shaman awakened at this point, but continued to repeat this dream in his curing songs.

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Other spirit helpers came to him in other dreams. For example, one night our informant dreamed of a bird that said, "All my cousins, I don't know which direction they have gone to." Before the shaman realized what was happening, he felt himself flying to the south until he finally came to earth near Rose Well [within the eastern range of the Walapai]. He stood on top of a big hill but could not see the bird. Shortly he saw a man standing in front of him but facing east. From the right side of the man's body white lightning "about the size of a stovepipe" shot toward the sun. The man said, "This is the lightning--powerful medicine--that cures any illness." Then he showed our informant where the bird, which he owned, lived, and said, "When you sing, you must call the names of the bird, its nest, the cottonwood tree and everything I show you." They then traveled north a short distance to a place where ice was like a mirror. The man told the shaman that the ice, "like a window that looks many directions," would aid him in diagnosing a patient's illness. At this point the shaman awakened. Later he sang of this man as "the man who is standing up alive." In his dream the man had not revealed any other name.

On still another occasion the shaman dreamed that he heard a voice calling plainly and repeatedly, "Come here. Let's fight each other." This was a voice from the north, which told the shaman, "I'll return four times and that will be the end of my life." At first the shaman didn't answer, but finally replied, "My lives are eight." He heard the voice no more, but found himself in the air traveling north. He landed where there were many people speaking different languages [different pitches?]. Some had squeaky voices like bats[?] and others imitated various birds. One bird told him to go to Rain Tank [a few miles south of Grand Canyon village]. When he arrivered there in his dream, he followed two tracks leading east. Soon he came to two tall blue rocks. He climbed the south one and, half way up, found some barely visible pictographs that appeared old. He blew on them four times until the pictures became clear. They depicted many kinds of animals and some humans. The shaman proceeded to the top of the rock where one of his spirits told him to look at some plants growing on the ground below. The spirit told him that formerly the plants were edible. Then the shaman was transported through the air northeasterly toward Cameron [a trading post on the western Navajo Reservation where U.S. Highway 89 crosses the Little Colorado River; near the northeastern edge of Havasupai territory]. Near there he saw many people coming from underground, and also talking an unintelligible language. This time there were more people than he had seen in the north. The shaman waited until they were all on the surface. They spoke (but the informant couldn't explain his sudden understanding), and told him, "Over by the San Francisco Peaks there is something to fight sickness, to drive it away and conquer it." This proved to be small red rocks, about a foot long, and cylindrical "like a

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

●756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756 ●

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

● 756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened. 756 787

Concepts of Disease and Illness 753

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers. 787 755

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing. 75 [775]

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady. 75 775 [761]

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another 753 756 [164]

shaman was called upon to effect a cure,

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

● 757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

758 Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

752 Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
[755] knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[171] [1]But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 28–32.]
[2]The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies (Bourke, (f), 136). This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson states (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*aguadŏtka* and *teikaydla*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*haldgwtld isdma*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhoea.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.

[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 351).

[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.

[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 110.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *tobolwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

2:IIIff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *toholwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *toholwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *toholwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

tight so no heat might escape. But for some reason, the Indians no longer built those permanent, mud-covered structures; blanket-covered lodges such as this had replaced them.

In fifteen or twenty minutes the two men had completed the ceremony and emerged, carrying Jasper between them. They plunged him into the stream, laid him on a blanket which his mother had spread on the sand, and wrapped the blanket over him. All this time he had seemed unconscious, his eyes closed. But soon a warm glow suffused his skin, and the watching men and women stirred, murmuring happily; the boy was on the road to recovery. The healing ceremony of Those of Old had again done its work. A short time later Jasper was back in my classroom, a golden, red-cheeked boy, brimming with health.

While Jasper lay resting after his bath, Manakadja had gone to his older wife's house and returned with four hard ears of corn, presenting them to me as a token of his appreciation for my help in caring for his son. He was paying for what he had received, but there was more to it than that. Corn in the hand had the feel of warmth; it had life; and one could dicker for a long time in a trade by slowly adding grains to the buying price.

I could not use the corn, but in working with a people who were quick to anger and who punished with death, I stood in need of the things it denoted—the friendship and confidence of the tribe's head chief.

Jasper had recovered—without the magic cures of a medicine man. But why had the shamans, especially A'mal, whose reputation was unblemished, evaded the request of their head chief to hold a sing over his son? Navaho's influence, I learned, was still at work, although the former big chief had been dead for three years.

Indeed, not long after this, the Indians began talking more freely about Navaho's cruelty. One old man told me he had helped Navaho take a discredited medicine man up on a cliff, cut out his heart and toss his body over the precipice for the birds and the beasts to devour. He did not say what they did with the heart, but

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [462]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance attached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

[We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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534 The dried gourd is mounted on a wooden shaft which projects entirely
756 through it. It rests against a neatly fitting collar cut on the handle and a thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft keeps it from coming off. Little holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibers inside to drop out, so that the sound will not be muffled. The holes are placed in more or less regular longitudinal rows. Only the shamans know what significance they have.[1]

Turtle shell rattles, dewclaw jinglers, baskets to serve as drums, and whistles are not used by the Havasupai.

Medical Practices

757 Besides the shamanistic performances, there is some matter of fact knowledge of curing.

Care of the sick is cursory, or rather there seems to be no special
758 provision for their care. They share the house and the bedding with the rest of the family; the common family dishes are presented to them to select from. Still there is some solicitude. They are not left unattended; an old woman relative may be seen seated by a sick child, fanning the flies away, and arranging shade for his protection. Yet, the conditions are so adverse that it would seem that only the strongest could survive a serious illness.

Wounds are sung over in the sweatlodge by the wound doctor, who
752 knows the appropriate song, while he blows on them. The blood is
[755] squeezed from all sides toward the cut until no more flows. If the wound suppurates, similar pressure is applied until there is a flow of healthy blood. Boils or blood blisters are cut open and the pus squeezed out. Usually a wound of any sort is not dressed, but sometimes clear white piñon pitch liberally smeared on a handful of plucked rabbit fur is applied. After a day or so, when the wound itches, this is removed and the pus squeezed out. Four or five renewals are necessary before it heals. Amputations are unheard of.

Scorpion stings are treated similarly to snake bites and possibly by the snake doctor alone. Incisions are made about the ligated wound and the blood sucked out. Dog and rat bites are not treated. People die quickly from skunk bites; they cannot be cured.[2]

A fractured arm is set, bandaged, bound between thin splints, and tied close to the body. Usually the arm is laid in a trench, while lying

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[171] [1]But they are not the star patterns of the Navaho. [Compare Tozzer, (a), 29–32.]
[2]The Navaho also maintain that the bite of the skunk is poisonous (Franciscan Fathers, 142) and the Rio Grande Mexicans that it causes rabies [Bourke, (f), 126]. This is commonly thought to be folklore, but E. W. Nelson stated (476) that the spotted skunk unquestionably communicates rabies.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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881 covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

[173] Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgd*, lit., red) end.

841 A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire 585 body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. 841 The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

825 Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

758 Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[171]

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (j), 145–147, (j), 283, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (j), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned. 768 428 [763]

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance. 765 [587]

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning. [177]

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house. 769 [761]

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4] 171 764

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (e), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (e), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 202; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (e), 94, 96; Sparkman, 226; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3] Kroeber, (c), 295.
[4] Lowie, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippa, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

Concepts of Disease and Illness

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

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Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 277; Trippel, 580; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

trolling their actions. I realized that if, quite innocently, I made a decision or gave a dose of medicine and tragedy followed, I would face the same Indians, armed with the same knives and guns, who had demanded that a former teacher retract an order. Two hundred fifty against one was too great a hazard. The pleasure of working with these people had not dulled all thought of needful caution on my part. I still believed that it was better to be safe than sorry. Aside from this, I respected their deep-rooted traditions and primitive customs. So it was easy to make my administration one of give and take. I had violated an order by encouraging Manakadja to keep his two wives; my "take" had been his good will—a powerful influence in my favor.

Not long after I left the canyon, a decision by the man in charge of the tribe resulted, apparently, in the suicide of a young man. The Havasupai could not tolerate suicide. Murder—yes! What could a man do but kill to avenge a wrong? But a man should not destroy his own life. The body of a suicide could not be burned nor buried with those of their respected dead. Again they reasoned: cause and effect. And they proceeded to take action against the official who had made the decision. A hurried call to the outside for help quieted the rebellion. The old spirit of self-assertion had not yet been completely crushed, but again, as in times gone by, they felt the restraining hand of the white man's law.

All too well the Havasupai realized how government control had affected them and their way of life. Their right to kill game for the purposes of food and their freedom to roam would never be restored. One old man expressed the sentiments of all when he cried bitterly, "We are no longer men, but are little children who must *ask* when we go out or come in!"

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1956, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

657 871 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence [762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1952, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 58). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide [illegible]ne or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

More recently, in 1954, a boy of 19 shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice. 762

The attempted shooting occurred when a man turned a gun on his son as the boy tried to stop his father from beating his mother. Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the father eventually met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased, and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant on the day before Prince Wodo's death witnessed a dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could make his way out. Spier (personal communication, 1957) inclines to the opinion that Prince Wodo, who was considered odd by his fellow tribesmen, might have been capable of suicide but there is a possibility he foolishly may have set the fire to get attention, intending to escape before the fire got out of hand. [114] [158]

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. An angry relative of one of the dead stole upon the shaman while he was swimming, and from behind shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death. Several other killings or purported plots to kill were mentioned by informants; nearly all the victims were medicine men. 683 754

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [186] [754] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [163] 756 755 775

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
[178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
178 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
178 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
[183] or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's
[428] fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 881.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned. 768 428 [763]

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance. 765 [587]

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning. [177]

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house. 769 [764]

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4] 171 764

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (p), 301; Corbusier, 237, 337; Jones, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 291; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 312; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 382; Hoover, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 96; Sparkman, 239; Kroeber (f), note 13; Boegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (e), 396.

[4] Lewis, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippa, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Wanebo, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

2:1liff Y-5 (ca. 1891) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

177 liquid, and asked anxiously, "Heap good? You think heap good?"

My first impulse was to tell him honestly, "No, I do not think heap good, but it is the only medicine on these shelves that I know how to give, except quinine and castor oil." But honesty would have destroyed the spark of hope his face still held, so I replied, "It will ease Jasper's cough, and I hope will help him to get well."

After he had gone, I looked upon the rows of bottles and tins with positive loathing; drugs enough to stock a drugstore, but useless to us. Most of the containers had never been opened. Who had requisitioned them? Why had such a requisition been honored when the school had never had a doctor nor a nurse nor anyone who was legally qualified to dispense drugs? A visiting official had exclaimed, "You have enough drugs to last the city of Chicago for ten years. What can you do with them?" The Indians asked for medicine only on rare occasions; their suspicion of the white man's drugs was greater than their doubt of their own medicine men's skill. Giving this no thought, I had sent medicine to Jasper. If they gave him a dose or two, and the boy died, it would be a matter of cause and effect, and the blame would be mine.

Two days later, Manakadja was back; hope had given way to despair. "You give 'em new uniform, bury my boy," he requested.

Surprised and shocked, I asked, "Is Jasper dead?"

"Pretty quick die," he said, his face tight and gray with suffering.

"Did you give him the medicine?" I asked, anxious to learn what had been done with the cough sirup.

He shook his head. "I taste. No good."

I was so relieved to learn that Jasper's relapse could not be laid to the cough sirup that I gave Manakadja a new school uniform without waiting to learn whether or not I had authority to issue government clothing for the dead.

763 It was the custom to gather about the sick and mourn, telling

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

him of his approaching death. Immediately after death, the body was laid with the head toward the spirit land to the northwest, to which the soul would take its flight. It was lovingly washed, dressed in the best clothes obtainable, wrapped in a choice blanket, and the face painted. The body was then laid, face down, across a favorite pony for the trip to the burial ground.

They would hold a cry over Jasper while he was yet alive, and the child would know that he was entering an unfamiliar world. Thinking of this, I went to my stores and took a generous supply of food to send him. I had not given up hope, and the mere act of sending him food increased my confidence. The chief's face brightened as I loaded his arms. Even though he carried burial clothes, he was thinking of the food his boy would eat, instead of how soon he would die.

Saturday afternoon Bob came bustling into my office, his face beaming with excitement. "Big chief's boy no die!" he exclaimed. "Maybe get little better. Pretty quick, *toholwa* [sweat lodge]." So I went at once to Manakadja's place, arriving just in time to witness the sweat lodge ceremony for the healing of the sick.

The framework of the sweat lodge stood on a smooth patch of sand near the stream. Long poles, their butts thrust into the ground, their tips held together with bark or yucca leaves, formed a dome-shaped lodge about six feet in diameter and four feet high. A gap between two of the poles provided a low entrance. Long use had worn the floor of the lodge to a rounded depression. It was now thickly covered with fine willow twigs and leaves to make a soft bed.

Jasper's mother, one of Manakadja's two wives, came from her wickiup carrying Navaho blankets which she spread over the framework, several layers deep, making the interior as dark and airtight as possible. She went to the near-by fire and scattered live coals from the burning logs over the stones she was heating. Next she placed a pitch-smeared basket of cold water within the lodge and beside it laid some green twigs; then she was back at her fire, smothering the stones again with fresh coals.

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tions to healing by diagnosis and medicine, but no medical doctor was available. Washington was too far away to recognize its opportunity to teach the Havasupai and their shamans a better and a safer way to cure illness.

The people themselves had not lost their peculiar intuition. They gathered about the sick and freely expressed their opinion. Sometimes it would be, "Pretty quick, die. Maybe sun go down." If they formed a favorable opinion, the announcement would be, "You get well, four, five suns."

When I was taken sick shortly after my arrival, I found comfort in the more cheering of the two verdicts.

I could not diagnose my ailment; even had I been able to do so I should not have known which drug of those we had on hand would be the proper remedy. Perhaps each twinge of pain was intensified by the knowledge that no matter how ill I became no doctor would come to help me. But the Indians came. News went through the village that Hico (white person) was sick, and they flocked to see me. They stood off a short distance from my bed, each uneasily making his careful scrutiny. They were looking for the sunken eyes, the pinched nostrils, the pallid skin—symptoms that had a special significance. They shifted their positions, pointed and gestured and talked in low voices, then the spokesman pronounced their opinion: "Pretty quick, get well. Indians sick all same, get well all right." They had not seen "the look of death" in my face. They filed out as silently as they had entered, and their visit did me as much good as one from a medical doctor. They had said I'd get well. And they usually were right about that "look of death."

Years after I left the canyon, the doubt Navaho had planted as to the shamans' integrity began to diminish. The medicine men took courage and resumed their calling. Men again placed gourd rattles by their beds and lay dreaming, avidly awaiting the coming of the spirit, the revelation of the songs. Some of these new seekers had been pupils of mine. Among them was a boy named Mark, who learned to rattle the gourd, to sing and to suck from the flesh the spirit that caused the sickness.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya′ and In-ya-ja-al′-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā′, commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a 755 Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or [535] about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

● 763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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the East, is deemed the only appropriate gear in which to meet the dread summons to Shi-pa-pu. When life is extinct the dressed-up body is wrapped in the best blanket the hawa affords, and is then ready for the period of wailing and mourning. Relatives and friends of the deceased come and sit in the hawa, and as the spirit moves them they raise their voices in lamentation, or, singing the bravery, the daring, the good deeds of the deceased, ask for him a safe journey to the dread secret places of the underworld. Nothing can be more doleful than to hear these sad lamentations in the dead of the night. All is still, except the never-silent stream which steadily keeps up its murmur as it flows over the stones. Otherwise the very Angel of Silence seems to be brooding over the scene, for the babble of the creek merely accentuates the nearly perfect stillness. Suddenly a loud, long, minor wail rises from the hawa in the midst of the willows, and one feels that he can see the sound ascend to the heights of these enclosing walls, striking here and there, and then rebounding to opposing walls, until the canyon is full of voices, wailing one against the other and making a spirit chorus of infinite sadness and distress. The imagination unconsciously suggests that these echoing wails are the sympathizing spirit voices of men and women — former inhabitants of this canyon of the willows — who have come to weep with those who weep for their dead loved ones.

There is no fixed period for this wailing, but as soon as it is satisfactorily concluded the body is tenderly thrown across the best horse owned by the deceased, if a man, — or ridden by her, if a woman, — and, accompanied by other animals conveying some of his or her most desirable treasures, is taken to the burial or burn-

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked good seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[758] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the in-
[788] dividual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai i gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision. [203]

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line. [152]

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 178 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 881.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1]Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2]Curtis, II, 53, 72, 83, 92, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; James, (c), 143; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 302; Bartlett, II, 282; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 96; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3]Kroeber, (c), 295.
[4]Lowie, (l), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (c), 45; Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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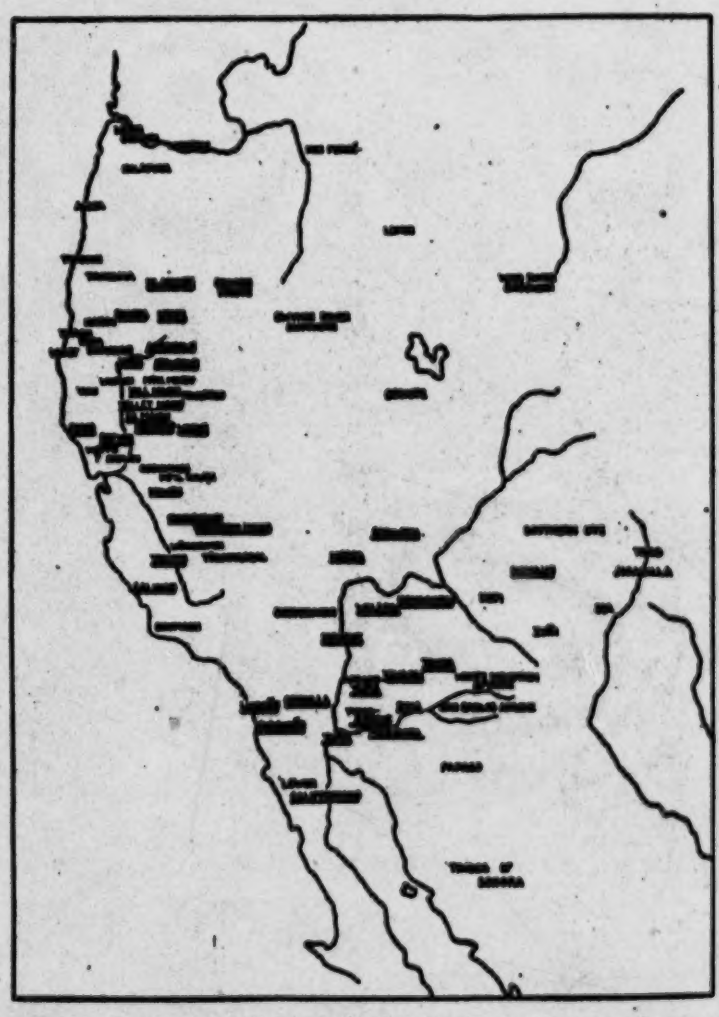

Fig. 84. Distribution of Cremation and Burial. Cremation occurs where names are underscored; areas where both practices occur (or where the evidence conflicts) are lightly underscored.

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Cremation occurs again in central and northeastern California. I find this on record for the Yokuts (but burial for the Wükchumni), Pomo, the Patwin near Clear Lake, Southern Maidu, Nemshoo,[1] Washo, Modoc, and Klamath.[2] Both practices are credited to a number of groups in this region. Cremation is favored by Salinan and Miwok, burial by Chukchansi and the Northern Maidu of the foothills. Two Western Mono groups (Balwisha and Waksachi) buried, but did cremate during at least one epidemic.[3] Burial is the regular form of the Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley, Atsugewi, Achomawi, and Shasta, all of whom cremate those who die away from home. The evidence for the Yana conflicts. Certain Miwok (Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok) are said to bury. Wappo myths refer to cremation.[4] Kroeber, who commands unpublished data and is better able to interpret this material, indicates cremation for the Yahi alone among the Yana, burial for the southern Yokuts, and discards the Cosumnes and Mountain Miwok cases. In addition he notes cremation for the Western Mono, Chumash, Esselen, Costanoan, Coast Miwok, Wappo, and Huchnom. He is in doubt as to the connection of the Modoc with the central area, but I think continuous distribution between the two points is clear.

Burial is the custom in the remaining sections of the Southwest and California, and throughout the Basin. In the Southwest it occurs among the Hopi, Navaho, White Mountain, Coyotero, and San Carlos Apache, Zuñi, Sia, Taos, Jicarilla, and Papago; in Mexico among all the tribes of Sonora and the Huichol.[5] In California it occurs in a well-defined strip of country separating the central and southern areas of cremation. This includes Chumash, Tübatulabal, and Chemehuevi,[6] to whom Kroeber adds Kitanemuk, southern Yokuts, and Eastern Mono. Burial appears again throughout northwestern California: Patwin near the Sacramento, Wintun, Yuki, Wiyot, Hupa, Chimariko, Yurok, and Karok.[7] Kroeber adds Tolowa, Chilula, Wailaki, and Sinkyone. North-

[1] An offshoot of the Pah-Ute stock, living six miles east of Georgetown, Eldorado Co., according to Snyder (p. 328). This is in Southern Maidu territory, but the identification in the *Handbook of American Indians*, (II, p. 73) places them on upper Butte Creek in the Northwestern Maidu area.

[2] Powers, 105, 173, 182, 216, 226, 310, 323, 327, 341, 383; Barrett, (c), 439; Faye, 37; Hopkins, 64; Barrett, (b), 9; confirmed by R. H. Lowie, 1926. Barrett, (a), 288; Chatelet, (d), 29.

[3] Wükchumni and Western Mono data from Miss Ann Clayton. One informant told her that the Wassabi (the most westerly Mono) cremated long ago, but he may have been referring to Michahai Yokuts custom.

[4] Mason, J. A., (a), 167; Powers, 279, 349, 353, 356, 383, 437; Dixon, (a), 242-245; (c), 317; Lowie, (i), 281; cf. Yarrow, (a), 61; Dixon, (b), 165; Sapir, (d), 92, 194, 195; Mooney, (a), 235. (the material in this paper is open to doubt.)

[5] Hough, (d), 130; Curtis, I, 55, 80; II, 34; XII, 39; Yarrow, (b), 101, 111, 114, 123; Dorsey, (b), 127, 187; Shufeldt, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 454; the Navaho buried the enemy (Mexicans) dead (Pattie, 167); Hrdlička, (d), 492; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 144; Goddard, (b), 270; Gaillard, 294; Bandelier, (a), 251; Hrdlička, (b), 69; McGee, 200; Lumholtz, (c), II, 242.

[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 166; Kroeber, (f), note 13; Heye, (b); Powers, 394; Kroeber, (i), 342.

[7] Powers, 216, 226, 240; Mason, J. A., (a); Dixon, (d), 362.

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ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Gosiute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with those to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1875[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 857; Spier, (a), 275; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 86; Frachtve, 257. A burial in an unnamed tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1832–5 (Ames, *Burial Customs in Oregon.*)

[2] Lewis, (i), 279–280; Yarrow, (b), 127, 154, 181; Reagan, 31; Hopkins, 70; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lewis, (a), 214; Malouin, 262; Chamberlain, (a), 580.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 143, 158.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 13, 27, 62.

[6] Davis, (c), 94.

[7] Allen, 613. I have been told that it was common as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 337.

[9] Powers, 340.

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Havasupai

In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";[4] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[5] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[6] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[7] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[8] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[9] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[4]Hoye, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 98.
[5]Powers, 269; "A long pole was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[6]For the latter see above, p. 279.
[7]Loeria, (i), 279; Curtin, [1], 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 781; Allen, 618; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trippel, 6; Hooper, 342; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 623 ff.; (r), 103, 107, 148; Sparkman, 256; Mason, J. A., (a), 189; Powers, 164, 321, 328, 353-356, 394 391; Dixon, (a), 215 289; Barrett, (b), 9.
[8]The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (289) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[9]This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta [Dixon, (b), 236]. Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account [Kroeber, (d), 84; (r), 333; Powers, 164] and to the Southwestern Wintun [Barrett, (c), 426]. In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima [Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 168].

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a
764 commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other
765 objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa,
769 Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they
765 are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring
769 annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 102, 103 ff.

[2] Teit, (a), 642; Hess, (a), 642; Teit, (a), 299, 333; (b), 273; Gibbs (292) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Salishan interested oblique or carved them.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly.

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was forced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some ways Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task.

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauty, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

fragile as old lace. Branches of trees, roots and trailing vines, heavily encrusted with mineral, hung over and almost concealed the entrances to the caves. We broke off some of these and found the wood, in some instances, still green and alive underneath.

As we continued down the trail we rode to the rim again and again, unable to resist the wild beauty of our river, roaring with such violence through its narrow gorge.

We passed Crematory Gulch, a western branch of our canyon where the Indians had cremated their dead before accepting the practice of burying in a canyon nearer the school. A former employee once told me that he had visited Crematory Gulch and was surprised to find large Navaho blankets, undamaged by fire, medicine gourds, saddles and, most gruesome of all, the partly burned club of a man's graying hair. He fully realized the danger of desecrating an Indian cemetery, but slipped away with a shaman's gourd rattle. At the time he told me of his venture, he was hoping for an opportunity for a second visit, but whenever he made the attempt, an Indian appeared with disconcerting suddenness, and stood, watching, until he gave up the quest.

We rode to the brink to look down on Mooney Falls where the river roared in a solid column over a ledge higher than Niagara. The noise of its crash into the foaming pool below was deafening; the picture it made, hundreds of feet below us, was like a bit of toyland. Mineral accretions were plastered, like the halves of umbrellas, against the sides of the precipice. I knew that just below our feet were the dangling remains of the frail Indian ladder down which Lanoman and his friends had tenderly lowered his young wife to her funeral pyre. There, too, rested the bones of James Mooney, a sailor turned prospector, who with a few companions had tried to descend below the falls to locate abandoned mines, about which he had heard such fantastic tales. The rope they lowered over the precipice had been too short, and Mooney, the first to make the descent, fell to his death. As a tribute to his memory, white people gave the falls his name, but the Indians continued to use "Mother of the Waters." I thought of those two,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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the East, is deemed the only appropriate gear in which to meet the dread summons to Shi-pa-pu. When life is extinct the dressed-up body is wrapped in the best blanket the hawa affords, and is then ready for the period of wailing and mourning. Relatives and friends of the deceased come and sit in the hawa, and as the spirit moves them they raise their voices in lamentation, or, singing the bravery, the daring, the good deeds of the deceased, ask for him a safe journey to the dread secret places of the underworld. Nothing can be more doleful than to hear these sad lamentations in the dead of the night. All is still, except the never-silent stream which steadily keeps up its murmur as it flows over the stones. Otherwise the very Angel of Silence seems to be brooding over the scene, for the babble of the creek merely accentuates the nearly perfect stillness. Suddenly a loud, long, minor wail rises from the hawa in the midst of the willows, and one feels that he can see the sound ascend to the heights of these enclosing walls, striking here and there, and then rebounding to opposing walls, until the canyon is full of voices, wailing one against the other and making a spirit chorus of infinite sadness and distress. The imagination unconsciously suggests that these echoing wails are the sympathizing spirit voices of men and women — former inhabitants of this canyon of the willows — who have come to weep with those who weep for their dead loved ones.

There is no fixed period for this wailing, but as soon as it is satisfactorily concluded the body is tenderly thrown across the best horse owned by the deceased, if a man, — or ridden by her, if a woman, — and, accompanied by other animals conveying some of his or her most desirable treasures, is taken to the burial or burn-

3;James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

764 ing ground. Prior to the advent of the white man the Havasupais practised cremation, and between Bridal Veil and Mooney Falls, and also on the rim of the Grand Canyon, at a place since named Crematory Point, the 764 remains of scores of burned bodies of men and women 768 and also of horses were recently to be seen. For it was deemed of the greatest importance to give the spirit of the deceased the spirit of his dead horse, upon which he might ride to the dark abode of the underworld. Before it was burned, the horse must be strangled, and this was done by tightly tying a strip of wet buckskin around his neck, and, as it dried, it rapidly contracted and thus strangled the doomed animal. Then both human being and animal were burned.

But even this was not considered a sufficient offering to the powers of the dead. Returning to the village, a peach tree in the orchard of the dead man was cut down that it might also be "dead" and thus accompany its owner to the spirit world and give him its refreshing fruit there. On the death of a chieftain or great warrior, several peach trees — thapala — are cut down.

Of late years, however, these customs of cremation, strangling of horses, burning of treasures, and cutting down of peach trees have not been as universal as formerly. Hotouta, the oldest son of Kohot Navaho, the last of the old chiefs, had great influence with his people, and Mr. Bass succeeded in convincing him of the extravagant folly of thus wasting on the dead, to whom the sacrifices were of no benefit, that which could be of so much use to the living. Consequently his influence materially helped to change the custom from cremation to ground interment. Later, after Hotouta's death, when several families had gone back to the old

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

habit of cremation, others exercised their influence with the Havasupais to lead them to abandon the old custom. These endeavors were all effective to a large extent, and, when Captain Navaho, the last great Kohot the Havasupais will ever have, died in 1898, he was buried instead of being cremated. Late in 1897, however, the son of Sinyela died, and though in many things Sinyela is one of the most progressive of the Havasupais, he and his brother took the boy's body across a horse, tied an axe to the corpse, and started up the canyon towards Topocobya. When they returned the axe had been used, the horse was strangled, and burned bones of human and equine bodies in a side gorge attest the hold the old superstitions and customs still have upon the Havasupai mind.

And again in the summer of 1899 — May or June — when the daughter of the present Kohot and wife of Lanoman (another son of Sinyela) died, Lanoman felt that nothing short of the old and time-honored method of cremation would be suitable for the daughter of the new chief and the wife of so smart and bright an Indian as himself. For Lanoman knew more English, perhaps, than any other Havasupai, and was afflicted with the not uncommon complaint of great self-esteem and conceit. Accordingly, the body was clothed in the finest blankets of the wardrobe, and many precious things were taken with it to the Havasu Canyon below Mooney Falls. Tenderly the body was lowered down the already nearly useless ladder, and after suitable wailing, the funeral pyre was built, the body placed thereupon, more wood heaped around and over the body, and then the whole fired. When the body was destroyed, the mourners returned, kicking

764 down the upper portion of the ladder as they did so,
768 that no other Havasupai should be burned there, and also that no white foot should again desecrate the sacred precincts of the lower Havasu Canyon. Then, that the favorite horse of the woman thus honored after her death should follow her to the underworld, it was taken to the edge of the plateau above, from which the descent to Bridal Veil and the upper portion of Mooney Falls is made, the wet strip of buckskin tied around its neck, and, as the cord dried and tightened, and the poor animal began to reel and totter in its death struggles, it was given a push, tumbled over the edge, and — instead of descending to the lower canyon at the foot of the Falls where the burned body was — fell on the shelves of limestone accretions which terrace the canyon at the side of the Falls, bounded from one terrace to another, and then, to the infinite disgust of the mourners, lodged there. And there it still remains — or what is left of it, for, as I passed by in July, 1899, though I could not see the animal, the frightful odor of the carrion ascended to the very heavens.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

764 ceased away thus saving the dreamer from death.

[562] There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a consequence of the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

Ceremonies and Other Public Activities

Funerals

764 562 [152] Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow, as it is today.

[177] [535] In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers, although leadership rests with the men. In the dance, borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about 10 paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Announcements of Divorce

586 203 [562] In earlier days, it was customary for husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably this is the immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this matter, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

Gambling

525 [657] Public gambling was a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation until recently. Each afternoon in good weather, men and women gathered in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which was popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frowned upon this custom, and there were attempts to stop it altogether. But in the words of one informant: "If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again."

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice, but it was a popular pursuit whenever two or three families were camping together and during the months when many of the families were living in Cataract

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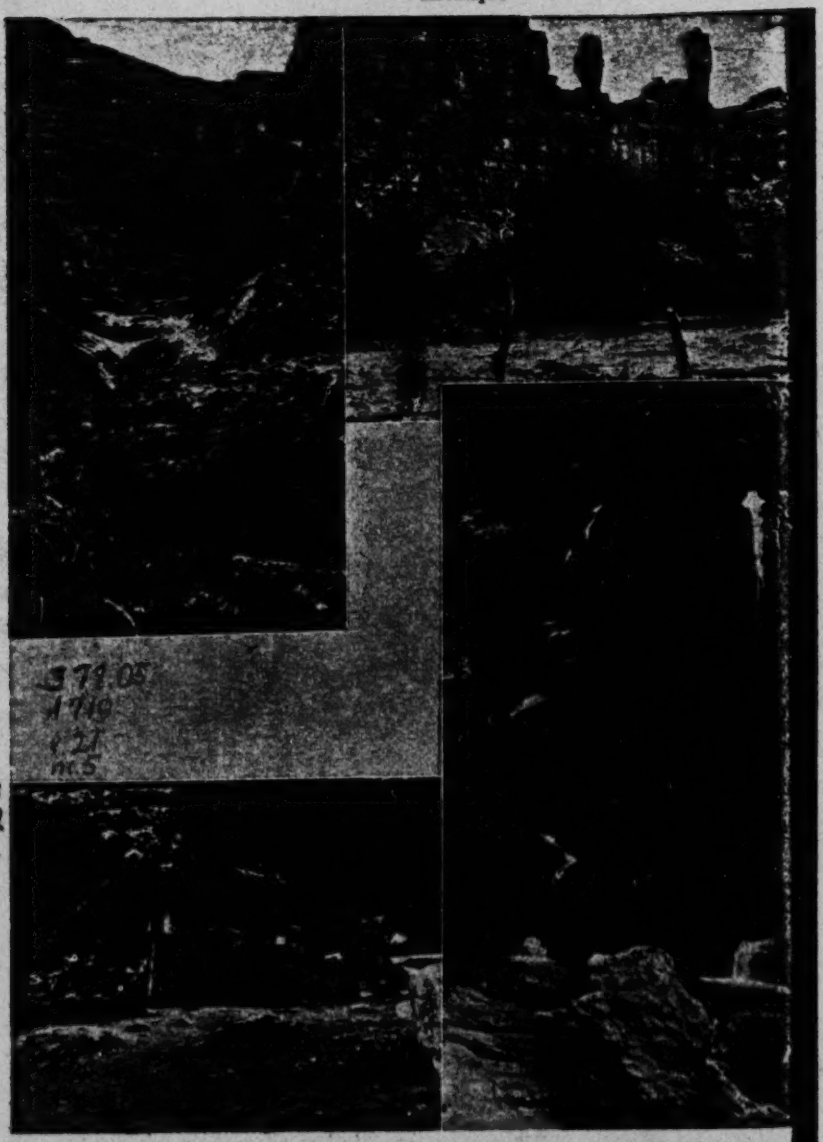

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Crematory Gulch in the lower "haunted" section of the canyon, where the dead were once cremated in the cavern along the sides of the gulch. Top right shows the Twin Gods opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai hogan and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall below Mooney Falls.

[p. 2]

[P1 BLANK]

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-pai a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-pai are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose [727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 611 551 [614] [191] Children belong to and inherit property through the father. No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete

582 [182] [614] clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be perpetuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the

584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without

585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in

595 421 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes his own.

● 764 [177] Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly

768 horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but

756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-

756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

[178] [535] [177]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

[766] [178]

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 177 [114] [535] Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourning songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764 [165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began, and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

177 535 ●765 [648] The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

177 535 [533] In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kûθâdà, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they do not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 92.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gender, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1] Information from Dexter W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 58, 72, 83, 99, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 501; Carbonell, 237, 337; Jones, (c), 140; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 164; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 262; Cremony, 103) states that the Mariopas bury; Tripped, 502; Hooper, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 96, Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 12; Bonpart (207) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (c), 396.

[4] Lewis, (i), 276; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 43. Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippe, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 295; Winship, 516.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed",[1] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[2] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 207) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[3] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Mono and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[4] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[5] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[6] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[1] Hays, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 96.
[2] Powers, 320; "A long pole was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[3] For the latter see above, p. 270.
[4] Lowie, (i), 279; Curtin, II, 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 381; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trippel, 8; Hooper, 343; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 615 ff.; (c), 103, 103, 148; Sparkman, 239; Mason, J. A., (a), 199; Powers, 164, 321, 326, 350-356, 394 391; Dixon, (a), 215 230; Barrett, (b), 9.
[5] The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (239) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[6] This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta [Dixon, (b), 230], Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account [Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 335; Powers, 164] and to the Southwestern Wintun [Barrett, (c), 426]. In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima [Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 162].

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171 764 765 769 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa, Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 765 769 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1]

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic.

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also.

[1] Davis, (c), 195, 199 ff.

[2] Hill-Tout, (a), Thom. (a), 448; Teit, (a), 329, 333; (b), 272; Gibbs (pers. does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Indians interested effigies or carved posts.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know what the adul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 877; Trippel, 886; Lowie, (2), 307 f; Powers, 260.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 258-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. [764]

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasonally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial servive, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, a characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his lonliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaika*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [882
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

6: Schwartz A-5 (1953) 1956
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177 the last item to change. The English language has not even yet been
648 completely adopted; Havasupai is still spoken in the homes, at play,
[175] and at work. The present teacher (1954) has complained that, for this reason, the children forget most of their English vocabulary during the summer. English will be more widely used, however, with the increasing influence of schooling, the Saturday night cowboy movies, and the radios and phonographs.

A Havasupai village established by the Park Service near the Grand Canyon National Park settlement on the plateau now forms one of the main centers of Havasupai life and acculturation. The inhabitants work
[164] either for the Park Service or for some other white firm concerned directly or indirectly with the Grand Canyon tourist business. The cash
[139] income derived from this work and from the Havasupai's own tourist
[132] trade in the canyon has radically changed their food patterns. Now they are able to, and do, buy food in the tribal store, which stocks the standard commodities. It is doubtful that canned soup or Hershey bars played a very important role in the diet of the pre-reservation Havasupai.

177 While the crop assemblage has remained approximately the same
241 as that of the previous period, the farming methods have changed considerably. For example, a tractor is now used in the canyon to plow the fields. It was packed down the narrow trails piece by piece, as was the electric power plant which supplies current to the school and other government buildings.

177 The big flood of 1910, which washed out most of the farms and
948 homes of the canyon, brought from the government relief in the form
648 of small wooden frame houses. Indirectly, this caused the extinction of the talus top granary. After the flood the old brush dwellings were rebuilt and the new frame houses were used for storage, since they were supposedly too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer for living purposes. A few individuals, however, have adopted the plan of the frame house and have built stone houses, using modern techniques. This form may become the common dwelling of the future.

177 The suspension of crematory activities also began soon after the
765 government invaded the canyon. The old pattern was gradually re-
648 placed by the extended burial, which is universally practiced today.

174 The acculturation of the Havasupai, which is by no means complete,
177 took place first by the diffusion of traits into the canyon through the Hopi and Walapai, then by the selected introduction of white culture through the government workers, and finally by individual contact with whites at the Grand Canyon National Park village and elsewhere. These processes have increasingly accelerated the change of an aboriginal people to potentially full-time participants in Anglo culture and society.

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7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalised culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and
during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

765 152 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud, "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes. [537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 765 152 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests indicated that his father would not live long.

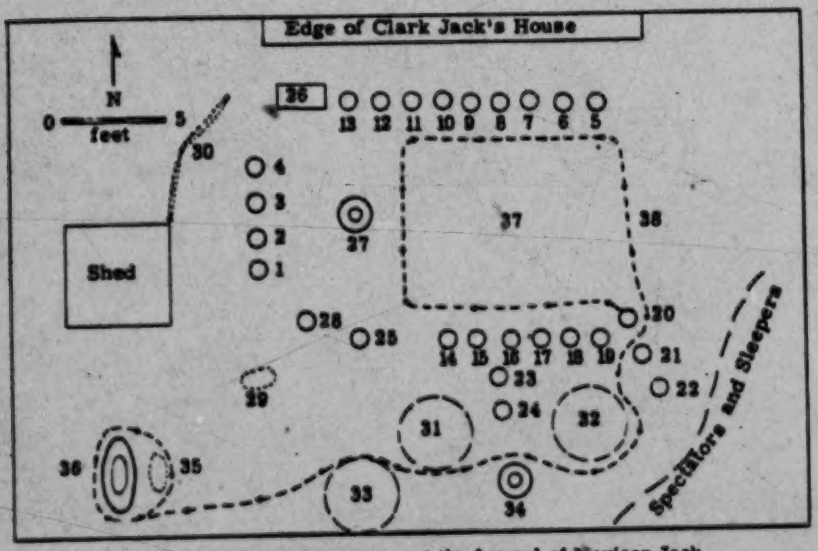
Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 535 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 ●



Arrangement of mourners at the funeral of Mexican Jack

1. Arthur Kaska, shaman
2. Mark Hanna, in charge, sometime shaman
3. Assistant to 1 and 2
4. Assistant to 1 and 2
5. Ed Hamidreck alternating with James Wescogame, dancers
6. Teddy Crook, dancer with rattle
7. Louis Sinyella, dancer with rattle, leading singer
8. Lemuel Paya, dancer
9. Dan Hanna, dancer
10. Floyd Putesoy, dancer
11. Neil Uqualla, dancer
12. Andrew Manakaja, dancer
13. Bela Wescogame, dancer
14. Mecca Uqualla, dancer
15. Faye Paya, dancer
16. CLB
17. Virginia, dancer
18. Nettie Putesoy, dancer
19. Hazel Crook, dancer
20. Gertrude, dancer
21. Margaret, dancer
22. Juana Burro, dancer
23. James Wescogame, solo singer with rattle; second position
24. Assistant to 23
25. Clark Jack, son of deceased; mourner
26. Coffee table
27. Fire
28. James Wescogame, first position
29. Where guests piled clothing gifts for the deceased
30. Rock on which clothing was displayed all night
31. Position of mourners during initial wailing
32. Position of mourners during wailing and round dance about 2:00 a. m.
33. Position of mourners and shaman during final wailing, round dance and burning of offerings
34. Fire
35. Where clothing and possessions of deceased were piled while being thrown on fire, 36
36. Fire in which clothing was burned
37. Dance area
38. Line of dancers and direction of movement

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs.

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck.

About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

At 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Nya gal we?," ("What is the time?").

About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion.

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame
535 and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The
765 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the
152 boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

765 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

[775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

765 ●

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[128] [177] [533] [535] [771] [769]

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

535 177

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

533 535 177

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gátágáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

796

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arisona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it: There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 360; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

[178] [535] [177]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

[766] [178]

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 177 [114] [535] Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourning songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764 [165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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595 informant stated that the wives might either be sisters or unrelated: one arrangement was as harmonious as another. But another informant denied that sisters could be plural wives. Seven households in which there were two wives were remembered, four of them belonging to men now living, and I surmise that this approaches the number existing during any one man's lifetime. These informants had heard of three wives, but had never seen such a family.

A man who wants to take a second wife consults his first wife and may abide by her decision. Of course, he does not go to live with the second wife's family, but takes her directly to his establishment. The presents given in this case would amount to about the same value as those given his first wife's parents. Both wives or all three live in a single house with their husband, even when they have large families. They might, however, have separate houses in one camp. There seems to be no difference in the treatment of the two wives. When their husband dies
● [768] they separate, returning to their relatives with their children. Co-wives
428 probably share equally in the inheritance, for the disposition of property seems to be influenced chiefly by the number of their children. The impression is that the heritage is really that of the children. This is
[587] confirmed by the general practice, for if a widow re-marries soon, the inheritance reverts to her children; it does in any event when they are old enough to enjoy it.

595 In one plural marriage for which there is definite information Manakadja had already married Gwegwe$gwaia at the time the Paiute took up residence in the Walapai country. He sent her away and took a Paiute wife at Pine Spring. Later he brought his bride to the canyon and took Gwegwe$gwaia back, living with both of them until the Paiute woman died.

586 There is said to be no divorce, but I recorded other instances of arbitrary separation. Wa"kwanima sent his first wife away, after she had borne a son, Tcikapaniga, because she was "no good." He then took two wives by whom he had a number of children, Pete, Mark, etc. (see the genealogy, p. 392.) When he died the widows returned to their relatives with their little children. These children regard each other alike as siblings, the divorce of Tcikapaniga's mother makes no difference to them. In fact, Pete lived with his eldest brother before he was married. Other cases are Pagadjahuda and Supai Jack's father who separated because they were angry, and Crook's Yavapai and Roger's Walapai wives who ran off home.

586 One informant stated that a wife was not divorced even in case of
684 adultery; the husband would thrash her partner in shame with his fists,

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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1911 the creek took a new course, cutting off the western margin of the field, a few feet wide. Mark could not cut the apparently abandoned trees which grow there for a public bridge without his permission—which he did not ask; hence no bridge. 423

A different conception has grown up about fruit trees, which may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. They are often planted on a relative's land. Thus, Foster planted some fig trees on Jess's (his mother's brother's son) land. When they bear, Foster and Jess, at his solicitation, will share the fruit. If Foster dies without issue, he may tell Jess to keep the trees, or else to destroy them. It is not possible to isolate the idea in most cases, because the land on which an orchard stands must necessarily be in the control of the one owning the trees, but it is significant that they customarily speak of inheriting the orchard rather than the land. So far as they are owned independent of the land, fruit trees are individual possessions, like any personal belongings.

These two notions concerning the products of the land may come into conflict. Duke owns an alfalfa field which is farmed, partly in his interest, by Billy. On the rare occasions Duke is home, he lives with Billy. When Kit Jones cut willows to thatch his house, from the field, Billy objected, maintaining that the brush belonged to him. He threatened to burn the brush as soon as it was dry; Kit believed he was sincere. Kit and Billy are equally related to Duke, being sons of Duke's father's brother and sister respectively. The Jones family (Kit's father and brothers) and Billy have interests in a large fig tree growing on this land. The situation was aggravated by earlier cases of personal conflict, and on this occasion Kit's horses were destroying the alfalfa. Kit's contentions were based, first, on his relationship to Duke, and second, on the dissociation of the produce from the land. 423 578

I do not believe that land, or at least the produce, is thought of as different from personal property, since it suffers destruction on the death of the owner like his other belongings. It is customary to let such land lie idle and weed-covered for one or two years. The crop would grow all right, but they do not like to plant on the dead man's land. Thus, Bob's widow and her son have not planted his land since his death in the winter of 1918. Nina planted a field independently of her husband; he did not plant there the year after her death. As pointed out above, Panamida used another field of hers contrary to this custom. If a man or woman died while a crop was standing, half of it would be used by the heirs and the remaining portion cut down to dry until it can be burned. It is customary to give death-bed instructions to this effect. 423 768

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship.
423 342 So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him.
[462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have
422 [462] [175] [768] had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either
[593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me:
422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little
432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as
858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

428 [768] A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his possessions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weapons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

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[1] Coues, 1900, I, 72.

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

[178] Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 179 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, Cal. 311.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (*cf.* the Walapai mourning, p. 287). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 287) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Diegueño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4]

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

[2] Curtis, II, 68, 72, 88, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 304; Carlsmith, 237, 337; Apaws, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 291; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 416; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 282; Cremony (1868) states that the Mariscos bury; Trippel, 867; Hoeger, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99; Sparkman, 230; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (267) gives burial for Baja California.

[3] Kroeber, (e), 396.

[4] Lewis, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (p), 43; Cremony (1868) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipps, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Pneuma (Continued)

551 Approximate Age

	Name	Explanation	Derivation
54	mahjó'gédjá, green, to pile.		mawá, unripe (green) color; djágédjá, to throw or pour things into a pile or receptacle.
55	dzhá'hlhwá or g'ádzwá, marked with lines.		
	tcahagdzigwá, swelling on body.	She has some.	
[168]	hamwó'dzwá, hágá'dzwá, old woman wearing a hat.	New name, 1918, after the death of her husband	hámwó'dzwa, old woman; pâi, hat.
58	tjáwadjá, heart.		
59	gwagwádjawak, (a human) moving about quickly.	Usual name.	
	pahádjá, pile of brush, sticks or hay (not stones).		
	hámwó'dzagagyádjá, tall old woman.	Usual name.	hámwádzwá, old woman; gágyádjá, tall, long.
	yáhahó'wá, protruding upper alveoli.		ya, mouth; hówá, protruding (upper alveoli only?)
70	tdahámhádzwá, tripod of poles.		
72	ahwágjá, rough.	Usual name?	ahwágja, little points [hawág, to mix up and make round.]
	tdhadzídjá, mixed up into something round.		
79	hawá, mountain sheep.		
	ni'á dzwá, green things at intervals.		niwá, green, unripe; ódjá, round things set at intervals; [ódjá, to string beads.]
83	dawáhadzwá, a little stream (of sand or water).		ahawódjá, water streaming down.
88	siyódjá		siyódja, to place close together.

2:Cliff Y-6 (a.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. 159 155

A'mal's pay would be scorned by a medical doctor. Sinyella gave him a blanket and a buckskin. Some of his friends, who had returned from a successful hunt, gave A'mal so much venison that he was faced to borrow an extra horse to carry the load.

In some way Lanoman was less progressive than the other men of his generation. Even though cremation had been abandoned by his tribe in favor of burial, he had insisted, when his young wife died, on the time-honored ritual of the funeral pyre. Custom decreed that a relative preside at this ceremony, placing the wood about and on the body, laying thereon the girl's possessions, setting the torch to the pile and waiting until all was consumed. I wondered if this had been Lanoman's task. 159 764

For the cremation, he chose the deep, shady gorge below Mooney Falls, a wilderness of ferns, shrubs and trees surrounding a turbulent pool. In one immense column of water, the Havasu River poured into this pool from a cliff more than two hundred feet high. To reach the burial place, the body was lowered by a frail ladder into the gorge. After the conclusion of the service, when the mourners had climbed to the rim, the ladder was made unusable. Lanoman wanted no invasion of this secluded spot of supernal beauy, sacred now to the memory of his wife.

Here at the foot of the "Mother of the Waters," the Indians' poetic name for the majestic falls, he left his wife's ashes to be lifted by vagrant winds and carried across the green jungle to the Blue Water. The "Mother of the Waters" would woo the girl's wandering spirit into its rainbow-colored mists, where, occasionally, her spirit, with those of the other dead, would later be seen rising and falling through the heavy spray.

The girl's favorite pony must go with her but the Indians' ingenuity was not equal to the task of lowering a live horse over the wall of the gorge that its spirit might take its departure at the pyre. So another expedient was tried. The animal was led to the very brink of the chasm. Following their tribal custom, a strip of wet 768 159

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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buckskin was tied about its neck, which slowly tightened, in drying, until the pony gasped for breath and staggered helplessly; a shove sent the animal crashing over the rim. It bounced from ledge to ledge, then, caught on a projecting point, lay there to decay, far above its intended destination.

In the village, peach trees were cut to free their spirits that they might bear their sweet, luscious fruit in the new home of the beloved wife. The house was burned; the girl's name must never again be spoken.

Indeed no biographies could be more fascinating than those of our two policemen, if the author delved into the forces that made each man what he was: the cloak of courtliness concealing Lanoman, the Indian of primitive culture; Vesnor, the stern, forceful Indian of the warpath, healed by the Christians' Savior. By apportioning duties according to the merits of the man, we had an efficient police force.

When a feud broke out resulting in the destruction of growing corn, I called on Vesnor. It might mean a quarrel that would stir the tribe to the boiling point, or it might be child's play, but I wanted the help of a fearless man.

Late one Saturday afternoon Little Jim entered my office. He wore the Indians' comfortable moccasins, but his hair was cut short, white-man fashion. Faded blue jeans and a torn red shirt clung to his damp body, for the canyon walls still reflected the heat.

"Um-m," he began with embarrassment, "Me got corn. Little grow." He reached his hand down to about twelve inches above the floor to indicate his corn's tallness. "Last night, womans walk on corn. Break down. No good."

I went with him to his corn patch down in the village. It was a small plot, about fifteen feet square. The corn on one corner was broken and trampled into the ground, and everywhere were the imprints of small, bare feet.

"Whose footprints are these?" I asked, for a smart Indian like Little Jim couldn't be fooled on the imprint of a tribesman's foot.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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764 ing ground. Prior to the advent of the white man the Havasupais practised cremation, and between Bridal Veil and Mooney Falls, and also on the rim of the Grand Canyon, at a place since named Crematory Point, the 764 remains of scores of burned bodies of men and women ●768 and also of horses were recently to be seen. For it was deemed of the greatest importance to give the spirit of the deceased the spirit of his dead horse, upon which he might ride to the dark abode of the underworld. Before it was burned, the horse must be strangled, and this was done by tightly tying a strip of wet buckskin around his neck, and, as it dried, it rapidly contracted and thus strangled the doomed animal. Then both human being and animal were burned.

But even this was not considered a sufficient offering to the powers of the dead. Returning to the village, a peach tree in the orchard of the dead man was cut down that it might also be "dead" and thus accompany its owner to the spirit world and give him its refreshing fruit there. On the death of a chieftain or great warrior, several peach trees — thapala — are cut down.

Of late years, however, these customs of cremation, strangling of horses, burning of treasures, and cutting down of peach trees have not been as universal as formerly. Hotouta, the oldest son of Kohot Navaho, the last of the old chiefs, had great influence with his people, and Mr. Bass succeeded in convincing him of the extravagant folly of thus wasting on the dead, to whom the sacrifices were of no benefit, that which could be of so much use to the living. Consequently his influence materially helped to change the custom from cremation to ground interment. Later, after Hotouta's death, when several families had gone back to the old

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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habit of cremation, others exercised their influence with the Havasupais to lead them to abandon the old custom. These endeavors were all effective to a large extent, and, when Captain Navaho, the last great Kohot the Havasupais will ever have, died in 1898, he was buried instead of being cremated. Late in 1897, however, the son of Sinyela died, and though in many things Sinyela is one of the most progressive of the Havasupais, he and his brother took the boy's body across a horse, tied an axe to the corpse, and started up the canyon towards Topocobya. When they returned the axe had been used, the horse was strangled, and burned bones of human and equine bodies in a side gorge attest the hold the old superstitions and customs still have upon the Havasupai mind.

And again in the summer of 1899 — May or June — when the daughter of the present Kohot and wife of Lanoman (another son of Sinyela) died, Lanoman felt that nothing short of the old and time-honored method of cremation would be suitable for the daughter of the new chief and the wife of so smart and bright an Indian as himself. For Lanoman knew more English, perhaps, than any other Havasupai, and was afflicted with the not uncommon complaint of great self-esteem and conceit. Accordingly, the body was clothed in the finest blankets of the wardrobe, and many precious things were taken with it to the Havasu Canyon below Mooney Falls. Tenderly the body was lowered down the already nearly useless ladder, and after suitable wailing, the funeral pyre was built, the body placed thereupon, more wood heaped around and over the body, and then the whole fired. When the body was destroyed, the mourners returned, kicking

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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764 down the upper portion of the ladder as they did so,
•768 that no other Havasupai should be burned there, and also that no white foot should again desecrate the sacred precincts of the lower Havasu Canyon. Then, that the favorite horse of the woman thus honored after her death should follow her to the underworld, it was taken to the edge of the plateau above, from which the descent to Bridal Veil and the upper portion of Mooney Falls is made, the wet strip of buckskin tied around its neck, and, as the cord dried and tightened, and the poor animal began to reel and totter in its death struggles, it was given a push, tumbled over the edge, and — instead of descending to the lower canyon at the foot of the Falls where the burned body was — fell on the shelves of limestone accretions which terrace the canyon at the side of the Falls, bounded from one terrace to another, and then, to the infinite disgust of the mourners, lodged there. And there it still remains — or what is left of it, for, as I passed by in July, 1899, though I could not see the animal, the frightful odor of the carrion ascended to the very heavens.

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

786 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[788] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl who was the exception had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these collineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in
736 any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in
[562] which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several other men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [126]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

291 ship period.
302
532
[114] Spier (1928, 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buck-
[301] skin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbit-skin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 139) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four handannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[297] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh
[295] of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another
[415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins
[177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver,
[301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their
[302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by
[768] Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Siayella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding
[177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

viving children and if they were economically able to support them. It appears that the levirate was seldom practiced if a widow had no children. An old man made the following statement: "When a man died, his widow married his brother or his cousin. A man's family wouldn't let his widow marry outside his relatives, and a widow had a right to expect another husband from them. If a widow had some children, her dead husband's brother had to marry her to take care of the children if he was a single man. If he was married, his own wife or the widow might not want the marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to." 587

Remarriage of a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband; this again, reduces the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her farmer-in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband, according to Spier (1928, 233), and present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse: "If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year or two before she remarried. It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule." 587 768

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years. 587

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service, revealed specifically in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's 585

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

422 by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.
562

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, [768] it is burned or interred with him. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was 423 inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his con- 428 sanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Tensions and Changes

578 Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male 562 priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among 428 women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male rela- 177 tives such as cousins one or more degrees removed, and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that among their white neighbors women inherit and own property, including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

428 In regard to aboriginal land ownership, Spier (1928, 231) wrote: "Title 562 to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support." He em- [423] phasized, in his 1957 communication, that land is of no value to the Havasupai save as it is used. "There would have been no point for them owning land without putting it to use, at the moment or in the foreseeable future."

In the present population at least 10 women own one or more plots of 423 land. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of 562 the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning, several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed, should the need arise, among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands, but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of which they are a part. The [428] number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1892 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [17] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes sev- 591 eral generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [591] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [768] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422] settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251 a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 845
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 544 [525]

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked good seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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then, is the special form which the Havasupai have given to the combined Plains and apron dresses. Even this is not peculiar to them alone, for the Yavapai have an identical costume. Other tribes on the border of mingled distributions have made the combination in other ways; the Kaibab have added a short front apron over the Plains dress, the Navaho linked two squares of cloth in the manner of the Plains dress, while quite another combination is the use of aprons and long dress alternately, as among the Klamath. Here we have illustrations of two kinds of cultural composition, namely combination and duplication.

We may observe another process, the transfer of a technique, in the sex division of labor. All work in skins is in the hands of Havasupai men from the butchery of a deer to the manufacture of a woman's dress. Skin dressing by men was also the custom among the Navaho, Yavapai, and Cocopa. Skin dressing and working in the Plains, on the other hand, is a womanly task, which suggests that in the Southwest the Pueblo idea of men as garment workers has been transferred to another material among their Rancheria neighbors.

Quite another analysis may be made in the case of games. It is possible to show that the moccasin game of the upper Mississippi drainage and the Southwestern hidden ball game, while superficially alike, are so because of convergent development.

To turn to quite another sphere, we find here ownership of fruit trees independent of the ground on which they stand, a feature strongly reminiscent of parts of Melanesia and the west coast of Africa. The factors in this development are obvious. Havasupai ownership of land is really ownership of the produce of the land, which is looked upon as so much personal property. Like other personal belongings, the standing crops are ordinarily cut down and burned on the death of their owner. Fruits (peaches, ultimately derived from Spanish sources, and nuts) were seemingly brought in as personal possessions and maintained as such. It is, then, quite in harmony with Havasupai sentiment toward land produce that the few fruit trees should be looked on as personal belongings to be disposed of by testament or sale regardless of the site they occupy.

8:Service E-5 (1946) 1947
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Several changes have occurred since Spier's visits. The Indians no longer spend the fall and winter months of each year on the Plateau gathering wild foods and hunting. Males are more prominent nowadays as workers of agricultural land, possibly because this is the chief source of food, whereas in earlier times male hunting and female gathering were important supplementary food-getting activities, especially during the season of Plateau residence. White influence, too, is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance. Correlated with the above changes, the custom of temporary matrilocal postmarital residence is disappearing.

Out of 57 intra-village marriages in the past 30 years, 38 were clearly patrilocal, 16 intermediate, and 3 permanently matriocal. The patrilocal couples all work on the husband's family's land, or have already inherited a share of it. All of the 16 "intermediate" couples live where they do because of various exigencies involving the inheritance of the land they work and/or the acquisition of one of the few permanent type houses. Of the three cases of matrilocality, two occurred because the male's father's household had died out. The other case is that of Spoonhead, who inherited no land from his own family. The reason for this will be mentioned later.

It therefore appears that the second of Spier's conditions has taken place to some extent, namely, an increase in male prominence with more regularity in patrilocal residence. Furthermore, this seems correlated with patrilineal inheritance of land. Apparently this inheritance, however, has not been of the sort that has furthered the patrilineal tracing of kindred. Disposal of land has often been attended by acrimonious disputes, so that one is probably justified in judging that perhaps neither individual ownership nor simple patrilineal succession are necessarily the only rules by which land is allocated. With this in mind I shall attempt to describe land rights by summing up data which involved circumstantial cases of inheritance, transactions, wills, and other overt manifestations.

Items of personal use other than land are clearly owned by the individual, and objects which are on the land—houses, crops, horses, and the few cattle—are also individually owned, for there is abundant evidence that a person can dispose of these items largely as he wishes. When he dies, much of his personal property is buried with him, his house is burned or abandoned,[4] and the crops he

[4] About half of the houses are now of a permanent type and are not burned at the occupant's death, but are temporarily abandoned, to be occupied later when needed. There is no particular rule of inheritance with respect to the permanent houses, so they can be considered negligible as a factor in this discussion of inheritance. In another type of community, house ownership could, of course, be very important. See Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Hopi-Cien*

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423 planted stand in the fields and rot or are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[422] his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any decision he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed according to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any perverse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justified this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
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Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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than a closer one. It is explicitly felt and avowed that no man should be without enough land for himself and his family, and it is this feeling which tends to keep land holdings more equalized than they would be otherwise. It is quite possible that in this factor public opinion, with a conception of community rights in land, intrudes itself most clearly and overrides the idea of familial rights.

All this is not to say that the land is at any given time always equally divided among families in accordance with the enumerated principles. For example, there is at the present time a widespread dissatisfaction with the amount of land controlled by the Sinyella family. This is because, of the once numerous family, only two brothers remain in the canyon, and they are both unable to work. Consequently they have considerably more land than they can use. This excess land lies idle because several younger members of the Sinyella family are now living outside the canyon. It is difficult to foretell exactly how the community will resolve this situation, but I should guess that if the younger Sinyellas do not return soon, someone else, probably newlyweds, will get permission to use some of the land. After a period of occupation, this land will be thought of as theirs. This is the way such conditions have often worked out previously. Spier has stated that proprietary rights in land depended most emphatically on use,[7] and this feeling seems to be strong today. It is difficult to lend a piece of land for a while, for after the new incumbent has used it for more than a couple of years, he has a pretty valid claim on it and is difficult to dislodge.

In some cases widows hold some of their husband's land, but it is usually, perhaps always, because of the magnanimity of their dead husband's relatives. As soon as a widow remarries, the land reverts to the original family.[8] In general, land tends to stay in the consanguineal family. Rarely, a daughter as well as a son may share in the family land, especially if she marries a man who has little or no land of his own. The Havasupai *say* that newlyweds should be given land by whichever family can best afford it, or preferably by both. If they are not given land outright, as is sometimes the case, they should help work the land and share in the produce of whichever family can best accommodate them. Detailed inheritance histories show that actually the husband's family tends to assume this burden more often than the girl's, but it is not a clear cut rule. As already suggested, it is this condition which seems to determine the present day post-marital residence. There is no marriage rule, beyond a feeling that close

7 *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 231.

8 See Ruth Benedict, *Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 368-373, 1936).

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of
● [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [727] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, [754] as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

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221
805 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

/101 cont./

622 and fair-minded; he ruled his people with unquestioned firmness, yet with fairness.

428 Children belong to and inherit property through the father.
614 No trace of a clan system has been found, even in the naming of
551 children, the means by which totemic names are perpetuated
[614] among the Yuman tribes of the Colorado river. In these tribes
[197] all the female descendants in the male line bear the gentile name, if such it may be called, but the Havasupai name their girls from some incident in their lives or from individual peculiarity, as, for instance, Tasáwiché, "Sunlight through the Leaves," Matékaliwa, "Flapping Ears," and Chékúchéku, "Dancing between Two Men." In so small a tribe a complete
582 clan organization, even if such existed, could hardly be per-
[182] [614] petuated, since marriages between blood relations, though comparatively remote, are inevitable, and in the case of the Havasupai they are so common that no one can fathom the intricacies of his various relationships to other members of the
584 tribe. Marriage is by consent of the girl's parents and is without
585 ceremony. Polygamy being common, property is held in
595 severalty by man and wife, and in case of separation each takes
421 his own.

764 Until very recently the dead, as in all Yuman tribes were
[177] cremated; the present form of burial is in shallow graves in the rocks at the foot of the cliff. After death the family and friends assemble to mourn and tell the departed one that they are troubled, for they do not know where he has gone. Formerly horses were killed at the grave, and all earthly possessions of the
● 768 deceased, even /102/ his peach trees, were burned. Food was burned with the body, and the dwelling was razed and taken away to be rebuilt.

755 The medicine-men in their practices use no herbs, but
756 resort wholly to incantation, believing that power to heal comes to them in childhood through dream-songs. Besides singing, the medicine-man sucks the seat of pain and pretends to extract therefrom either evil blood or foreign objects that cause the ill-
756 ness. In case of successful treatment the medicine-man is remunerated. He must keep the average of failures at a minimum,

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533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance
527 during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form,
535 except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

[301] At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the Cali-
177 fornia ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the
535 latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1]
769 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a
177 Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George,
769 Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him
775 to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidjl'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid*, 811, 813.
[3] James, (b), 285.

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RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are
known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits,
one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or
lies unconscious (*k'édjimpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a
man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly
self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he
fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no
explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămiyĕ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others
may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1]The word *kwĕdjădlă* was also given for ghost in an association test.

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however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be cut down and burned. 768 428 [763]

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance. 765 [587]

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wail for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning. [177]

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gensler, the former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house. 769 [761]

Comparative Notes

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribution. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,[1] Luiseño, Dieguеño, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them[2]). Kroeber's map[3] showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabrielino, and Fernandeño, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuñi now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.[4] 171 764

[1] Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.
[2] Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 106, 114, 117; Bourke, (e), 501; Corbusier, 227, 337; Jones, (e), 148; Kroeber, (a), 281; Bourke, (a), 184; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 202; Cremony (103) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 582; Hooper, 343; Davis, (e), 94, 99; Sparkman, 220; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baegert (387) gives burial for Baja California.
[3] Kroeber, (c), 295.
[4] Lowie, (i), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlička, (e), 45. Cremony (102) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lippe, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 305; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

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In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed";[1] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[2] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed.

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[3] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yókuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[4] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[5] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[6]

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive

[1] Haye, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 96.
[2] Powers, 329; "A long rods was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[3] For the latter see above, p. 270.
[4] Lowie, (i), 279; Curtis, II, 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 781; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trippel, 8; Hooper, 343; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 625 ff.; (c), 100, 103, 148; Sparkman, 226; Mason, J. A., (a), 168; Powers, 104, 321, 328, 353-356, 384 391; Dixon, (a), 245-250; Barrett, (b), 9.
[5] The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (226) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[6] This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta [Dixon, (b), 230]. Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account [Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 335; Powers, 164] and to the Southwestern Wintun [Barrett, (c), 438]. In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima [Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 195].

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171 764 765 769 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa, Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseño, Miwok, and Yokaia, but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 765 769 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills, and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseño "clothes-burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few months among the Yokaia and the Miwok when important men are concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, commemorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as recurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regardless of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño forms, all three image ceremonies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evidence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes: the Maricopa and possibly the Yokaia Pomo hold the performance for prominent men alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities; simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These crosses are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 100, 103 ff.

[2] Mooney, (b), 738; Boas, (a), 645; Teit, (a), 329, 335; (b), 372; Gibbs (289) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Indians fabricated effigies or carved them.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. [764]

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
784 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

716 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. [774] Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls.

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [755]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 [756]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [769]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 [738]]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gätágáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

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explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ɑ̆mĭyᵉ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others
may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *kwĭdjĭddĭd* was also given for ghost in an association test.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

•771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

Havasupai Reservation includes about 300 acres of cultivable land. Asahel Perry, Indian Service extension agent, opined that in 1958 between 80 and 100 acres was under cultivation. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about 3 ft. in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program met with very limited success and the project was abandoned. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of claim to land or reduction in acreage. 311 [657]

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. The Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land. 423 [578]

Five Havasupai individuals have accepted employment under the Indian Service Relocation Program. Three men, two of them unmarried, returned to the reservation within a short time. One man, a family head, has now been employed in a Los Angeles furniture factory for three years. An unmarried woman, in hospital work for 18 months, probably will continue on relocation; she had been previously employed off the reservation for approximately six years. 657

Religion

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweat bath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is made primarily in religious terms. 771

Spier (1928, 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." They resemble, he says, the Southwestern tribes only in their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the practice of the lower Colorado tribes. 771 114 191

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

715 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
780 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 276.

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohónina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

●771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

773 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the
197 parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.
174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).] 771 177

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high. 772 [823]

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ǎ°bǎ°djih. [756]

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people] 823 [174 177]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi. 101 186 177

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gätágama. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony;

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

3. i'pedja'ẃlia, the name of a constellation rendered ip'ẃha in a myth, (from i'i, wood, pik, to carry.) 805 821

Very cold; snow nine to twelve inches deep on the plateau.

Begins with the appearance in the southeast of a constellation representing Coyote carrying a pole of smaller stars on his shoulder. Mountain Lion came to his camp and ate his food. Coyote was angry. They told him to get a long pole and build a fire. He did not want to burn his pole, so they told him to go to the west and come back from the east. (Rose December 12 or 13, 1919.) [773]

This is called the second month in a letter from Jess Cheekapanyega giving the date on which the group arose. As this is only a month later than the first fixed date (Nov. 4, 1919) this information is probably correct. The month listed as second is perhaps the third, for the fixed date for the fourth month (Feb. 6, 1920) is two months later, leaving one lunation unnamed.

4. hõmáshà'dàdlia, star+very cold

Bitter cold; snow thigh deep.

Begins with the appearance of a constellation (Fig. 38d) in the east. (Rose about February 6, 1920.) This group may represent a portion of the constellation Perseus including the star alpha which would be visible in the northeast in December, January, and February in the early evening.[1]

5. màdigimaſà, bean dance.

A little warm; snow a foot deep now melts a little.

The Hopi plant beans in a bucket and build a fire near it. They boil the sprouts and have a dance for joy, I was told. This is the Hopi Powamu ceremony which occurs early in February.[2] My informant said this month is not counted, hence its name may be an alternative for the fourth month.

6. màwaſipūk, warmed.

Warmer; snow melts lower [March.]

7. màwaià't'dvingà, warm+half-way

Some begin to plant when the last crescent of the moon shows.

[Leaving out the fifth month, this is April: planting begins in mid-April.]

8. màwaiſkàtàvàvà, warm+gone. (The moon is gone by the end of this month.)

Planting during this month [May].

9. hyàtàpū'k, sun+to make [warm?]

Hot; planting ended; alfalfa high and cottonwood in full leaf [June.]

10. hyàkàtuyumiyà'kà

A little rain [July.]

"We do not count this month."

11. gàſwotàsàpò'gà, thunder storm

Summer storms begin when this moon is half gone [August.]

The current month was given as gaſwo'mahud on August 31, 1921.

12. gàſwapū'kteiwū'k.

Many storms with floods [September.]

[1] Dr. C. D. Shane was kind enough to suggest identifications of these star clusters on the basis of my informant's fragmentary data.
[2] Voth, 73, 83.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupái

805 821 The list is apparently incomplete and garbled, yet I have attempted to give the approximately corresponding months in our calendar on the basis of the dating of the constellations and the descriptions of the seasons.

It is obvious that twelve names cannot do duty for not quite thirteen lunations and it is manifest that the Havasupai do not attempt the impossible. I was told that these are not intended to coincide with the lunar months and that the days are not counted. It seems that what I [171] found true of the Southern Diegueño applies here: that these Indians are interested only in designating a series of periods without attempting to fix their limits, and these periods are roughly the lunations, the names of which are variable and frequently in doubt. The only certain months are those fixed by the appearance of the several star clusters, and these all occur at the beginning of the Havasupai year. There can be no question here of intercalation of the thirteenth lunation in a twelve name series.

There is some suggestion that the months begin with the full moon.

Month	*Began*	*Full Moon*
1st–1917	Middle of November	Nov. 28, 1917
1st–1919	Nov. 4, 1919	Nov. 7, 1919
3rd (or 2nd)– 1919	Dec. 12 or 13, 1919	Dec. 7, 1919
4th–1920	Feb. 6, 1920	Feb. 4, 1920

The solstices are recognized. Sinyella has a definite place where he stands to observe both solstices at sunrise. Presumably the other fixed points are pinnacles, etc., on the canyon walls. (Normally the canyon is deserted in mid-winter.) The winter solstice (*n„avȯ́kĭg*, coming back) occurs when the moon is half full. Sinyella fixed this as December 30, 1919. The summer solstice is *tnydhĭn„an„ndwaha*, the sun is home. I did not learn of any rituals connected with these dates.

Time is indicated chiefly by the position of the sun.

n„imĭθa'vumà	day time
inya''djĭt'dligigà	sun barely risen
inyá'tapóvigigà	sun risen half way
inyá'vĭluwĭvigà	noon (sun in the middle[1])
inyádrepóvigà	sun halfway down
inyáta'pmigà	sun fallen out of sight
naták'épigà	night
naták'épvĭluwĭvigà	midnight
dju'vn„mθavàn igpafim	before the dawn
halávàȯ'pigigà	dawn.

[773] The moon (*hald*) is a man or a man's head. A myth also describes it as a disk chipped out of ice.

[1] Or the sun making no progress: compare o'lovĭluwĭvigà, horses racing nose to nose.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ádjúdá*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ihaⁿyakáidáp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [782]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyᵉ'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gísámd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1]Compare Yavapai pa-amache, shaman (Corbusier, 233)

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod body and heart, "the last consumed"[1] while among the Southern Maidu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.[2] At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed. 171 764 773

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.[3] This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokaia Pomo, Southern and Northern Maidu, and Washo.[4] Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño[5] and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maidu south of the American River, and the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.[6] 171 765 769

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive 171 764 765 769

[1]Heye, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 96.
[2]Powers, 329; "A long rods was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)
[3]For the latter see above, p. 279.
[4]Lowie, (i), 279; Curtis, II, 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 281; Allen, 615; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trippel, 8; Hooper, 343; Kroeber, (g), 65; Du Bois, (a), 625 ff.; (c), 100, 103, 148; Sparkman, 226; Mason, J. A., (a), 168; Powers, 164, 321, 328, 353-356, 384 391; Dixon, (a), 245 259; Barrett, (b), 9.
[5]The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (226) but not by Davis or Du Bois.
[6]This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achomawi, and Shasta [Dixon, (b), 230]. Klamath, to the Athabascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokaia on the basis of Powers' account [Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 335; Powers, 164] and to the Southwestern Wintun [Barrett, (c), 438]. In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima [Corbusier, 338; Russell, (d), 105].

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 320).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I know how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, (d), 491.) The Yehonawa-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, (e), 216.) Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, (i), 265). [773] [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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covered girl lies on this (*opdgá*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*ahuá'ñgá*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (i), 145–147, (j), 283, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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586 thing" was a good-sized blanket—accepted as a fair exchange for a young and daring wife.

582 Marriage came early to the young people of this tribe. Those who had established homes were spoken of as "husband" and 586 "wife." The formality of divorce was unknown, and separations were unusual. Was it the very sacredness of the marriage ceremony 581 that thus secured the stability of the home? I knew that almost every act of a Havasupai's life was performed according to a prescribed formula. Since marriage was the basis on which the home existed, and tribal government was dedicated to family welfare, the ceremony uniting man and wife should be most impressive.

581 On Bob's next visit to the school, I had my explanation. "Man, 713 woman, love, they marry—that all. Coyote tell Indians that. Coyote not un'erstand paper marry, like white man. He tell us all he know. Coyote our father. People do like he say."

There it was again, "Coyote is our father," an expression that made me question how Coyote differed from Deer and Bear. Sometimes a man would say, "Coyote taught us." Coyote's unique leadership gave me the feeling that in some way, the animal was a member of the tribe. Other tribes had gens or clans, each designated by the name of a wild animal. This leads to the thought that when the tribes separated, one clan, the Coyote, may have become the Havasupai people.

584 Among a people so dominated by ritual, it was surprising to learn that marriage here was often consummated by a sort of hit-or-miss procedure. The boy might take his chance by slipping into the wickiup of the girl's parents at night. If he were not welcome, the women of the lodge chased him out, and if he were not too fleet of foot, gave him a beating that discouraged any thought of return. But if he were accepted by the girl and [583] her family, he presented his gifts to the parents and moved into the family home.

584 Not all marriages were arranged in this manner. In the small 591 village of Supai, each individual knew every other person in-

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Talking Stones

An evening with an old storyteller sitting by his outdoor fire, pipe in hand, means a tale worth remembering. In this setting, the old men passed on to the children the legends of the tribe's wanderings. Of course each narrator spiced his tale with a little of himself, his imagination, his whimsy or his logic. But the theme never varied: always the gods led the Havasupai. When memory grew dim, these storytellers need only tread again an ancient trail, peer into a long-abandoned cave, or read the messages on boulders and stone walls to recapture the story's flavor and sequence of events. Of these legends, one, at least, certainly had the ring of truth.

Evidence other than Indian lore indicates that, generations back, the Havasupai lived in the region of the Little Colorado River. They may have settled there after the god Tochopa, on account of the crowded conditions in Mattawedita Canyon, dispersed the tribes. However, this new location again placed the tribe within raiding distance of the savage Whajes (Apache), who relentlessly drove them from their cliff dwellings and gardens to wander in an unfriendly wilderness. The tribe crossed the desert to the San Francisco Mountains, but even here they could not live in peace, so again took the westward trail, seeking the home to which their gods would lead them. A canyon cut across their path. They worked their way down its rugged walls to the floor—an oasis of greenery cut by a rollicking stream of blue water.

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It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

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conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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CHAPTER XIV

THE HAVASUPAIS AND THEIR LEGENDS

IN almost every case one finds a variety of differing legends related by the Indians of any tribe upon the same subject. As the Wallapais and Havasupais are cousins, one would naturally expect their legends to have some things in common. How much this is so will be seen by a comparison of the following story with that of the Wallapai Origin Legend.

"The two gods of the universe," said O-dig-i-ni-ni'-a, the relator of the mythic lore of the Havasupais, "are Tochopa and Hokomata. Tochopa he heap good. Hokomata heap han-a-to-op'-o-gi — heap bad — all same white man's devil. Him Hokomata make big row with Tochopa, and he say he drown the world.

"Tochopa was full of sadness at the news. He had one daughter whom he devotedly loved, and from her he had hoped would descend the whole human race for whom the world had been made. If Hokomata persisted in his wicked determination she must be saved at all hazard. So, working day and night, he speedily prepared the trunk of a pinion tree by hollowing it out from one end. In this hollow tree he placed food and other necessaries, and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must go into this tree and there be sealed up, he took

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the tree, and then sat down to await the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, deluges came, making more noise than a thousand Hack-a-tai-as (Colorado River) and covering all the earth with water. The pinion log floated, and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh, while the waters surged higher and higher and covered the tops of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-woul-a (Williams Mountain), and all the other mountains of the world.

"But the waters of heaven could not always be pouring down, and soon after they ceased, the flood upon the earth found a way to rush into the sea. And as it dashed down it cut through the rocks of the plateaus and made the deep Chic-a-mi-mi (canyon) of the Colorado River (Hack-a-tai-a). Soon all the water was gone.

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"Then Pu-keh-eh found her log no longer floating, and she peeped out of the window Tochopa had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and almost dark, she could see in the dim distance the great mountains of the San Francisco range. And near by was the canyon of the Little Colorado, and to the north was Hack-a-tai-a, and to the west was the canyon of the Havasu.

"The flood had lasted so long that she had grown to be a woman, and, seeing the water gone, she came out and began to make pottery and baskets as her father long ago had taught her. But she was a woman. And what is a woman without a child in her arms or nursing at her breasts? How she longed to be a mother! But where was a father for her child? Alas! there was no man in the whole universe!

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"Day after day longings for maternity filled her heart, until, one morning, — glorious happy morning for Pu-keh-eh and the Havasu race, — the darkness began to disappear, and in the far-away east soft and new brightness appeared. It was the triumphant Sun coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. Nearer and nearer he came, and at last, as he peeped over the far-away mesa summits, Pu-keh-eh arose and thanked Tochopa, for here, at last, was a father for her child. She conceived, and in the fulness of time bore a son, whom she delighted in and called In-ya'-a — the son of the Sun.

"But as the days rolled on she again felt the longings for maternity. By this time she had wandered far to the west and had entered the beautiful canyon of the Havasu, where deep down between the rocks were several grand and glorious waterfalls, and one of these, Wa-ha-hath-peek-ha-ha, she determined should be the father of her second child.

"When it was born it was a girl, and to this day all the girls of the Havasupai are 'daughters of the water.'

"As these two children grew up they married, and thus became the progenitors of the human race. First the Havasupais were born, then the Apaches, then the Wallapais, then the Hopis, then the Paiutis, then the Navahoes.

"And Tochopa told them all where they should live. The Havasupais and the Apaches were to dwell in Havasu Canyon, the former on one side of the Havasu (blue water), and the latter on the other side, and occupy the territory as far east as the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco Mountains. The Wallapais were to roam in the country west of Havasu Canyon, and the

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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Hopis and Navahoes east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiutis north of the big Colorado.

"And there in Havasu Canyon, above their dancing-place, he carved on the summit of the walls figures of Pu-keh-eh and A-pa-a to remind them from whom they were descended. Here for a long time Havasupais and Apaches lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a most beautiful Havasu woman, and he fell in love with her, and he went to his home and prayed and longed and ate his heart out for this woman who was the wife of another. He called upon Hokomata, the bad god, to help him, and Hokomata, always glad to foment trouble, told him to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to cross the Havasu, kill the woman's husband, and steal her for his own wife.

"The Apache heeded this evil counsel and did so.

"When the Havasupais discovered the wrong that had been done them, and the great disgrace this Apache had brought upon the tribe, they counselled together, and determined to drive out the Apaches from their canyon home. No longer should they be brothers. They bade the Apaches be gone, and when they refused, fell upon them and drove them out. Up the rocks near Hue-gli-i-wa the Apaches climbed, and to this day the marks of their footsteps may be seen. They were driven far away to the south and commanded never to come north of the San Francisco Mountains. Hence, though originally they were brothers, there has ever since been war between the people of the Havasu and the Apaches.

"Then, to remind them of the sure punishment that comes to evil-doers. Tochopa carved the great stone

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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figures of the Apache man and the Havasupai squaw so that they could be seen from above and below, and there to this day the Hue-gli-i-wa remain, as a warning against unlawful love and its dire consequences."

Here is another story told by a shaman of the Havasupais of the origin of the race. It is interesting and instructive to note the points of similarity and difference.

"In the days of long ago a man and a woman (Hokomata and Pukeheh Panowa) lived here on the earth. By and by a son was born to them, whom they named Tochopa. As he grew up to manhood Pukeheh Panowa fell in love with him and wished to marry him, but he instinctively shrank from such incestuous intercourse. The woman grew angry as he repelled her, and she made a number of frogs which brought large volumes of water. Soon all the country began to be flooded with water, and Hokomata found out what was the matter. He then took Tochopa and a girl and placed them in the trunk of a pinion tree, sealed it up, and sent them afloat on the waters. He stored the tree with corn, peaches, pumpkins, and other food, so they would not be hungry, and for many long days the tree floated hither and thither on the face of the waters. Soon the waters began to subside, and the tree grounded near to where the Little Colorado now is. When Tochopa found the tree was no longer floating he knocked on the side, and Hokomata heard him and came and let him out. As he stepped on the ground he saw Huchanapatcha (the San Francisco Mountains), Huegadawiza (Red Butte), Huegawōōla (Williams Mountain), and he said: "I know these mountains. This is not far from my country. And the water ran down the Hack-a-tha-eh-la (the salty stream, or the Little Colorado) and made Hack-

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon of the Colorado). Here he and his wife lived until she gave birth to the son and daughter as before related."

The way the Wallapai became a separate people is thus related by the Havasupais:

"A long time ago the animals were all the same as Indians, and the Indians as the animals. The Coyote he lived here in Havasu Canyon. One time he go away for a long time and he catch 'em a good squaw, and by and bye he have a little boy.

"The little boy grew up to be a man, and he went up on top (out of the canyon, upon the higher plateaus), and there he found two squaw. It heap cold on top, and he get two squaw to keep him warm when he go to sleep. Then he came back to Havasu, and when his papa (the Coyote) saw his two squaws he said: 'I take this one. One squaw enough for you.' But the boy was angry and said one squaw was not enough. 'When I lie down to sleep I heap cold. Squaw she heap warm. Two squaw keep me warm.' The Coyote told his son not to talk; he must be content with one squaw and go to sleep. And the squaw was proud that the Coyote had made her his wife, and she began to taunt the boy, and when he replied she asked the Coyote to tell his boy not to talk. And the Coyote was mad and spoke angrily to his boy.

"When he awoke in the morning his son was gone. And ten sleeps passed by and still he did not come back, so the Coyote tracked him up Wallapai Canyon, and went a long, long way. He reached the hilltop and still he did not find his son. At last, a long, long way off he saw him, and he changed him into a mountain sheep. Then a lot more mountain

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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sheep came and ran with the Coyote's son, and the Coyote could not tell which of the band was his boy. He looked and looked, but it was all in vain. He tried to change his boy back again, so that he would no longer be a mountain sheep, but, as he could not tell which was his boy, his efforts were in vain, and he had to go back to Havasu alone.

"For a long time the boy remained as a mountain sheep, until the horns had grown large upon his head. Then he changed himself back to a man, and he found his squaw there, waiting for him, and that is why, to this day, the Wallapai is to the Havasupai the A-mu-u or mountain sheep."

The origin of the Hopis is thus related by the Havasupais:

"Long time ago two men were born near Mooney Falls. They were twins, yet one was big man, and the other a little big. They came up into this part of the canyon (where the Havasupais now live). It was no good in those days. There was no water and it was 'heap hot.' The little big man he say: 'I no like 'em stay here. Let us go hunt 'em good place to live where we catch plenty water, plenty corn.' So they left the canyon and climbed out where the Hopi trail now is. Here they stayed in the forest some time, hunting and making buckskin. After they had got a large bundle of buckskins dressed, they put them on their backs and began to walk on to seek the country of lots of water, where plenty of corn would grow. But it was hot weather and the load was heavy, and they soon grew so very tired that the smaller brother began to cry. As they walked on he cried more and more,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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773 539 until when they came to the hilltop looking down to the Little Colorado River, he said: 'I cannot go any farther. I am going to lie down here and go to sleep.' So they both went to sleep, and when they woke up the big brother said: 'Where you go? You no walk long way. You heap tired.'

"And the little brother answered: 'I no like go farther. I go back Havasu. I catch 'em water there.'

"'All right!' replied the big brother, 'I no like Havasu. I go hunt water and plant corn and watermelons and sunflowers. You go back to Havasu.'

"And he gave him a little bit of corn, and that explains why the Havasupais can grow only a small amount of corn in their canyon, though it is exceedingly sweet and delicious.

"But the big brother went on and found the places now occupied by the Hopi, and he settled there. And as he had taken lots of corn with him and he planted it, that explains" (to the Havasupai mind) "why the Hopi has so much corn.

"And the smaller brother found water when he got back to Havasu, and he planted his corn, and cared for it, and went and hunted and caught the deer and made buckskin. Then he found a squaw who made baskets, and helped him make mescal, and they stopped there all the time.

"The Hopi brother learned to make blankets, but no buckskin, so when he wants buckskin he has to come to his smaller brother in Havasu Canyon."

172 173 361 In the early days the Havasupais were undoubtedly cliff-dwellers, for in a score or more places in their canyons are houses in the cliffs — some of them inacces-

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
● 773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
864 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
841 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔahu ʔ tʃga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔahuʔt' and red as ʔahuʔta by this investigator.

841 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
864 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
362 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

THE HAVASUPAI

when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [171] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [115 127]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the super-
782 natural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1) Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

716 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
766 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
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maps the San Francisco mountain is represented as belonging to the continuous Mogollon chain, which comes from the east southeast, and was called Sierra de los Cosninos, the name of a tribe of Indians inhabiting this region. I am under the impression that Leroux, the early explorer in that part of the country was finally murdered by the Cosninos, but I do not remember that the account has ever been printed." Whipple also refers to the "Cosnino caves," remarking that "the Cosnino caves had been plastered with mortar, showing more artistic skill than is practiced by the present occupants of the country" (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). And again on page 10 he goes to show that, taken collectively, the Pontos, Cosninos, and Yampais together number 6,000 souls; of these 2,000 were Yampais (p. 17). But all this is very brief and unsatisfactory. 195 114

Capt. John G. Bourke in his work on "The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona" (1884), says, "At Keam's ranch we met Mr. Alexander Steven, a bright Scotchman who during the past 12 years has had considerable experience as a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah. He gave me a thrilling account of his journey westward to the country of the Cohoninos, a tribe of Indians living in the cañon of Cataract Creek, near its junction with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in this Territory.

"They number only from forty to fifty warriors, live in the cliffs in winter, and build 'wickyups' or sapling lodges in summer. They say that the Hualpais (Wolapais), Apache-Mojaves, and themselves are all one people—Cohoninos—but that *their* proper designation is the "Ah-Supai. 195 101 [348]

"They raise an abundance of finest peaches, good corn and melons, and weave unusually fine and beautiful baskets. They are great hunters, and eke out a living by trading off buckskins, and sometimes mountain lion pelts, to the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches. 195 [241] [285] [439]

"The cañon in which they dwell is 4,500 feet deep, and is that of the Cataract Creek, a strong body of clear water tumbling by a series of cascades into the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1,500 feet still deeper, and separated from their village by a series of blood-curdling precipices and chasms" (pp. 80, 81). Captain Bourke, in speaking of the Moquis, says further, that "Intimate commercial relations are maintained with the Cohoninos or Ava-Supais on the west (*loc. cit.*, p. 254). [133] [439]

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, delivered in Washington, April 22, 1882, Mr. Frank H. Cushing in referring to the Zunians said, "Interesting among the hero-gods is the great priest of all religious orders save that of the bow, *Poskai Ankia*. In the days of the new, yet not until after men had begun their journey toward the east, he is supposed to have appeared among the ancestors of the Zuñis, the Taos, the Coconinos, and the Moqui Indians, so poor and ill-clad as to have been ridiculed by mankind." This lecture was afterwards published in The Popular Science Monthly, of New York (1882, p. 191). 114 993

648 177 ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how [412] my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

782 The worship of the Ha-va-su-paí consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

[539] "Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

823 The Ha-va-su-paí believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

● 773 539 Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

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sun, through a hole in the mountain. No sooner had the leader come out than he was overwhelmed by the bright light and the angry waters, and died; and while the people were weeping and wondering what they should do, the Coyote came, and said to them, 'Burn the body of your father, and scatter the ashes thereof upon the face of the water; then they will begin to dry away and the earth will grow hard.' 'Alas! we have no fire,' said the people. So the Coyote volunteered to fetch it, and forthwith ran far away in search of it. When he had gone, and the people, wondering if he would return, were still mourning, the blue-bottle fly, who was sunning himself on a dry branch, comforted them by saying that he would make fire for them. So, raising his wings, he rubbed them against one another, until the sparks flew out from them and ignited the branch he was perched upon. Then the people collected great quantities of wood, laid the body of the cacique thereon, and set fire to it with the branch the blue-bottle fly had lighted.

"The Coyote, who saw from afar the smoke of the fire they had kindled, was angry, and, running back as fast as he could, came to the place just as the body was consumed. But the heart still remained, and, rushing into the fire, he grabbed it in his mouth, and ran away with it. The fire was so hot that it singed his face and fore-paws: hence, to this day, the faces and fore-paws of the coyote are black. He ate only a part of the heart, burying the rest: hence, also, it is the nature of the coyote to bury his food away in the ground.

"Where the Coyote buried the heart a corn plant grew, and upon its stalks were six ears of corn, — yellow, white, variegated, black, blue, and red: hence, corn, springing from the heart of man, is his life to this day. As the nations of men came out one after another, each was given an ear of corn: yellow to the

NT13 531

Zuñi, white to the Moqui, variegated to the Northern nations, a very little black to the Apache, and blue to the Hua-la-pai; but the Ha-va-su-paí, coming last, had only a little red ear given them by the fathers [gods].

"Now they did not know how they could live on the small portion that had been given them. So the Coyote, when he heard them bemoaning their lot, came and told them to follow his example: therefore our fathers became a nation of hunters. As the waters of the world dried and flowed away, the face of the earth cracked, and was worn full of deep cañons. One of these cañons was very narrow and filled with rattlesnakes. This was the cañon of the Ha-va-su-paí; and down in a grotto, under the falls, lived a great goddess, Ka-mu-iu-dr-ma-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Mother of the Waters.' She was wooed by the rattlesnakes, and bore two sons, Ha-ma-u-giu-iu-é-ba, or 'Children of the Waters.' Upon the head of each was a great flint knife. Now the earth became so dry that our forefathers had but little water to drink, and, wandering about in search of it, came to the brink of the cañon; but they could not enter because of the rattlesnakes. So the two boys slew the rattlesnakes with their magic flint knives, and widened the rocks above the home of their mother. Then they guided them down the cañon, and built little houses high up among the cliffs; for the Apache Mojaves came in, too, and disputed possession with them. As the two children led the people down the cañon, they made their hand-prints on the walls, and painted the animals which should serve as food for their people. And these marks still remain on the rocks, and thither we go when we wish to secure the deer, or to ask for rain. When, at last, they reached the home of their mother, she told them that this should be their home forever; that it was not good to live on meat alone, but that they should build houses

[P. 558 B]

773 539 there, and plant the ear of corn they had, and it would be a means of life. So they did as she told them, and the Apache Mojaves lived above them, where the cañon was narrower. For a long time all was well, until a young Ha-va-su-paí man stole an Apache Mojave girl, which caused strife, and wars ensued, so that the Apache Mojaves were driven away. For this reason we live alone in the cañon.

"But, alas! the Coyote ate a part of the heart of the great cacique: hence, only during summer do we live in the home of the Mother of the Waters, and plant as she told us; but in winter we have to follow the deer with our father, the Coyote, and live only as he does, in houses of grass and bark; for the Mother of the Waters grew sad when her people became so foolish, and, leaving only one of her sons to take care of them, she went away to her home among the white shells, in the great world of waters.

[221 166]

"Do you Americans," said the old

[P. 559A]

man, as he ceased, with a sigh of longing, "never see the Mother of the Waters, when you wander along the shores of the great ocean?"

"Oh, yes," I said, and then I told him the story of the mermaid; and, happy almost to tears, he added, "Alas! I cannot tell you more, for the only books our fathers gave us were our hearts and our mouths."

A fairy story is this of the Nation of the Willows; and while science teaches us another tale, may we not poetically believe, with these simple natives, that they have always lived here, apart from the world of nations; that ever since they wandered forth from the four fertile wombs of mother earth, this little strip of land and river and willow, and the great rock-walls, so near together, yet so sublime and impassable, have bounded their generations of life, have had shadows cast on them by the smoke-clouds of the numberless funeral pyres of all their unnamed dead?

F. H. Cushing.

[P. 559 B]

/98 cont./

101 water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kohónina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

[313]

133 and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

137 While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant

771 vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

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197 Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only.

174 Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separa-
144 tion must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave.

[142] They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

161 /99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
844 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 Except for differences due to local coloring, the
● 793 Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are
known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits,
one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or
lies unconscious (*k'ódjImpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a
man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly
self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he
fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no
explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămiyᵘ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [787]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others
may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hwhjhlhl* was also given for ghost in an association test.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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775 was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees [774] and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who 177 draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when 775 he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes 776 people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjîpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed 774 so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or 822 both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow [192] are used; *ułłapoa"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yá'daiyá*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost 776 without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit 787 (*atmą"*)[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gi'atmą* (doctor, medicine).

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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *sutaws* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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774 cameras they feared, so leaving it in a shady spot, I went over to where they crouched behind a boulder and asked them why they ran. With much excited sputtering they made me understand that if I took a picture of them, their souls would go into the picture. One could not live without a soul. They illustrated with exaggerated gestures how dead they would be when their souls left their bodies.

I retrieved my camera and opening and focusing it, tucked it out of sight under my arm. When they returned, talking and laughing, I snapped the picture without their knowledge.

343 Families who owned large plots of ground had several store-
423 houses, some as many as five. Regardless of how the land had
427 been distributed when the People of the Blue Water settled in the canyon, through inheritance some individuals had acquired more land than they could till, and it was loaned or rented to friends or relatives. There were a few whose plots were no larger than the floor of a room, but every family had at least one storehouse tucked away in a crevice in the wall.

000 It was late afternoon when I returned to the school and wrote my report. I had been so intent on learning how the people raised their food and preserved it that I had not measured a foot of ground, nor counted the members of the tribe. Besides, what the Commissioner must know, I finally decided, was that the Havasupai needed garden tools; that the school children ate out of doors in all kinds of weather, and that their food was cooked on a range protected only by a bush. These things he could do something about. Here is my report, as it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Department of the Interior for the year 1901:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the annual report of the Havasupai tribe and school for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

241 Havasupai Tribe—The Havasupai is entirely self-supporting. He depends on the products of his farm for his livelihood. He is proud of his gardens and his orchards, but prouder still of the fact that he labors. Living on the banks of a clear, sparkling stream, he is never [312] troubled by crop failure. He utilizes the water of the stream for irrigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him;

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

869 shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes
224 of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made
[789] success more certain.

861 Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all
774 my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

626 However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance
681 with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

888 Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children
867 regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the
889 warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya′ and In-ya-ja-al′-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā′, commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 826 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Although a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 826 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 774 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. [774] Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls.

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 787 775 [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [962]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 434]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[489] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [844] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [766] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[759] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance
527 during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form,
535 except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

[301] At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

There can be no question that this dance antedates both the Cali-
177 fornia ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the
535 latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1]
769 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a
177 Paiute shaman, named Panámántà (Panamint?), living near St. George,
769 Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him
775 to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gîdjî'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 920, 921.
[2] *Ibid.* 811, 813.
[3] James, (b), 256.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both 774
soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'édjĭmpĭk*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămĭyĕ*[1]); this is short 775
and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their [187]
familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769]
alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1]The word *kwĕdjĭddĭd* was also given for ghost in an association test.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjîpa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wîtagoxâ"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yâ'âsatyâ*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sâmâ*[2])[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *yâ'âmâ* (doctor, medicine).

2:111ff Y-8 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

To the Mouth of the Havasu

576 Late one evening Frances and I were lingering at the supper table talking over the events of the day, when there came a sharp knock on the door. This was surprising as a Havasupai did not knock. He framed his face with his hands and looked in through the window or threw the door open and stalked in, accustomed to latchless doors. Also, after darkness fell he stayed close to his own 775 campfire and the living, for the ghosts of the dead walked at night. The person outside our door was not an Indian.

000 Frances and I were the only white people in the canyon. Miss Goenawein and Mr. Burnett had driven to Seligman on business. The night was dark, and neither of us felt too brave when we opened the door to a stranger, since we were completely alone, the policeman being at home a mile farther down the canyon.

George Wharton James, author of several books on Indians of the Southwest, introduced himself.

Mr. James had established his headquarters at the home of a village Indian whose friendship he had won on previous visits to the tribe. This time he had come prepared for a trip he believed no white person had ever made—the descent of the Havasu Canyon to its junction with the Grand Canyon. He had engaged Ute, a very old Indian, blind in one eye, as guide. He suggested that the ride might be interesting for us.

We couldn't miss this adventure! I had determined that I would not leave the school until I had followed the Havasu stream from

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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I tried, but swallowed hulls with the meats, so gave it up. 000

Kate replenished her supply by pouring dried seed[1] into her basket, scraping in live coals, and tossing them together with a rhythmic motion that kept seed and coals in a lively dance until the former were delicately browned. Changing the motion, she eliminated the coals as dexterously as a miner washes sand and dirt from his panned gold. Kate was ready to mill her second batch. Her ample body overlapping her fat legs called for a health talk on the dangers of overweight, but these carefree villagers had robbed me of the mood to lecture. Even to improve the health and the appearance of her body, I could not wipe that look of supreme enjoyment from Kate's pleasant face. 252

An older woman, bent over a basket she was weaving, sat on a blanket near the entrance to the house, her face lined with anxiety. In working out her design she was using the black bark of the devil's claw (two-pronged seed pod of the unicorn plant) against the white inner bark of the osier. There was something arresting about the woman's dejected posture and the wild, frightened look in her black eyes. 285 159

"Yunosi make new basket," Kate volunteered. She held up the basket she was using to show me its burned and broken condition. "I burn," she explained with a giggle. "Make new. I use."

Yunosi! That name explained the drawn muscles of the woman's face, the look of fright in her eyes. Only the previous week Bob had come to the office asking for medicine for Yunosi. His sister, he called her; but the terms sister, brother and cousin were loosely used to denote almost any blood relationship. From him I had learned her story. 159 158 [601]

As the wife of Chief Navaho's son, she had held an important position in the tribe. Her husband had been a good mixer; he had liked and befriended white men, and had learned enough English to converse intelligently, and from him Yunosi had learned many English expressions. A deep and lasting love blessed their union, so that after his death, she had more than the usual fear that his spirit would hover near her, unable to leave the one to whom he was so devoted. [775]

[1] i.e. sunflower seeds — Analyst]

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159 158 775 Her fear became an obsession. She could not sleep, for she was haunted by visions of her husband returning in the darkness to be at her side. She would cry out to him, not in her native tongue, but in the English he had taught her, calling him by his English name, "Why you come, Tom, why you come?" She would point him out to others in the lodge and ask pitifully, "You no see? He there. Why you no see him?" Their inability to see him only increased her confusion. The hallucination tortured her night after weary night. And her repeated question as she stared and pointed crazily at the apparition no one else could see caused the Indians to give her the new name, "You No See," which soon was shortened to Yunosi. For this affliction Bob had asked me to prescribe medicine, but since cough sirup, castor oil or quinine offered no hope, I sent him away empty-handed.

When I saw how real her suffering was, I longed to help her find peace. As tactfully as I could I explained my belief about death, but she sat like a carved image, with terror in her eyes. Watching her weave her intricate design, I took comfort in the thought that in this tribe of too few women, Yunosi would be wooed again and in establishing a new home, the hallucinations would surely be forgotten.

Yet as I walked back along the trail, I could not shake the memory of Yunosi's terror. Childish feuds over trampled corn and stolen blankets were one thing, but this first encounter with a fear so deeply grounded in myth and superstition made me realize how much a part of their living culture it was; and it would become the heritage of our school children, unless counteracted by education.

060 But the sun's rays were creeping down the white cliffs. Before long Vesnor would be herding the children into the schoolhouse. I would need a more substantial breakfast than a few sunflower seed to fortify me against the further problems of a day in that crowded classroom.

tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a 755 Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or [535] about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

776 177 787 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
[114] treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[821] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[237] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the super-
784 natural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(2) Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
766 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
761 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(2) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 378.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 [764]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [769]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787] [738]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sac- ● [775] rifice. Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose scalp has not been taken and burned, [727] torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821
221 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [765] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time
[759] brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[788] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

Concepts of Disease and Illness

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

Throughout his life he had been well respected, and during his final illness received the well wishes of many visitors who were deeply grieved at his approaching death. 764 [763] [554] [203]

The following day, in Havasupai village, Alva Jones, a village "crier," made the public announcement in a five minute oration in which he did not mention the deceased by name, referring to him as "that old man who was sick at Grand Canyon." He urged that the funeral be held in Supai and that the body be returned there for burial, but indicated that the relatives would make the decision.

Since the surviving relatives did not wish to suffer the expense of bringing the body to Supai, burial was arranged at the Drift Fence (between Grand Canyon village and Topocoba Hilltop) where the Havasupai have for some years maintained a small cemetery.

Among the people in the canyon several were restless, especially at night, and some reported seeing the ghost of Mexican Jack. It was not felt that this apparition would be harmful, but that in wanting to talk to the living it could be potentially dangerous. [775]

Mexican Jack was buried at the Drift Fence within a day or two with little ceremony.

On the afternoon of August 4th, Arthur Kaska, whose house was just across a fence marking the public land used for recreation, mounted his horse and rode to the recreation area, where rodeo practice was being held. From a position on horseback near the cow chute, he called a lengthy announcement to the effect that the funeral dance would be held that night. He urged everyone to attend and told them that the dance would be held in front of the house of Clark Jack, Mexican Jack's son. 765

By 8:30 p. m. a fire had been built in front of the house, and relatives of the deceased had begun to gather around it. Mark Hanna came and addressed the nonrelatives who were grouped nearby. He requested that someone from the audience act as a speaker to remonstrate with the relatives about weeping over the dead. There was no immediate response.

While Mark was talking, many other people arrived. It appeared that everyone had walked to the ceremony. No horses were to be seen that night or in the morning. (Havasupais, especially men and boys, usually ride everywhere--except to funerals and the annual round dance.) [492]

Soon the wailing by relatives began and people piled gifts of clothing near the mourners. The relatives were standing together in a tight line, [152]

765 Around 5:00 o'clock, when the sky was getting light, Guy Marshall and some other boys quickly dug a hole about 3 1/2 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 1/2 feet deep. They chopped some logs into short lengths and started a fire in it. Then someone came and asked Mack Putesoy to take charge of burning the clothing. Guy assisted him. Some boys removed it from the display rack and piled it on the east side of the firepit on top of two pasteboard boxes and a suitcase, containing Mexican Jack's personal clothing and possessions, on which Clark had sat throughout the night. Mack sprinkled this pile with a gallon of kerosene before consigning it to the flames.

765 535 After the last regular dance, all the dancers, led by James Wescogame and Teddy, began the round dance. They again moved out of the dance area to the firepit and, with the round dance step, circled the fire and clothing, with Mack and Guy inside the circle, which moved to the left. Although Bela and one or two boys fell in at the end of the line after the women, the number of dancers was too few to form an enclosed circle around the fire area. They continued to dance until all the donated clothing was thrown on the fire. The 765 152 last item consumed was the new chaps. Then the dancers stopped while the boxes and suitcase were emptied of their contents, and moved over to join the mourners and Mark, Arthur, and Allen, who had started to wail again when the fire was ignited. Arthur cried long and emotionally, with tears streaming down his face, his nose running, and saliva dripping from his mouth as he leaned forward so as not to soil his clothes. He had frequently wiped his tears away with his handkerchief during the night, and occasionally twisted it in his hands.

Clark kept wailing after the other mourners had stopped, accompanied only by Louis Sinyella, who wailed loudly in a deeper musical tone and a more ritual manner as he stood with his hand on Clark's shoulder.

965 Before the fire had burned down, but at the end of the wailing, people left. Those who had been sleeping in scattered groups around the area awoke and moved away. Only a few stayed behind to cover the hole and the fire.

[291] No participant had worn any costume or "badge of office." Men and women wore their usual clothing with no attempt at "dressing their best." A few men wore light overcoats or raincoats. Several women wore short jackets or sweaters, while a few boys wrapped themselves in blankets to ward off the early morning chill. The only special equipment used was the five rattles and the donated clothing.

● [775] The following night Mark reported that he had seen Mexican Jack's spirit around the ceremonial area the previous evening, and Teddy confided to Sidney that he had seen Mexican Jack's apparition standing beside him as he danced, and later saw in the fire when the clothes were burned.

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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjípa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wítagosd"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yd'dsal-yd*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd"*)[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gi'sdmd* (doctor, medicine).

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ddjúdd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ihalnyakitidp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógà and Pagiyóvà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyi'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gísimd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1]Compare Yavapai pa-esmacha, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gîθiyê'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatâgwi'ladmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

2:1liff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

2:Illiff Y-S (ca. 1961) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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176 823 ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

631 311 Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

342 The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

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173 Desert weary, they tarried by the stream, reluctant to leave a spot that had everything they so much desired, but their gods had not yet spoken. Discouraged, they began the long climb up to the plateau and westward. A child cried. The procession halted and the child's voice was stilled. Each effort to resume the journey brought that cry of protest. The wise men quickly issued their edict: "The gods speak to us through the voice of the child; this is the home to which they have led us."

Joyously the people unpacked their loads and began building houses and making gardens.

173 Handed down through many generations, this old tale expresses
176 the Indians' desire to lay in the laps of the gods every problem that affects their lives. On the canyon rim overlooking a wide section of the floor, they found the god-spirit in two gigantic pillars of stone. So they built their houses on either side of the stream of blue water where the gods could watch over them night and day.

133 The Indians' accounts of the god-spirit residing in the two stones turned our attention to the walls of the gorge. Miss Goenawein, the only old-timer employed at the school, had visited every point of interest within walking distance, so she acted as guide.

From the Indians she had learned of the Black Man. After Sunday school she took Frances and me to a side canyon where we gazed up at the shiny, black form of a giant stone man, lying prone as if he had dropped down and fallen asleep. We stood in the hot sun, trying to discover what force had caught and held the black mineral while the red sandstone built its layers around it. Doubtless the old men had a tale about this phenomenon, had we asked them. But in the discomfort of the intense heat and the sunlight striking our faces as we gazed upward, our interest in the Black Man quickly vanished. So we wandered over to examine some pictographs on a boulder, beautiful primitive art that could hold one entranced indefinitely.

212 The boulder stood in the center of the canyon; the base, worn away on one side, left a projecting ledge some four feet above the ground. Stooping low, we crawled under the ledge, straining for

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the Indian Office had appeared to persuade the Indians, by the offer of farming tools, to send their children to the Fort Mohave Indian School. At that time there was no school in the canyon. The Chemehuevi had been song leader at the dance, and made an eloquent appeal to the people to reject the agent's offer. He had cried:

> Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do, they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving willows by its side. He will rob you of your corn fields and peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting grounds are now all occupied by him; the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of Those Above, and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten.

And now the Havasupai believed that his prophecy was being fulfilled. The white men had come as predicted and taken over their canyon where the stream ever flowed. Soon they would be a homeless people.

Manakadja was deeply troubled. His tribesmen had elected him to his high office because he preached the doctrine that the white man and the Indian cannot live on the same ground; each must have his own, and there can be no encroaching, one on the other. The chief had decreed that no Havasupai blood should mingle with that of the white people, and never in the history of the tribe had there been such a marriage or mingling of blood.

But in the case of these intruders Manakadja was as helpless as any of us; so again the security of the People of the Blue Water rested in the laps of their gods.

Hilliff Y-8 (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

And the gods spoke—through a storm cloud—deciding the issue with one swift blow. Work was progressing toward completion when a flood roared down the canyon, wiping out the widened, costly trail, demolishing the equipment that had disfigured Mooney Falls, and causing the firm such financial loss that the project was abandoned. The white men rode out, one afternoon, over the hastily repaired trail, leaving the canyon to the people to whom it rightfully belonged.

The power of the gods was manifest once more, renewing courage and inspiring the whole village with fresh vitality. The people worked in homes and gardens, their former cheerfulness restored by this assurance that the gods who had led them to the canyon and taught them the skills by which they had survived, were still able to defend them.

Their faith in their gods was so sincere, and they spoke of them with such candor, that I might easily have learned how much of their culture the Havasupai attributed to this source. To meet their spiritual needs, they had their god-given songs and dances. To care for their sick, the gods had taught them how to make the *tobolwa* and the songs to be used in the healing ceremony. When they needed fire, the gods, through Coyote, had lighted the torch. These things I knew, but there was so much that I had failed to learn. They traced every skill to a time in the dim past when Those of Old were instructed by the deity. Now it was all too evident that some of these skills were falling into disuse.

They had been pottery makers but tin cans and lard pails had taken the place of clay utensils. Happily, baskets were still plentiful in every home. They were strong and somewhat coarse in order to stand up under the rough usage as toasting baskets, burden baskets, water bottles and general containers. However, the watertight cooking basket, used by their ancestors, into which heated stones were dropped to keep the contents boiling, was now a relic of the past. The imperfectness with which these cooked the food and the constant attention they demanded, doomed them to this fate. As the stones had cooled, they were replaced with others fresh

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

down, the Cataract Canyon trail goes over a portion of this talus to avoid the creek, which has here crossed from the other side of the canyon and has become a rapidly flowing stream some two feet or more in depth. Attached to this talus is a large mass of solid concrete made of pebbles, rocks, and sand that have been washed down in the creek and made cohesive by the lime from the water. Here the canyon narrows again and the stupendous walls seem very near to the willow-fringed stream and the small fields. A few hundred feet farther it opens out again, and as one rides on the trail he gets exquisite views of the gray stone walls superposed on the red sandstones to the northwest. These gray and creamy sandstones, with their numerous and delicate tints and shades, afford most delightful contrasts to the glaring and monotonous red of the walls beneath. From this point we gain our first view of the so-called Havasupai stone gods, named by them "Hue-gli-i-wa," the story of which is told elsewhere.

These rocky pillars with their supporting walls seem as if they were once a part of a great wall that entirely spanned the canyon, the towers being sentinel outlooks to guard from attack both above and below. The portion of the wall to the right, as one descends the canyon, has been washed away, but the tower-crowned mass to the left still preserves a broad sweep into the very heart of the canyon as if it would bar all further progress. Following the sweep of this curve and passing the wall immediately underneath the outermost of the two towers, we view from the trail which ascends a mass of talus at this point another widened-out part of the canyon, which seems entirely covered with willows, here and there overshadowed by a few straggling cottonwoods.

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
778 take place.

776 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the
● canyon from the Hue-gli-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

000 One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated
[648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

CHAPTER XIV

THE HAVASUPAIS AND THEIR LEGENDS

IN almost every case one finds a variety of differing legends related by the Indians of any tribe upon the same subject. As the Wallapais and Havasupais are [171] cousins, one would naturally expect their legends to have some things in common. How much this is so will be seen by a comparison of the following story with that of the Wallapai Origin Legend.

"The two gods of the universe," said O-dig-i-ni-ni'-a, the relator of the mythic lore of the Havasupais, "are Tochopa and Hokomata. Tochopa he heap good. Hokomata heap han-a-to-op'-o-gi — heap bad — all same white man's devil. Him Hokomata make big row with Tochopa, and he say he drown the world.

"Tochopa was full of sadness at the news. He had one daughter whom he devotedly loved, and from her he had hoped would descend the whole human race for whom the world had been made. If Hokomata persisted in his wicked determination she must be saved at all hazard. So, working day and night, he speedily prepared the trunk of a pinion tree by hollowing it out from one end. In this hollow tree he placed food and other necessaries, and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must go into this tree and there be sealed up, he took

776 177 787 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. [774] Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls.

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 ● 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [755]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 756

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [962]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 434]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

133 come to an opening, and hear the deep roar of another waterfall, the thunders of which echo eternally up and down the narrow, dark cañon. You are surrounded by heaps of ashes, charred bones, beads, muskets, bowls, shells, and other savage possessions, some of them [764] on the bare rocks, others on the thin, sandy soil; for this is the cremating ground of those among the Nation of the Willows who meet their death by accident, and these are their funeral pyres. You step a few rods beyond, and find yourself upon the brink of a precipice of four hundred feet, over which, to the right, plunges in an unbroken spout or sheet the whole river, striking the basin below with deafening thunder, and sending clouds of spray far into the dark, green chasm below. I cannot attempt to describe this waterfall. It is formed like the preceding one, but, while not so beautiful, is wonderfully grand. It is named by the Indians "Mother of the Waters;" and by prospectors "Mooney Fall," because an adventurer of that name, in attempting to descend the precipice hand under hand on a rope, became giddy, and fell upon the rocks below, where now his bones, ever washed and whitened by the limy mists, give to the Ha-va-su-paí a warning of the forbidden pass to the "home of the mother of the waters;" [776] for he believes that the spirits of his ancestors sometimes float up and down amid the mists and rainbows, or that animistic demons lurk in the green, shadowy depths of the chasm.

101 The nearest neighbors of the Ha-va-su-paí are the Hua-la-pai, who roam over the great plains west of the cañon, and the Pai Utes, to the north of the cañon of the Colorado Grande, who, although only a few miles away, are separated from them by the Grand Cañon, and can reach them only by going far to the southwest, crossing the Colorado, and passing through the territory of the Hua-la-pai. On the south,

487 bare, smooth face of a cliff which slopes
491 at an angle of forty-five, fifty, even sometimes sixty degrees. The surface, after being roughened, is overlaid with little branches of cedar, upon which larger sticks and stones of great weight are laid, the whole being filled in with dirt and a sufficient quantity of pebbles to guard against washing away. If such a surface be interrupted by a crevice, the two sides of the latter are notched, a fragment of rock fitted in, and the whole covered as before described. Considerable nerve is required, however, to pass these trails. The foothold is always uncertain, and one of these oblique zones, along the centre of which the trail passes, is bounded below by fifteen hundred feet of jagged, rapidly descending rock-masses; above, by two or three hundred feet of beetling, rotten cliffs.

231 Besides their horses, which are adventurers as wonderful as the Indians themselves, through their canon training, they have a few dogs, often wolfish, always mongrel, and six or eight lonely cats, which are extravagantly prized by their possessors, and well fed, yet so worried by dogs and children that they resemble half-starved wild beasts of the feline tribe rather than the descendants of the sleek, domesticated animal of civilization. Not unfrequently beautiful little coyotes are to be seen about
●[776] the camp, and these, as the emblems of his own ancestry, his national deity, are affectionately fondled and petted by the Ha-va-su-pai; being allowed a place at the family bowl even in preference to the women or children. Add to these certain sand lizards and many noisy birds of prey, kept more for their feathers than as pets, and the list of Ha-va-su-pai domestication is complete.

521 During intervals in the labor of the
46 fields, the men may always be seen gathered in groups of six or ten, chatting together; and the women, always busy, exchange visits while at work

[P.554A]

NT3
539

Zuñi, white to the Moqui, variegated to the Northern nations, a very little black to the Apache, and blue to the Hua-la-pai; but the Ha-va-su-paí, coming last, had only a little red ear given them by the fathers [gods].

"Now they did not know how they could live on the small portion that had been given them. So the Coyote, when he heard them bemoaning their lot, came and told them to follow his example: therefore our fathers became a nation of hunters. As the waters of the world dried and flowed away, the face of the earth cracked, and was worn full of deep cañons. One of these cañons was very narrow and filled with rattlesnakes. This was the cañon of the Ha-va-su-paí; and down in a grotto, under the falls, [NT6] lived a great goddess, Ka-mu-iu-dr-ma-giu-iu-ó-ba, or 'Mother of the Waters.' She was wooed by the rattlesnakes, and bore two sons, Ha-ma-u-giu-iu-ó-ba, or 'Children of the Waters.' Upon the head of each was a great flint knife. Now the earth became so dry that our forefathers had but little water to drink, and, wandering about in search of it, came to the brink of the cañon; but they could not enter because of the rattlesnakes. So the two boys slew the rattlesnakes with their magic flint knives, and widened the rocks above the home of their mother. Then they guided them down the cañon, and built little houses high up among the cliffs; for the Apache Mojaves came in, too, and disputed possession with them. As the two children led the people down the cañon, they made their hand-prints on the walls, and painted the animals which should serve as food for their people. And these marks still remain on the rocks, and thither we go when we wish to secure the deer, or to ask for rain. When, at last, they reached the home of their mother, she told them that this should be their home forever; that it was not good to live on meat alone, but that they should build houses

199 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

there was a vague concept of some powerful aspect coming from the air and sun which, together with the heart, was a condition of life. "When the heart quits, you know they died." We could elicit no additional data as to when or how the soul entered an individual except that it came from the east. 774

When a person died, the soul journeyed to the sky people. Shamans reported that the soul left the body through the pulse area in the throat. The soul went straight up in the air and then wandered around until it saw "that narrow path that leads to the place of the dead." Two lay informants, however, remarked that the soul stayed with or near the body of a buried person if the body had been interred with the head to the west. [The apparent discrepancy probably stems from the shamans' over-concern with the spirits and their exorcism.] The souls of shamans depart for a separate place in the sky. If a person committed suicide his soul would go to the west to join those of all people who wanted to die. There was a spirit being in the west who was considered malevolent and who attempted to influence people to his cause. To the east was another spirit who attempted to counteract his western counterpart. These looked like humans but did not have human substance. The one in the east was white; the one in the west was black. When they quarreled, the eastern spirit made half the world white, and the western spirit made the other half black. They quarreled often over individuals, each trying to attract people to his sphere. 775 [785] [756] [762] 776

It was believed that at death a person became unconscious and had no knowledge of what was happening. However, after death, while the deceased was thought to know his identity, his relatives, and where he had lived, he would not remember his illness. After death, souls took either the form of a person or of a household pet such as a cat or a dog, and could return as ghosts. This usually happened at night. If a ghost attempted to return and communicate with a close friend, the friend would become sick and die. If ghosts appeared in a darkened form or "like a fire burning red," they were considered more harmful. Occasionally people saw ghosts of the dead walking by or heard them making noise. The body below the waist appeared normal, but the upper portions were without head or arms. It was wrong to try to touch a ghost; one might become weak. If one cried out, one would fall unconscious. A shaman would be called to sing for one who saw a ghost. The shaman would walk over the area where the ghost had been encountered in an attempt to learn why it had wanted the person who saw it to become sick and die. The shaman then would sing, urging the ghost to leave. Shamans, of course, sang over the patient. One informant, referring to an event that occurred about 1920, said that one evening when it was nearly dark he had seen two persons standing by his house. At first he thought they were neighbors, but noticed that they were dressed in white [an Anglo concept?] and had no heads. It appeared as though smoke was coming from their necks. He watched a short while and saw them "turn to nothing." 775 [763] 756 755 775

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wi va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman. He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it away on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai. However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams and taught him curing songs.

The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coincided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later, after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dismounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the informant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place." Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the [Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning" enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning. If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become competent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover; otherwise the illness would remain.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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off in a foramen palatinum, the game is won. This game is played by four persons (men only?), two on a side. First, each member of one party swings until he misses, when it passes to the opponents. Three hundred or more counters are made of soapweed leaves split into narrow pieces, 10 cm. long. Some wider pieces have a number of slits in one end, six, ten, or twenty, corresponding to so many units. The side getting all the counters wins. 526

Possibly there is no conception of luck or supernatural aid resulting in success; at least, I recorded no expression of it and was unable to isolate the idea. In a myth the hero, who has repeatedly made a perfect score, says, "I am all right; I have good luck (*dhdnlg'iu*, I am good)." To win big stakes is *mdd^{a}vlgd* (*mdd^{a}vlg^{a}wlgd*, to carry big winnings.) 777

Basket dice (*wiðdvlgd*) is played in winter; four women to a side. The dice (probably *an'ā'k*) are split wildcat hind leg bones, with red bands painted across the concave face. Four are tossed in a tray basket, about 40 cm. in diameter, flat-bottomed, with sharply rising sides. All convex faces up or all concave up scores one. The player continues to toss until two of a kind appear, which is a miss. The counters are ten little sticks in a general pile from which each player draws his score. When this pile is exhausted, they draw upon the opposing party's counters, until one party has all ten. 524

Stick dice (*tóhovigd*, also playing cards) may be played at any season. Four men or women are on a side: each member of one party makes one throw, then the dice pass to the other side. They sit about an incomplete circle of small stones, 60 cm. in diameter, with a larger stone at its center. One such stone is a fragment of mano with a red cross on its face. The three dice are flat wooden billets, 3 cm. wide and 8 to 13 cm. long, with all angles rounded. These are marked with red paint on one face; usually a broad median line, sometimes a waved median line. Two sets have all three differently marked: one (50.2–1618) has a zigzag line on one, the other two are colored over the whole face and in addition one has a continuous band of diamonds incised; the second set (50.2-1619) has a median line, a cross, and three cross bands. These lines are commonly painted with the finger tip. The three dice are held between the two palms and cast on the center stone end on, but a little diagonally to cause them to bounce beyond it. The scores are: all blanks, ten; all reds, five; two reds, three; and one red, said to count one but the marker is moved over two stones. Each party has one of these markers, a little stick. These are started at the gap in the circle and advanced in opposite directions. If a throw brings the marker on the space occupied by

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge. 841 881 [777] [224] [343]

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony. 981

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father. [184]

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do." [603]

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time. 881 177

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the courti- 291 302 832

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [783]

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd'ddd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahatyuhitaldja*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [784]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógwà and Pagiyówà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to ill-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gl'ôiyâ'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gl'aimd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amaxda*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. 752
Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal 278
medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two un- 757
identified plants which grow on the plateau (*ágwéñkā* and *teikágūlā*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pteridium aquilinum* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*haáguthā isawa*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3] [171]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are 757
pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. [752]
Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent [751]
chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust [771]
an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain [752]

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, 782
rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We 778
wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not lime-cutters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed. [171]
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 344).
[3] Bouchteria is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 116.

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782 Inyâ'in,ikâdjâdj mâhânig midjâligig gwipagâvà'âmâwiwûg
778 sun my relative be good coming out do something good for us
539 pâmatâhatâhôdôg gwégavà'awi'k
make me work so I can do anything I wish in the

matônyûvig i'i'nyûg toyâdjâhwâlig ha'askâ'ligà.
garden I hoe I plant corn I irrigate.

Inyân,idj mâ'ahânig miyâmig ôômâdôpmig
you, sun be good going down at sunset

iyâgigàsmâvidj tûyâ âhânâhag'ig'i
we lay down to sleep I want to feel good

âsmâmidjââligig. vamà'âmàmiyûdjà
while I sleep you come up. go on your course many times

âhânâpa mâwiwug.
make good things for us men.

tui'nyàvâvà'âyûg In,ûdjigwa'yôhag'i'i.
make me always the same as I am now.

171 Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are
778 planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style.
782 Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

778 Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*ataatsau*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-
539 meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—
778
782 âhapô'k Inyahâvà matâ'kmidjâligà atiyêhag
spring I drink plenty more come I feel glad

âttha.
I use it to drink.

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ăswŏ'gà	gwewălă	wi'và	mă'ŭg	539 778 782
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	

matĕ'kmidjpăgihŏgwig'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326); they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the mes-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle; the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Gatschet, (f), 244; Trippel, 471; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197, (i), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 330; Powers, 254, 340; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 466; Lowie, (i), 202, 294.
[3] Cooper, (b); Hooper, (a), 330; Hrdlička, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 109; Curtin-Hyde, 333; Trippel, 477; Kroeber, (g), 82; Spier, (e), 349.

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Hasebrie und Günther, 24.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 209–305; Bourke, (c), 502; (e), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 85, 206 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-men deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").

[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 305–306; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 249; (d), 131.

[4] Dixon, (a), 344. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 90772). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.

[5] Curtis, (a), 238; Dixon, (a), 302.

[6] Hough, (a), 264; Bourke, (c), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 16.

[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Dieguẽño use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Dieguẽño reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 209; Lowie, (i), 227; Kroeber, (b), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (e), 324-325.
[3] Hough, (a), 262; Stevenson, J., Pl. 201.
[4] Russell, (a), 270; Curtis, I, 56; Goddard, (b), 203; (c), 179; Franciscan Fathers, 602; Hodge, (a), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 169; Lumholtz, (c), II, 155, 429; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 209, 283; Reagan, 20; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Gayton, (a), 306; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 56; Mason, J. A., (a), 156; Kroeber, (a), 277.
[7] Brown, 699; Spier, (a), 349.
[8] Lowie, (a), 223; Dixon, (a), 209.
[9] Lowie, (k), 88; Du Bois, (a), 188; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog (Dorsey, J. O., 249).

2:Hif Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumaas NT14
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116D

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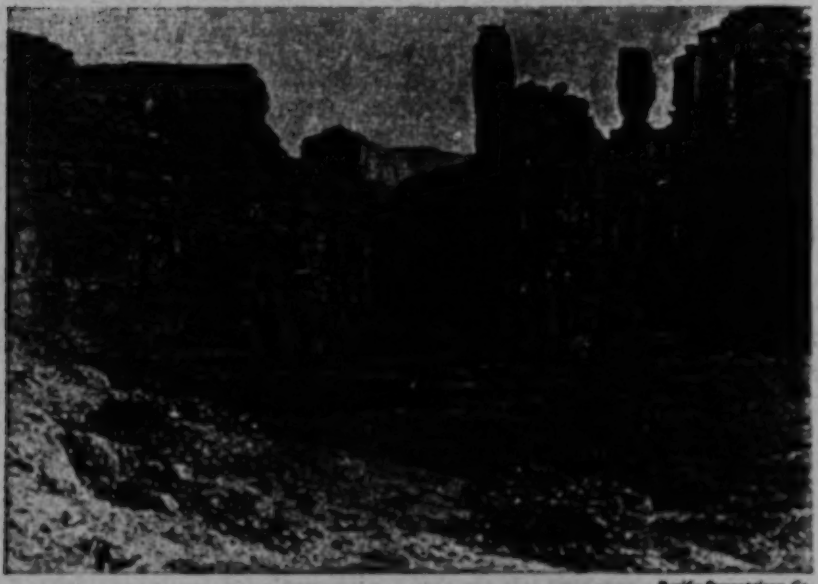
A packtrain on the trail from Hilltop into the Havasu Canyon

778
133



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In these two stone pillars on an outjutting arm of the canyon wall, lived the god-spirit that protected the Havasupai and their gardens from harm

[p. 116D. Pp. 116A-C not processed]

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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down, the Cataract Canyon trail goes over a portion of this talus to avoid the creek, which has here crossed from the other side of the canyon and has become a rapidly flowing stream some two feet or more in depth. Attached to this talus is a large mass of solid concrete made of pebbles, rocks, and sand that have been washed down in the creek and made cohesive by the lime from the water. Here the canyon narrows again and the stupendous walls seem very near to the willow-fringed stream and the small fields. A few hundred feet farther it opens out again, and as one rides on the trail he gets exquisite views of the gray stone walls superposed on the red sandstones to the northwest. These gray and creamy sandstones, with their numerous and delicate tints and shades, afford most delightful contrasts to the glaring and monotonous red of the walls beneath. From this point we gain our first view of the so-called Havasupai stone gods, named by them "Hue-gli-i-wa," the story of which is told elsewhere.

These rocky pillars with their supporting walls seem as if they were once a part of a great wall that entirely spanned the canyon, the towers being sentinel outlooks to guard from attack both above and below. The portion of the wall to the right, as one descends the canyon, has been washed away, but the tower-crowned mass to the left still preserves a broad sweep into the very heart of the canyon as if it would bar all further progress. Following the sweep of this curve and passing the wall immediately underneath the outermost of the two towers, we view from the trail which ascends a mass of talus at this point another widened-out part of the canyon, which seems entirely covered with willows, here and there overshadowed by a few straggling cottonwoods.

3:James T-8 (ca. 1900) 1903
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133 This is where the ceremonial dances of the Havasupais
●778 take place.
776 On the summit of the wall on the other side of the canyon from the Hue-gil-i-wa are two stone objects, one named Hue-a-pa-a, and the one farther down the canyon, Hue-pu-keh-i. These are great objects of reverence, for they represent the ancestors of the Havasupai race. Hue-a-pa-a — the man — has a child upon his back and two more by his side, and he is calling to his wife — Hue-pu-keh-i — to hurry along, as the baby is hungry and needs his dinner. The full breasts of the stone woman show that she is a nursing mother.

133 Slightly below these stone figures, and on the right-
712 hand side of the canyon, is the old fort, where in the days of fighting the Havasupais were wont to retire when attacked. The fort is impregnable on three sides, being precipitous, and on the fourth is accessible only up a narrow trail, which is guarded by piles of rocks which are ready to be tumbled, even by a woman, upon the heads of foes who attempt to ascend. The fortifications and stones for defence still remain, but it is many years since they were used for their original purposes.

ooo One's mind becomes very active as he looks upon this tribe of Indians and thinks of their traditions, history, and life. So far, their almost entirely isolated
[648] condition has been their preservation, although, sad to say, much of their earlier contact with our civilization was not of the best character.

Even in this land of our boasted Christianity it is true that the strong prey upon the weak. The domination of physical force is giving way to the domination of mental force, but which is the greater evil? Why

179 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 [317] Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to."

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future.

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out

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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guagidla*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

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224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

my'ém̨yákd'djá Sun, my relative	pá'ámáhágá look at us	tyúdjé that is why I am here
pá'ámáwíwuká you should give us	djipaimñah ilová your domestic animals	má'dvuká let us see them quickly
ínné'ndja''áká we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer.

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*ámauldjuwóvigá, dkwagádjuwóvigá, ámudjuwóvigá*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

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Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hápû'"*) is called *kap'áylma'a*, or *kap'á*, or *puíma'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morss, 143–198.

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been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamália*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjatatúga*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a cornoob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdrd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vttal'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the curve of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

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527 The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men
535 who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun
[439] by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*guesllk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*guesllk̨ómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella
597 prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

●782 Inyámátvi — má'éváhag'ti — dóyllniyódjík
539 my ground — ground, hear me — let us always live

áhán[gwayóhag'ti — ma'éváhag'ti
I want always to live well — ground, hear me.

624 The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs:
527 it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In
535 fact, the term *kakó't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader,
[171] *kokóta*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader,
533 Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1920 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 233.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Ruhi, nor according to the Mayaumpi, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd́jódd́*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahatupahitdja*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [782]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyᵉ'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gíatmd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amaxda*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*ágwdlkà* and *tcikàpdlà*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*katágutlà isàwa*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain.

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 331).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 118.

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782 778 539

ĭnyêĭn,ĭkádjádj	máhánig	midjáligig	gwipagává'ámáwiwûg
sun my relative	be good	coming out	do something good for us

pámatáhatáhódôg . gwégavá'awi'k
make me work so I can do anything I wish in the

matšnydvig	i'i'nydg	teyádjáhwálig	ha'aakâ'ligá.
garden	I hoe	I plant corn	I irrigate.

ĭnyân,ĭdj	má'ahánig	miyámig	ômádôgmig
you, sun	be good	going down at sunset	

iyágigásmávídj	tdyá	áhánáhag'ig'i
we lay down to sleep	I want	to feel good

ásmámidjáálligig.	vamá'ámámiyddjá
while I sleep you come up.	go on your course many times

áhánápa	máwiwug.
make good	things for us men.

tui'nyávává'áydg	ĭn,ddjigwa'yóhag'i'i.
make me always the	same as I am now.

171 778 782 Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style. Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

778 Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*adadedau*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-
539 meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—
778
782

áhapô'k	ĭnyahává	matš'kmidjáligá	atiyóhag
spring	I drink	plenty more come	I feel glad

áóiha.
I use it to drink.

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ăxwŏ'gà	gwowălà	wi'và	mà'ăg	539
prayersticks	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matŏ'kmidjpăgihŏgwig'l.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 320): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer-plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hellmich, (f), 226; Tripod, 371; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 239; Powers, 334, 366; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (c), 446; Lowie, (i), 202, 204.
[3] Tyson, (b); Hough, (a), 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 186; Carbonin, 488; Tripod, 577; Kroeber, (g), 68; Sapir, (a), 349.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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171. 534 of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

171 751 The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

171 778 782 The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

228 171 The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

171 534 789 778 The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Circe Ventre, North-

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[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (a), 140; Hinkelbein and Gladstone, 96.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 208–209; Bourke, (a), 302; (c), 439; Mason, J. A., (a), 14; Russell, (a), 88, 208 (. . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-men deposited the cane of mountain sheep [sic] together with eagle feathers as sacrifices?).
[3] Lumholtz, (a), II, 134, 147, 260–262; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferplätze"); Mason, J. A., (a), 240; (d), 124.
[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand games played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimens 50677).
[5] Gifford, 228; Dixon, (a), 244.
[6] Hough, (a), 294; Bourke, (a), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 14.
[7] Kroeber, (a), 396.

2:Iliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke so English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to." 796 152

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future. 796 [781] [782]

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out 796 537

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old."

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Informant H:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after."

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Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful.

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Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations.

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539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Coloredo and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the house of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
784 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
781 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forerunners of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 271.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 156 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localised. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 781 775 754

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [962]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 934]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shamen, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [413] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

648 ward glance at his own threadbare sol-
177 dier coat and well-patched breeches.]
I am young [he was nearly fifty], but
am I not old enough to remember how
[412] my people dug the soil with wooden
hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins
with stone axes, and skinned the deer
with a knife of flint? No; I take the
father of the Land of Sunrise [Wash-
ington] by the hand, and my father of
the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox]
do I grasp by the hand, that we may
look one upon another with smiling
faces."

782 The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai con-
sists of prayers, made during their
smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which
are merely groups of rude pictographs
along nooks or caves in the walls of the
cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the
worshiper blows smoke to the north,
west, south, and east, upward and
downward; then says, in a low tone,
some simple prayer, only one of which,
addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god,
I was able to record: —

[539] "Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weap-
ons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants,
to accept of my sacrifices."

823 The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the
source of his river is sacred and pure;
that polluted by the touch of man it
would cease to give forth its waters, and
the rocks of the cañon would close for-
ever together.

773 Ko-hót told me, one morning, the fol
539 lowing beautiful story of the origin and
history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was
covered with waters, save where a sin-
gle mountain peak to the north looked
out above their surface. Here, alone,
wandered the great Coyote. Mankind
lived in the four dark cave-plains of
earth, below this mountain, until, under
the guidance of a great cacique, they
journeyed up from one to the other, and
were finally led out into the light of the

199 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Aris. G:3:8 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[489] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 777 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) [317] was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however
[171] does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and
Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is
764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by
relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day
everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day.
[624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care
for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners
[171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the
[178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Now-
adays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon
level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such
768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are
brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are
killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are
pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes
they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse
[783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes.
There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with
the corpse shunned.

Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being
764 burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor
178 enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning
was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with
the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule,
768 the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build
178 elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern
frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in
1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920
he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he
was living part of the time in both structures.

768 Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year
or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's
[183] fields (his elder brother's daughter) the year following her death; though,
[428] to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 881.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Fukadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later [386] period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual [301] matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [789] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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áswö'gà	gwewâlà	wi'và	mà'dg	539 778 782
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	

matê'kmidjpágàhögwig'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326); they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guwgidlá*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter. 224 [868]

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it. 224 787

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences. 224 782 539

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither extensive nor developed in systematic form. [796]

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf. [124]

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaffv*, refers to both soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'ědjĭmpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place. 774

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămlyĕ*[1]); this is short and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful. 775 [787] [769]

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *hut-ĭjĭdĭd* was also given for ghost in an association test.

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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjípa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *wîtagoxâ"*, that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and *yâ'dsaf-yâ*, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).

I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*sdmd*")[2]. Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit traveling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *gîsdmd* (doctor, medicine).

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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*ddjúdd*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahalnyakdtdldp*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógà and Pagiyóvà. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gl0iyk'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gl'adma*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amacka*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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756 791 776 cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a [578] Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. [428] Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types 756 of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit 787 spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and 791 thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gtéiyĕ*) have spirits; in one instance it 756 was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said 776 that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he [755] sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatégut'ledmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

756 [787] The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 270).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather piñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gïθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hrdlička, (f), 224; Trippel, 571; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 339; Powers, 354, 380; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (a), 466; Lowie, (i), 292, 294.
[3] Fraser, (b); Hough, (e), 293; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 168; Corbusier, 333; Trippel, 577; Kroeber, (g), 62; Spier, (e), 349.

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INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

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Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*uwetdlgd*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: *kdpdd'dtdtópigd*, "It is hard to say." [201]

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tdsmddjigd*, *gwettdsmd'djigd*, cf. *smdgd*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare — is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 314, footnote.

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787 in which the dead, ghosts, or spirits figure are generally held significant. The real test seems to be the subsequent occurrence of an important happening, whereupon the appropriate dream is assigned as a forecast of the event. There is always the expectation that the dream may come true.

[777] Luck is acquired in dreams, according to Sinyella. A dreamer *may* acquire good clothes like those worn by a person in a dream, or edibles such as he had. Similarly, men and women dream of good dance partners and of lovers. If a man dreamed of a successful hunt, he would speak of it the morning following, saying that it was time for him to hunt. If he was successful within a short time, he said, "That is what I dreamed," and all would rejoice.

One man, the most prolific inventor of songs used in the dances, is said to have dreamed them, or rather, to have dreamed of having been in a far country. Whether he claimed to have heard the songs there is not clear. What he saw, as described in the songs (p. 264) may well have been dream experiences.

Sinyella stated that if a man had a nightmare, dreaming for example that he had been in a distant land where there were bad people, he would wake and sing about what he had dreamed. He says, "I do not want to dream this way. When darkness is here, I want you to make me dream pleasantly;" thus he talks to the dark, the night.

[756] Shamans acquire their powers in dreams. Little Jim saw his spirit in a dream before he used his powers; Rock Jones dreamed of lightning and rain and heard the song he now uses; Mark keeps his rattle by his side to sing of what he dreams when he wakes.

159 787 Jess said that he did not see himself as an actor in his dreams. He sees parts of his body in action and feels their relation to a central core, his personality, just as he does when awake. Sometimes he dreams that his head hurts as with a headache, and when he wakes he is really suffering with one. One morning he said that he had dreamed of many different people the previous night, a pretty bad dream. His sister's husband had been buried the day before and he had cried all day and part of the night for him. He woke with a dull headache and inert limbs. On another occasion he said he had heard someone groaning in a dream the night before. A lot of men around him said it was a ghost; they were afraid. Then he woke and heard a bull bellowing up the canyon. At times he dreams of riding a horse down a declivity. First he stands on the brink and looks down to where the trees are tiny; then his horse jumps down the cliff. He is frightened and wakes.

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He has occasionally dreamed of spotted fawns coming close by him, whistling. He saw the fresh tracks and followed them. He has been hunting after such a dream, but failed to see either tracks or fawns. He dreamed of seeing the heads of antelope showing above a barrier at a distance. Some were lying down and others standing about in the plain. He wondered how he could get close enough to kill them since there was no brush for cover. 159 787

I dreamed last night about lots of venison. I dreamed that my father shot many deer. He was living by himself in a cliff-dwelling on the northern side of the Buckskin Mountains; I know the place. I dreamed that he took Mr. B's boat, which he left tied in the Colorado River, and went across. A well-marked fresh trail led up the cliff to the cave. I saw that he had much meat and deer hides, the latter spread on the ground. The meat was piled in two or three places, a great quantity. We were both there when I heard someone coming. I looked up the trail which led down to the cave, and said, "Someone, a white man, is coming." He came down to see the deer meat. He said, "I will not say anything about that; if you have plenty of meat, it is all right. I know all you Havasupai; I will not say anything to the forest-ranger."[1] I know that man, Tom M. He said his wife would like to have some meat. So I gave it to him and he went home. (Tom's wife has left him. I asked him why and he said he did not know. What happened? I do not know. She always said she wanted to leave; she was always angry. She went to F — — to get a divorce. She left their son with Tom, who is a cattleman.)

Sinyella gave the following account of his dreams:—

When I was a young man, I dreamed I had plenty of horses, cattle, and sheep. I dreamed that repeatedly for a long time. Then I thought, "Maybe I am going to have those animals some time." Now that I am old, I have them; many horses, cattle, and I had some sheep too. I butchered the sheep as fast as I got them. That is what I dream for; sometimes the dream tells us right.

Once I dreamed that I went to Oraibi and wanted to buy blankets. As I dreamed I was positive that I was in Oraibi, but when I woke I was right here in my own house. Sometimes I dream that I am in the Walapai country trading, but when I wake I am still at home.

I dreamed last night about women. We have no women in my camp.[2] I dreamed that a woman came right to me, and I asked, "Do you like me?" She said, "Yes, I like you." Then I drew her by the arm into my bed and she let me have my will of her. I felt positive I was doing this and when I woke I felt pretty bad. I have also dreamed of nearly having my will of a nice girl, but I woke. When I tried to resume the dream, I failed.

I used to dream that I was mounted and chasing a deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. Sometimes a short time after my dream I actually chased and killed them. Then I knew that is why I had dreamed.

Long ago when there were wars I dreamed that I heard the enemy coming, shouting, and patting their mouths.

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[1] Hunting is forbidden.
[2] This was a recurring theme of his conversation.

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● 787 159 Sometimes I dream that someone dies and they are taking his body away. The dream tells me right, because after a little someone does die in this way; that is why I dream of it. Sometimes, however, it is all right; it does not turn out that way.

Sometimes I dream of seeing another tribe. I am quite certain of it. Other times I dream of hunting and killing deer. Then I hunt and get two or three in the same manner. At other times I dream, but I fail to get any. I dream of working in the fields, hoeing weeds, or planting; then when I am working there, I do just as I dreamed. Sometimes I dream the corn will grow tall, and at other times, will not grow at all: it eventuates that way. I have dreamed that I was hunting and got some deer, but when I tried next morning I failed. I dreamed falsely: one does not have to dream the truth.

The night before last I dreamed about cattle and horses. I saw that I had many cattle. They were walking about at a little distance. One big bull, with long horns, came close to me and stopped. I went to him and stood by his side, rubbing my hand along his back. The bull stood with his head aslant, hooking with his horns. I was afraid of being hurt. While I was looking, I turned. I saw I had many horses just a little beyond the cattle. I saw that all were sorrel horses. They were quite small ponies. My horses, those I really have, are about that size.

I dreamed last night that I was baking in a Dutch oven. Although it had not been cooking long enough to bake properly when I looked in, it was all burnt.

I dreamed about a hunting charm (shaped like a marble.) I took it from my pocket and scraped the top a little with my knife. I continued scraping until finally it broke in two. I tried to tie it around to hold it together, but it kept bulging between the bands, so that it was impossible.

Sometimes, at long intervals, I dream that a ghost comes into my house and lays his hands on me. He scares me and I say, "Something bad, you must not touch me. I do not want you to touch me; take your hands off." But the ghost keeps his hands on me and holds me tight and wants to do something to me, so I yell hoping that someone will hear and the ghost will leave. So I groan. Everybody dreams this way.

Sometimes I dream that I see and talk to my dead parents. I dream that I am living at their house. I also dream of the good horses I had long ago and which are now dead. I dream that I ride them again. I dream that I see the old men who used to be my good friends here; I dream that we are working together again. When I wake at dawn, I find I am not dead, I am still alive, and I want to sleep again, but peacefully. I say to the dead, "I am not dead: I only saw you dead people. I am still alive. I want to sleep well so I can get up in the morning refreshed. It is bad to dream of the dead; I do not want to dream of them; so go away." And then I blow into my hands and brush them down my face and body. So I brush the dream away into the night.

158 Cases of somnambulism are known. Such individuals are deemed crazy (*sdpdvimdg*, also inebriated). Some men talk in their sleep, occasionally in English.

158 787 159 Crook often talks in his sleep, shouting, and carrying things about. He was camping with his father. A coyote was barking in the woods. Crook got up in his sleep, ran out a little way, and cried, "What is that calling out there?" Once Crook and I [Jess] were at Rowe's Well, when he dreamed that he was fighting someone. I heard him get up, punch the tent, and scatter his bedding, repeating, "I am going to

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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

756 man, a good mixer, jolly, with none of the defensive reserve and ostentation of the ordinary shaman. Rock Jones was a stolid, good-natured man. Both he and Bob occasionally rode up to the school for a social visit.

These two had a common distinction: each claimed that a dying shaman, a blood relative, had instructed him in the art of healing and had bequeathed to him his own shamanistic spirit, his songs, gourd rattles and the other paraphernalia he himself had used in his practice. This was the easiest and quickest way by which a man could acquire the knowledge and skill a medicine man must have. Otherwise, he must seek one of the animal spirits created by the mythic people of the Long Ago who had hidden it away in a world reached only through dreams. This took time and the result was uncertain, for if the spirit refused to enter his body, his ambition was never realized.

756 781 If an aspirant dreamed of hunting deer, it indicated his shamanistic spirit was the deer spirit; or his dream might be of a wolf, coyote or some other animal. The animal that came in his dream was the one whose spirit he must own if he were to become a healer. Night after night he concentrated on wooing this spirit, discouraged when it coyly approached only to vanish, but continuing his efforts until he had it safely within his body. Then it was his to command. He could dispatch it on missions to ferret out information of an occult nature, things human beings could not learn for themselves, or he could send it scurrying through the body of the sick to discover the cause of the illness. While on such missions, the spirit could be heard talking to the shaman; when it returned, you could see the shaman gulp it down and hear it talk or sing, telling him all that it had seen or heard.

Those who had not inherited a dying shaman's songs must dream their own. First, a rattle was made by removing the pulp from a gourd, inserting pebbles, and attaching a wooden handle that would withstand vigorous use. This was placed within easy reach while the man slept. When a thread of song ran through his dreams, he roused quickly, seized his gourd and, rattling an

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accompaniment, sang the song over and over until he had memorized it.

A'mal must have qualified as a medicine man through the medium of dreams, which demanded the deep concentration that had given him such assurance and authority. In the past he never doubted his supernatural power, and his success had been phenomenal. Bob and Rock Jones took their practice less seriously. In fact, Bob often laughed at the suggestion that he possessed unnatural skill in healing. Bob's and Rock Jones's indifference probably was due to old Chief Navaho whose brutal acts had caused the shamans to doubt their own skill.

As was their custom, the Indians who were relatives or close friends visited Jasper, studied him for symptoms they had learned to recognize, and then pronounced their verdict—death! So when Manakadja asked A'mal to treat his sick boy, A'mal went through his ritual for a few nights, then refused to make further visits. The chief appealed to Bob, but he, like A'mal, was reluctant to put his skill to the test, especially since the Indians had predicted death for the boy. Bob was in a tight spot. He did not want to offend the head chief by refusing, neither did he want to comply since he was aware of the fate of healers who, too often, failed. So he asked me to give him the white man's medicine for Jasper. I was puzzled, not knowing what medicine to give him until I remembered that Jasper had a hard, dry cough. Believing it would relieve the boy, I gave Bob a small bottle of cough sirup. He accepted it gravely, carried it out to our gate, and leaning against a post, took a long draft of the sweet sirup. He replaced the cork, mounted his horse and rode away. That was the usual fate of our cough medicine. It seldom reached the patient, unless we took it to him.

Several days later the chief himself came, insisting on medicine supplied by the United States Government. He wanted to see me pour it from a bottle on the shelf. I gave him cough sirup. He held the bottle up to the light, peered through the sparkling red

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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787 the spirit of her husband, "Tom, heap big Supai chief." And, strange to say, in these exalted moments she invariably spoke in the crude English her husband had taught her and of which she was very proud. Pointing into vacant space, with glaring eyes and excited voice, she would declare that she saw "Big chief Tom. He come back to see me. O Tom! Tom! I see you." Then turning to her friends and others around, she would shriekingly ask, "You no see? You no see?" And thus she gained her name, Yunosi.

276 787 Thinking that perhaps the Havasupais used some herb, drug, or intoxicant, similar to opium, hasheesh, or the stramonium (jimson-weed) which the Navahoes use to produce similar frenzies and visions, I took some of this, which they call smal-a-ga-to-a, and asked several if they ever used it. In every case the answer was a sharp "No! Han-a-to-op-o-gi," and one Havasu informed me it was "very bad. All same white man's whiskey." Indeed, such has been the excellent teaching they have received from their ancients, and the tenacity with which they, as a people, have adhered to it, it may be safely affirmed that the Havasupais use [273] no noxious drug, or fermented or intoxicating liquor, and that they do not know any processes by which they can be made.

756 The ways of the Havasupai medicine-men are similar to those of fakirs in all lands and ages. I have seen Rock Jones, after examining a patient, jump up and excitedly exclaim: "I can see into your head and all through your brains; down your throat and into your stomach, through your kidneys, bladder, and intestines, and you are sick, very sick, very heap sick. But I am a good medicine-man. I can cure you sure, I can cure

776 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the
177 sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former
apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the
●787 white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, o
of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine
men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of
them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long,
white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many
representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor
agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal
deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a
specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the
deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no
shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather
shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have
abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is
always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over
[844] the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop
rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion
for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds,
and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably
sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more de-
tailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the pri-
mary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a
[755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly
to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to
cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for cer-
tain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness
which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who
would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness
caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as
well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone
after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do
not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans fre-
quently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai
[787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately
following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

Children of Divorced Parents

586 A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other services which a father may be unable and a stepmother unwilling to perform.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of father-
[587] hood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

586 Among the divorced women living in 1950, only one had failed to remarry.
593 At her divorce, her three sons were adult or nearly grown. All of them remained with their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to
[587] find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interfered when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived
[428] alone in another part of the village. While the father was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and upon his death they inherited all the land, one field going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother. Moreover, pub-
[787] lic opinion supported this arrangement, for the father was given to various behaviors which made him most unpopular. (Interestingly, this man at one time reported seeing a spirit which counseled him to mend his ways)

586 In the 1950 population group, six other divorces had occurred among couples with children. Of these, only one father succeeded in keeping his children with him. He was an aggressive individual; said to be feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their stepmother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is said to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at 18 years of age went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses. "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear
[787] a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768] [114] [423]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
[782] Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

715 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
[774] but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
756 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
[781] account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 756 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787] [781]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

●787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[758] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the in-
[788] dividual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ij gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
● 787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[15] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[755] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

On one dream journey the spirit (on horseback) took our informant to one of the highest of the San Francisco Peaks. It was very steep and the spirit told him to walk around it, stepping carefully in footholes. Under the ground he could hear a strong wind humming as though it were far away. He put out his hand and patted down the top of the peak, saying, "I'm not here looking for trouble. I came here for a good reason. I came here for alot of drinking water." The wind decreased and our informant awakened, not knowing why he had uttered his words except that it was upon instruction from the spirit. 756 787

In his next dream he heard a voice and also believed he had shaken his gourd rattle. Then many short red pieces of lightning came out of the ground and lay motionless on its surface. The lightning said, "You have brought me out of the ground." Our informant reported that the lightning did something to him, that he arose in the air carrying his rattle and went to the north side of Bill Williams Mountain. There he saw two tall slabs of sandstone so high they reached far into the sky. He stood on top of one of these and heard a voice from the southwest saying, "I know you are a medicine man. I don't know what kind. You try every trick. You go around to all the places. I am going to test you." The shaman put out his left arm, where his power was, and made a slanted rock with dirt underneath from where he was standing to the ground. He walked along this until he came to a place that had high, red rock walls in a V shape. Then he said, "It has been hard for me going around. You want to test me. I want to see you go my way and follow where I have walked on this rock." The voice did not respond and the shaman thought it was unable to follow him.

Then he walked in the direction from which the voice had come and he arrived at a village that contained a long, straight row of "cabins." In each were two women. Another shaman, recognizable to our informant, appeared and preceded him into one of the houses. There he sat between the two women and put his arms around them. Our informant was angry and said, "I don't know what kind of man you are. I'm not going after ladies. I'm looking for a powerful spirit." Whereupon he left and traveled easterly until he came to two rock walls parted like a V with a plateau on top. He saw "a smoke of clouds" on the plateau. From this smoke there issued various strange types of birds all in a line. This smoke tried to bring about illness and had power like a spirit. A voice from the smoke said that the shaman had persevered and would be able to cure sickness. The shaman awakened at this point, but continued to repeat this dream in his curing songs.

756
● 787 Other spirit helpers came to him in other dreams. For example, one night our informant dreamed of a bird that said, "All my cousins, I don't know which direction they have gone to." Before the shaman realized what was happening, he felt himself flying to the south until he finally came to earth near Rose Well [within the eastern range of the Walapai]. He stood on top of a big hill but could not see the bird. Shortly he saw a man standing in front of him but facing east. From the right side of the man's body white lightning "about the size of a stovepipe" shot toward the sun. The man said, "This is the lightning--powerful medicine--that cures any illness." Then he showed our informant where the bird, which he owned, lived, and said, "When you sing, you must call the names of the bird, its nest, the cottonwood tree and everything I show you." They then traveled north a short distance to a place where ice was like a mirror. The man told the shaman that the ice, "like a window that looks many directions," would aid him in diagnosing a patient's illness. At this point the shaman awakened. Later he sang of this man as "the man who is standing up alive." In his dream the man had not revealed any other name.

On still another occasion the shaman dreamed that he heard a voice calling plainly and repeatedly, "Come here. Let's fight each other." This was a voice from the north, which told the shaman, "I'll return four times and that will be the end of my life." At first the shaman didn't answer, but finally replied, "My lives are eight." He heard the voice no more, but found himself in the air traveling north. He landed where there were many people speaking different languages [different pitches?]. Some had squeaky voices like bats[?] and others imitated various birds. One bird told him to go to Rain Tank [a few miles south of Grand Canyon village]. When he arrivered there in his dream, he followed two tracks leading east. Soon he came to two tall blue rocks. He climbed the south one and, half way up, found some barely visible pictographs that appeared old. He blew on them four times until the pictures became clear. They depicted many kinds of animals and some humans. The shaman proceeded to the top of the rock where one of his spirits told him to look at some plants growing on the ground below. The spirit told him that formerly the plants were edible. Then the shaman was transported through the air northeasterly toward Cameron [a trading post on the western Navajo Reservation where U.S. Highway 89 crosses the Little Colorado River; near the northeastern edge of Havasupai territory]. Near there he saw many people coming from underground, and also talking an unintelligible language. This time there were more people than he had seen in the north. The shaman waited until they were all on the surface. They spoke (but the informant couldn't explain his sudden understanding), and told him, "Over by the San Francisco Peaks there is something to fight sickness, to drive it away and conquer it." This proved to be small red rocks, about a foot long, and cylindrical "like a

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[753] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[752] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

On another occasion he dreamed of a wind that carried him to the south "where the air was good to breathe." On a mountain he saw a man who was a good talker. He also was "white" and "looks like a Supai, talks Supai." This man asked the shaman why he always traveled around through the sky. The shaman didn't answer but awakened.

Concepts of Disease and Illness

Virtually all sickness was believed to have been brought about by malevolent dreams, sorcery, or other supernatural causes.

Psychologically upsetting dreams, especially those involving the possibility of death or loss of the soul, were considered especially harmful. If the individual revealed the general nature of his dream, his family would consult a shaman, who would then sing in an interrogatory fashion to ascertain specific details. The practitioner could exorcise the evil either by sucking intrusive objects from the patient or, through songs, ensure the return of the soul. If a person repeatedly dreamed of a deceased relative, it was believed that the dead person wanted to take the living away. This was particularly true in the case of an individual who died while learning shamanistic powers.

Shamans were often thought to be sorcerers who could produce illness either in others or in their own immediate families. Anyone who believed a shaman was harboring a particular grudge against him might come under such a spell. A deceased shaman could cause inanimate objects such as rocks, water, ground, air and the sun to make people ill. Bone fractures also were thought to have been caused by evil shamans, either living or dead. Other shamans could effect cures in the same way they counteracted dreams. Fractures were usually set by the shaman before he began to sing.

The vision of a ghost could cause serious illness or death, although this was not invariable. It tended to afflict older persons more than children. Further, not all ghosts were considered malevolent. Again, shamans, by ascertaining the identity of the ghost, could rid the individual of the malady.

Shamans themselves could become ill if they made errors in their cures of others or in other ways disobeyed instructions from their spirits. One case brought to our attention involved a shaman who, in an effort to suck a foreign object from a patient, made a mistake. It was reported that he became sick almost immediately and bled from the mouth. [The informant was unaware of the ill shaman's medical history of tuberculosis.] Another shaman was called upon to effect a cure,

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411 other at the forward end. These are hung up to dry.) The sinew is
237 soaked in water over night, scraped with the back of a knife, and separated into fibers when partly dry. To make the bowstring, two bundles of these are rolled together between palm and thigh, new lengths being added by rolling in as needed. Three bundles were preferable; these were rolled together, never braided. The bowstring is tied permanently to the upper end; the hitch for the lower end is shown in Fig. 24a. This
[556] is a poor man's style; a rich man would tie a length of buckskin to the loose end and continue the wrapping for another 5 cm., fastening with a
411 half-hitch. To string the bow its upper end is set under the right instep, and while the lower end rests in the left hand, the bow is sprung by pressing with the left knee; then the right hand fastens the string. When strung, the spring of the bow is tried, and a song to the bow and string is chanted: hápúagwlóâ (Let this be strong; let this not break).

[788]

Fig. 24 (30.2-1221, 1223). a, Ties for Bowstring; b, Method of securing Arrowhead to Shaft.

The wrist protector (*saldmĭ*) is simply a broad band of buckskin encircling the wrist, somewhat trimmed to fit the heel of the hand. It is fastened by taking up the slack in a loop which passes through both ends of the band.

Boys sometimes use small bows of men's type but the normal boy's bow is D-shaped. One in the collection measures 60 cm. from tip to tip, the chord of the arc 25 cm.; another 65 by 25 cm. Boys use only reed arrows, with sharpened foreshafts, and feathered with the plumage of the hawk, flicker, etc.

411 Reed arrows (*dp'a"dt'a'* or *dt'a"dp'ad'a*; *dp'a"a*, arrow) are most
322 common. Arrow reeds (*dt'd'*) are gathered green. In order to straighten them, the crooked part is pressed on hot ashes placed on a flat stone, or in the groove of an arrow-straightener (*doθúwd*). Stones are also heated in the fire for this purpose.[1] The joints are then trimmed. Wooden arrows (*dp'd'a'i'i; i'i*, wood) are made of an especially hard willow (*dmavdlá*, probably desert willow). These branches were peeled and left in the sun until partially dry when they could be straightened with a wrench, never by heating. The wrench (*múkwapadjía mĕdĕmídiá*) is
[321] a mountain sheep shoulder blade or horn in which several holes have
[412] been drilled.

[1] The shaft is not wet with the tongue at the point to be heated as the White Mountain Apache do.

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the
5 shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
777 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[75] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was
[788] repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
333 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

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with the exception of the top. It is decorated with a band of indifferently colored porcupine quills similar to that placed on moccasins. A headband or a squirrel skin cap is added to confine the hair. One such band (50.2–126) is made of a strip of deer legskin, with the ends sewed with a running stitch. (The sinew, as in all sewing, is prevented from pulling out by a simple knot in each end.)

Women's hair is banged below the eyebrows to the outside of the eyes and at the sides and back to the shoulders or a little below. When rather long it tends to fall in front of the face; it is then brushed back, not over the shoulders, but so that it can be caught under the chin. Or the locks above the ears are tied together at the occiput, enclosing those at the temples.[1] Girls' hair is dressed like that of their mothers. Cushing observed that the small boy's hair was cut short except for a long tuft on top, "like the crest of a quail."

Feathers are, perhaps, worn only on gala occasions; their function, when worn at dances, by men and women, is to cause the rain to fall. Only eagle feathers are used and the down is preferred to the plumes. The typical decoration is a bunch of down, 20 to 25 cm. long, pendent in the back from a cord, 10 to 15 cm. in length, tied to the top of the head. (The cord, lapping the quill, is bound to it with a wrapping of sinew.) Plumes are also stuck upright in the headband at the right temple. One specimen (50.2–1628) consists of two plumes 37 cm. long, placed side by side, and held in place by a sinew lashing and a peg piercing both. Two small downy feathers are lashed to the shaft of each at its tip.

Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind.[2]

Fig. 46 (50.2–1594). A Mescal Fiber Hairbrush bound with Buckskin.

The hairbrush (*tcĕ'ĭ*, any brush) is a bundle of stiff fibers from mescal leaves, folded in two, and bound with buckskin halfway to the free ends. A cap of buckskin or cloth is stuck over the butt with piñon pitch and tied about with a thong. A new brush is 11 to 13 cm. long by 2 to 4 cm. in diameter (Fig. 46). As the fibers break off in use, the end is evened by burning. The principal use of brushes is by women; men, as a

[1] It is not held in the mouth in the manner of the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgd*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. [527] [535] [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. [648] [527] [571] [621] [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather pifion nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white: it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gĭθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 791 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 224 791 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer; he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dgwidgd gîsdmd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other 756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwetdvŏg gîsdmd*), for fractures (*pakaûd gîsdmd*), for wounds (*nahdmî'dvîdjd gîsdmd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaîdjî gdsdmdvd*), and for snakes (*dluwî sdmd gd*). Both doctor and medicine are called *gîsamd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their,

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.
[2] There is mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mdtthatî dmdîtagd'djî dgîdmdvîdj*). "Your nose [black cloud] off and make it dark," he is told [Spier, (f), 113].

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àswö'gà	gwewâlà	wi'và	mà'dg	539
prayerstick	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matš'kmidjpágàhögwïg'i.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that." 784 753 784

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324). 784

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be resumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 326): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p. 789

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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use
754 them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Itckdyúgdlga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'ipdgwcâwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind
[534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed
[821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to
[825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He
[827] then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígdlyúg sadá'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch
825 the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montezuma for an account of these.

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of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Gros Ventre, North-

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (d), 160; Hasserlin und Günther, 33.

[2] Franciscan Fathers, 306–308; Bourke, (c), 502; (e), 430; Mason, J. A., (c), 15; Russell, (c), 82, 106 (". . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-man deposited the tails of mountain sheep together with eagle feathers at springs").

[3] Lumholtz, (c), II, 134, 197, 303–309; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferpfeile"); Mason, J. A., (a), 249; (d), 131.

[4] Dixon, (a), 344. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand game played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimen 99872). These may have come from the Basin with the Ghost dance.

[5] Corbusier, 336; Dixon, (a), 366.

[6] Hough, (c), 204; Bourke, (a), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 16.

[7] Kroeber, (b), 396.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Dieguefio use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Dieguefio reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 309; Lowie, (i), 287; Kroeber, (b), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (a), 324–330.
[3] Hough, (a), 293; Stevenson, J., Fig. 361.
[4] Russell, (a), 370; Curtis, I, 88; Goddard, (b), 263; (c), 170; Franciscan Fathers, 402; Hrdlička, (c), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 169; Lumholtz, (c), II, 155, 428; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 209, 303; Reagan, 30; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Sapir, (c), 306; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 58; Mason, J. A., (a), 188; Kroeber, (c), 277.
[7] Brown, 689; Spier, (c), 340.
[8] Lowie, (c), 322; Dixon, (a), 309.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (c), 188; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 240).

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahaml'dildjā swildlgā*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [155] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgwlgā*, race by two; *tanomdgowlgā*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73°F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 140°-150° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that, "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" [(d), 48]. [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatpā'ā*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlička, (e), 46]. [171]

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541 giêa giyi giyi goidoŋ àvoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gàdigánàgóagó nóŋàgábá isunéa hineyá
533 A second song is:—
[539] si'i'i'ike'ego hasiáŋà hasiáŋà hasiáŋàŋàŋà yóilgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydgd*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strikes the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*gigwi'ówigd*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

[1] They do not balance poles.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a 281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow [237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking, burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were [177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions that had molded the character of the people, their children were now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their 648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The superstitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized [189 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant) 237] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target, lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 ●789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 281) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai

At least occasionally a rain dance was held near two rock pinnacles in a canyon upstream from the main village along the Topocoba trail. These dances did not involve masked impersonators and were held only in dry years in an attempt to bring moisture to the plateau. The rocks, ö?wi?gath? ǵwă (rock split apart) and ö?ih?ga'č? ǵwăv? (wood piled up), were near a small spring, and were considered rain "gods." No additional data concerning these events could be learned.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[The following 26 stories were collected from 10 informants by Mrs. Smithson in the summer of 1958. As in the preceding section of this study, the junior author's comments are placed in brackets and parenthetical remarks of the senior author are so indicated.

Although we do not have any other recordings of Havasupai myths and legends with which to make direct comparison, Kroeber's (1935, 245 ff.) 1929 field party collected several from Walapai informants. Since I believe that the Walapai and Havasupai were one and the same ethnic group prior to 1880, when they were separated by government fiat (Dobyns and Euler, 1960), Kroeber's will serve excellently. Kroeber (1935, 245) likened Walapai mythology to that of the lowland Yumans especially the associations of Mountain Lion, Wolf, and Coyote, although he felt that the "cooperation-antithesis" of the two latter animals was Plateau-Shoshonean. Since Walapai Ethnography is now out of print, it will be of value to quote Kroeber's (1935, 245) conclusions in their entirety:

> "The Walapai are certainly not skillful story-tellers, even after allowance for imperfections and our rendering. Their motivations are crude and trivial; they do not consistently build up a character--except the essentially inconsistent Coyote; they do not always hold consistently to the hero even within one tale; and they do not seem to feel, or at any rate are unable to express, well marked sympathy or identification with their personages, or to attach much emotion to them or their fate. They do like incident, irrespective of its inner connection with the plot; magic and trickery; and obscenity, sexual or otherwise."

The veracity of those statements is apparent in the Havasupai tales that follow.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd̨úddá*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*sháalnyakitsilyo*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gloiyé'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gladmad*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-armaha*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gîôiyê'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatâgwi'lsdmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (suck), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [649]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 532.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma. [164]

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather pĭñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gĭθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 ● [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dqwidá gleámd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwetdeög gleámd*), for fractures (*pakaúd gleámd*), for wounds (*nahámł'dvídjá gleámd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjł gdeámdod*), and for snakes (*dluwł eámd gá*). Both doctor and medicine are called *gleámd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.

[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mátchgá dmdámqd'djá dgł dmdvídj*, "Tear some [black cloud?] off and make it dark," he is told [Spier, (*f*), 113].

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occured a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monsterand force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless n their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hus-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg- 428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un- 858 til after puberty, although, on the death 171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary. 643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis- 554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is 565 taken, it is brought to the village, and a dance, celebrating the death of the [727] enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin- 793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House,"—a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for his offices, and is usually as wealthy as any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

[651 556]

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is
[551] nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however severe, for the good of his own people.

643 When the Apache Mojaves were moved
692 by government to San Carlos, one of
649 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supai. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but return to San Carlos he never would.

[696] Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

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fetched a rattle that it might begin. While nobody objected to its performance, it apparently was not considered in order for it soon stopped. 177 535

It would be valuable to learn just what knowledge of foreign dances and ceremonies the Havasupai have. Naturally they have seen those of all the neighboring tribes, and certain elements, such as the masked figure in the yearly dance, are demonstrably introduced. But according to Manakadja, while they look on at Hopi dances, they do not participate. Further, while they once tried to imitate them, they stopped because "they did not know much." Navaho as well as Yavapai shamans have been called in for the sick. I do not know whether the Havasupai participate in the social dances of the Hopi and Navaho, but it seems likely. They take part in Walapai ceremonies and dances on a par with members of that tribe and Paiute dances have been participated in, because, it is said, they are similar to those of the Havasupai. 177 535 648 [756]

The toloache ceremony of southern California tribes is unknown. The green leaves of the jimpson weed (*smalgatá'*) are eaten, however. This makes them crazy; they crawl around, shout, and laugh inordinately. They dream of being in crowds who play and dance. Jess said that he hoed down corn, thinking the plants weeds, while under its influence. The old people warn the youths against using the drug. Leaves may be taken from any part of the plant. 171 276

Comparative Notes

The almost complete lack of group ceremonials sets the Havasupai apart from the Pueblos and the rancheria peoples to the east and south. Both the round dance and the Mohave dance are Great Basin practices. The masked dance is the sole point of resemblance to the typical Southwestern tribes. 171 796 535

The round dance is common to most, if not all, the Basin tribes. As part of the Ghost dance movement of 1890 it made its way into the Plains as well, while the earlier movement of 1870 had brought the dance into northern California and to the Yokuts from the Mono.[1] The dance as a unit (a circle of both sexes, interlocking fingers, sidewise step) is known[2] to the Havasupai, Walapai, Moapa, Shivwits,[3] Uinkaret (?)[4] and Kaibab Paiute,[5] Pyramid Lake Paviotso,[6] Washo[7], Klamath, Gosiute,[8] 171 535 [177]

[1] Kroeber, (c); Powers, 42, 381, 397 (confirmed by A. H. Gayton).
[2] My search of the literature is by no means exhaustive.
[3] *Ghost-Dance in Arizona*, 66; Lowie, (i), 302.
[4] About 1890 according to a Havasupai informant.
[5] Seen in 1872 by Dellenbaugh, 178.
[6] Lowie, (i), 306.
[7] Girls' puberty dance (information from Doctor R. H. Lowie, 1926).
[8] Reagan, 40.

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither extensive nor developed in systematic form. [796]

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits, one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf. [124]

Souls, Spirits and Shamanism

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaflv*, refers to both soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or lies unconscious (*k'édjămpik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought himself in another place. 774

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*ămtyé*[1]); this is short and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken. Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful. 775 [787] [769]

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal; he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man, except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded and fell into a doze. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now; let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

[1] The word *kwé-ĵidlé* was also given for ghost in an association test.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

The Peach Dance

75

As summer waned, the Indians' activities centered on the Peach Dance, their annual harvest festival, held in late August or early September to give thanks to Those Above for a bountiful crop and to petition for continued protection and care. 796 527 574

Men and boys hurried to complete a task at which they had worked indifferently for weeks—the clearing of brush and debris from the dance floor. Messengers rode up the trails to the east and to the west, carrying the knotted counting cord extending invitations to friendly tribes. The invited guests need only cut a knot from the cord each day, the last knot representing the day festivities would begin. These guests would bring news, and their presence would add zest and gayety to the celebration. Women left their games of chance and busied themselves at the grinding stones. Vegetables were brought in from the gardens; peaches, figs and apricots, either fresh or dried, were prepared for the big feast. [203 211] [262]

The Peach Dance was one of those age-old ceremonies revealing the true culture of the Havasupai. For centuries men and women of friendly tribes had flocked to the canyon to take part in the festivities and to trade Navaho blankets, ponies, saddles and silver ornaments for garden-grown vegetables, fruits and buckskin. [439]

A few Walapai and several Hopi drifted in for the dance, and our hopes kindled that some of the white men and women who had previously attended this ceremony might make the trip into

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796 527 574 the canyon. Tourists always brought news from the outside—and how welcome that was! And, too, we caught some of their excitement in entering what was, to them, a wonderland. But, since my arrival, so few had come.

000 One hot summer day, three lads from Princeton, spending their summer vacation hiking across the United States, had walked out from Williams and climbed down the Lee Canyon trail. They were full of fun—and short on food, so we sold them what we could spare from our supplies. They took a quick look around, then went gaily up the Walapai trail to new adventures, leaving me with the feeling that, compared to them, I was very much encompassed by stone walls. Later, the wife of the Governor of Arizona came down with a party of friends to catalogue the flora of the canyon. They camped under the cottonwood, eating their meals from a boulder, quickly finished their work and departed. Their visit heightened our interest in the delicate plants tucked away in cool grottoes as well as in the more abundant hardier ones. And we had met a governor's wife who sacrificed physical comfort for the advancement of science.

Then there was the family from Chicago. They had driven their team across the desert, climbing down the zigzagging Walapai trail and stopped at our door to demand shelter. The frail wife and sick daughter sat their horses, wanting nothing in this world but a bed on which to lay their aching bodies. While I assembled the beds, they rewarded me with a description of the Pacific Ocean as they had seen it that summer, a sea of pale blue fire. Too many fish had perished in some catastrophe in the deep, causing the phosphorescent glow.

Then there had been George Wharton James's visit to the Indian village.

Each one had brought his bit of excitement and information, leaving us the richer for his coming. But now, when we longed only to see again a face from a world that was beginning to seem so remote, to hear what its people were doing, no one but Indians came down the trail.

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After the sun had dropped in the west and the canyon walls had cooled somewhat, the Indians assembled at the dance ground, the space previously cleared and encircled by poles interwoven with green boughs. The song leader and the drummer took their stand near a pole in the center of the floor; the men formed a circle about them. Manakadja, as head chief, stood aloof; to him fell the responsibility of correcting any part of the ceremony that varied from ancient custom.

At a signal from the drummer, the men started to dance. The women broke the circle, separating the men, interlocking fingers with them. Shoulder to shoulder, the dancers moved slowly to the left with short, shuffling steps, knees slightly bent, bodies swaying to the rhythm. The dance was orderly, but the weird singing increased in volume until the pole had been circled three or four times, when Manakadja interrupted to harangue the crowd. After he had finished, the circle formed again and the dance continued.

The drum, on which the drummer thumped vigorously, was similar to one I had seen that summer, standing on end where the drummer had carelessly left it after a dance. It was a section of hollow cottonwood log with hide stretched over both ends. The drums of their forefathers had been pottery vessels, in which they poured a little water. The hide stretched over the mouth of the jar was moistened and made taut by upending the vessel. Such drums had naturally been quite common among a pottery-making people; and though there was now a strange absence of pottery, its production had obviously been discontinued only in the recent past. In many places in the canyon floor I had dug up broken clay vessels, whose worn surfaces showed the marks of long and hard usage. They were of a dull gray, crudely decorated in black, and lacked the artistic quality found in the exquisitely finished work of the modern pueblos. Why and how these people had lost the art of pottery-making is one of the mysteries of their changing culture.

The fantastic facial decorations, a band of paint across the eyes, or the face striped with many colors, made some of the dancers unrecognizable. Gala costumes were donned, with coyote or fox

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, l... that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.

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827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional 796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the 527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing. 796 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former, 527 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja. 574 Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took to lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much 527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past 541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

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canyon keeping us awake until weariness deadened the sound. But with the announcement of the first race, the people surged forward, crowding for a place near the track, laughing, shouting and betting on their favorite horses.

Walapai Bill's bay lined up with a dozen other horses for the first race. Had I cared to bet I would have placed my money on him, remembering my wild ride on that same mile-long track. Riderless horses, always betting favorites, were also trained for these races. They started on signal, kept their places in the race and—on occasion—won. No doubt one or more of them had been entered today for excitement was at a peak.

The signal was given, the race was on. Women rushed forward waving their *sutamis* and screaming at the horse on which they had placed bets, "Win race! Win! Win!" Men tossed their hats into the air and shouted.

In the midst of the hullabaloo, I remembered the stack of letters that must be answered before the mail went out the next morning. Unlike the Indians I was not free to work only when it was "little light" and play when I felt like it. Unlike the Indians, too, I had no storehouses bursting with food. My subsistence depended on my efficiency. I had no choice but to leave the merry-making at its height, but not before I'd had a chance to watch Walapai Bill's horse nose up inch by inch and win the race.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE HAVASUPAIS' RELIGIOUS DANCES AND BELIEFS

771 THE Havasupais do not occupy a high place in the scale of religious life. They are very different from the Hopis and Navahoes. They have few ceremonies, few prayers, and few ideas connected with the world of spirits. If evil comes upon them they seek to propitiate the power that caused it. They dance and pray. But there is no system, no recurrence of elaborate ceremonials year after year. Indeed, the only regular dance that I have personally seen is that of the annual harvest, and that is occasionally omitted. The [755] Sick Dance, as its name implies, is for the purpose of healing the sick.

• 776 On the second night of my first visit to the Havasupais my companions and I were invited by Hotouta to [574] accompany him to one of these harvest thanksgiving dances. It was a wild and fantastic scene. Gathered together in a circular enclosure, the fence made of willow poles bound together with withes of the same tree, were between one hundred and two hundred Indians of both sexes in any and all manner of dress and undress. Three or four bonfires added to the weirdness by throwing peculiar lights and shadows upon the countenances of those present. At times there was a silence which became almost solemn in its intensity, and then

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talking and chattering broke out again, as if the sound of their own voices helped, in some measure, to relieve the painfulness of the solemnity of this not-very-welcome religious ceremonial. I was actually gazing upon the preparations in progress for the sacred peach dance. One by one the notables of the tribe were pointed out to me. There stood Kohot Navaho in proud solitariness, eyeing the preparations with a moodiness which became his serious and taciturn nature. Not a thing of importance passed his eye. His keen powers of observation took in the frivolity of certain young Havasupai belles as well as the actions of the Chemehuevi Indian who was to be director of the music of this religious festival. By his side stood his second son, who, in gentle and mellifluous speech was talking to those with whom he came in contact. Hotouta, the second chief, was by my side, acting as guide, chaperon, and instructor in the mysteries. Here was his daughter, a fine buxom lass of sixteen summers, with merry, laughing eyes, saucy lips, thick black hair, cut with the usual deep fringe on her forehead, and a voice that would have been the fortune of an American girl who desired a place on the operatic stage. Yonder stood Ha-a-pat-cha, a fine athletic fellow with muscles of steel and a chest like that of an ox, whose only costume was the gee-string. He marched to and fro as if consciously proud of his fine figure, came up at a call from Hotouta and seemed to be highly pleased with his introduction to us, although there was an air of condescension in his handshake which suggested that I was the honored person. Perhaps I was! *Quien sabe?*

Near by stood Mr. Bass and a special commissioner sent by the United States Indian Department to report

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796 [65] on the condition of the Havasupais, and seek to gain their consent to send their children to the Indian school at Fort Mohave.

I was too tired that night to stay long. So after an hour's watching I returned to Hotouta's hawa, stretched myself out on the sand — *outside* — in my blankets, and was soothed to sleep by the monotonous chant of the dancers.

796 123 Next day, in a burst of frolicsomeness I exclaimed to my friend, who was commonly called Tom by the whites: "Hotouta, why you no let me dance, all same Havasupai?"

It never entered my comprehension that Tom would regard the remark with serious attention, hence my astonishment can better be imagined than described when thoughtfully he turned to me and said:

"Maybe so! Me no know! Maybe so Havasupai no like 'em you dance. Maybe so they all same like 'em! I see pretty soon."

"Pretty soon" he came back with a cheery "All right! Navaho say you dance. Havasupai like 'em you!"

Here was a fine predicament! I had never danced a step in my life. In the few ball-rooms I had visited I had been a "wall flower." But in this case I had provoked the invitation myself, so, after a brief mental struggle, as gracefully as possible I accepted the consequences of my own rash speech.

When the hour arrived I placed myself under the hands of Hotouta, Yunosi his squaw, and their daughter, in order that I might be properly and appropriately apparelled for the occasion. The first salutation somewhat daunted me. Tom said, "You catch 'em white

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shirt!" The only white shirt I had was a night robe which had done service to such an extent that I had placed it in my saddlebags when we left civilized regions for the purpose of wrapping up specimens of rock to take home. Its "whiteness" may have been somewhat of a memory. But I brought it forth, and waited anxiously for Hotouta's approval. He was delighted, and I felt reassured. 796 123

When it was donned, and a pair of blue overalls, I was ready to receive the painted lines of sub-chieftainship on my face, and the eagle plume in my hair.

Then, in solemn dignity, we started down, Indian file, for the dance ground. At least Hotouta and I were dignified, while behind us Mr. Bass and the special Indian Commissioner were making frantic endeavors to hold in their laughter at the rude and brutal (!) jokes they were making at my expense. We had not proceeded far before Hotouta stopped me and with solemn face said: "You dance, you no laugh. Havasupai no like 'em you laugh!" I promised to be "as sober as a judge," and not laugh, and again we proceeded, to be stopped once more by Hotouta, who explained with perfect seriousness: "Maybe so you dance heap harnegi. Havasu squaw, she like 'em you. You catch 'em one squaw. Then you dance more and maybe so you catch 'em two squaw. She come, all same" (and here Hotouta illustrated how the squaw might come and separate me from my male companion to right or left, and take my hand in the fashion afterwards described). "She take your hand, all same. You no nip. She no like 'em you nip." I promised not to "nip," and with satisfaction Hotouta now led the way to the dance ground.

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796 123 After a formal introduction to all the chiefs and their approval given to my being accepted as Hotouta's brother and a fellow chief with him in the tribe of the Havasupais, the dance began. This is how it was conducted.

796 The "evangelist" sang over a strain of a new song. A dozen or so of the leaders took it up, and as soon as they were fairly familiar with it, the others joined in. Then the women took a hand, literally as well as figuratively, for they came in and separated the men, interlocking the fingers, midway between the first and second knuckle joints, standing shoulder to shoulder, and enlarging the group until a complete circle was formed. Then, with a side shuffling motion, moving one foot to 796 the left and following it rapidly but rhythmically with 152 the other, the while lustily and seriously singing the song they had just learned, the dance continued, — a dull, monotonous, sleep-producing ceremony, until the onlooker was awakened by manifestations he little expected to see at an Indian thanksgiving dance. Very often it occurs that women of the tribe are affected with a somewhat similar excitement to that which seizes the negro when he has "the power." With a shriek, the woman hysterically leaps within the circle made by the dancers, and howls and shouts and dances and jumps, and then, perhaps, throws herself in a heavy stupor upon the ground. Some will run to the centre post, and, hanging on with one or both hands, will swing rapidly around until they fall exhausted to the ground. When the male members tire of seeing these excitable females upon the ground, they unostentatiously step up to the prostrate figures, seize their long thick hair, swing it over the shoulder, and thus proceed to

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drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to."

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future.

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out

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Hotouta, Chickapanagie, Spotted Tail, and one or two others who had been the leaders in thus countenancing the whites, and administered to them severe rebukes. After this, referring to the offer of the whites to give them farming implements, food, etc., if they would send their children to the Indians' school at Mohave, he urged his hearers to listen to no such proposals. He said in effect: "Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving of willows by their side. He will rob you of your corn-fields and of your peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting-grounds are now all occupied by him, the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of 'Those Above,' and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten." In other words, he endeavored to make it perfectly clear to the assembled Havasupais that the school proposition was a white man's scheme — a dodge — to get their children away so that eventually they

3 James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 ● 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned. 965

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.] [128] [177] [538] [535] [771] [764]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.] 535 177

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gätágama. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire. 533 535 177

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Iliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony; 796 ●

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 533 177 This indication[1] was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a center pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

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"A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Wescogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

[1] [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 539 177 796 ●

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 32 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Gătágăma's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Gătágăma also was singing his own songs."

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Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 251): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

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522 Other clowning activities involved a pretense at anger on the part of two of the masked men, often the leaders, who would chase spectators or grab young girls in an attempt to dance with them. On other occasions one of the masked figures would hold a king snake and frighten the audience with it.

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535 Spier's (1928, 267, Fig. 52) description and illustration of the masks were quite accurate. The person sponsoring the dance prepared the masks with some assistance from friends. They were made by doubling a piece of canvas and sewing it into a sack. A face was painted on the front. This involved geometric designs in black, red and white, although the colors had no special meaning. Openings for eyes and mouth were cut into them. The masks of the two leaders had leather tubes sewed to the mouth opening. Attached feathers were tipped with down. Women's masks were characterized by only one or two feathers and were painted red and white in designs consisting of red vertical lines or crosses on the cheeks. Those depicted by Spier (1928, 267, Fig. 52) were more typical of those worn by men. Some women did not wear masks, but painted their heads white with a red circle outlining the face. This was exceptional, however. The associated costume of the women consisted of willow bark strips hung from a belt like a skirt worn over a dress. The masks of the male impersonators contained more feathers and were white with minor design elements in red and black. Occasionally horse hair was attached to simulate human hair. This was allowed to hang freely or was tied in a knot at the back. Men's costumes included willow branches and leaves encircling the waist to hide their rolled-up denim trousers. Their legs and bodies were painted white with black spots at random. These were intended to indicate raindrops. No lightning designs were utilized. Men also wore willow leaves in a ruff around the neck and carried willow branches in their hands which they moved up and down in time with the dance rhythm. The men who distributed the food often wore cast-off women's clothing which they then discarded in a secreted dressing area.

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796 Our informants were in agreement that, aside from one attempt to hold the kachina dance in 1931 or 1932, the last had been portrayed in 1910, the year before the big flood (Spier, 1928, 94). Prior to that it had been customary to hold it every year, usually in conjunction with the harvest round dance. The seemingly paradoxical action of having the rain dance at the harvest rather than during the earlier summer rainy season was explained by informants who indicated that at the earlier date not enough fresh food would have been available for distribution to the audience. (In all probability, the rain itself was not needed [because of the perennial stream flowing through the fields], but the concept was retained along with the other obvious Hopi features.) [This certainly does not appear to be similar to the rain dance that Kroeber (1935, 202-3) reported for the Walapai.

[114]

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 759 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

●797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher-training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

MEASUREMENTS, TIME RECKONING, DIRECTIONS, AND COLORS

A number of measurements are in use. These have no names. The finger span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger, and the hand length, from the tip of the middle finger along the palm to the wrist, are used in measuring arrow foreshafts, for example. Finger width, that is of the first two fingers, gives the width of a bow. The arm length, from the tip of the middle finger along the inside of the arm to the shoulder joint, gives that of the arrowshaft. The span of the arms, i.e., between the outstretched hands, is used to measure buckskins, the excess being measured in finger spans. The half arm span, from the sternum to the finger tips, is half the length of a bow. Steps are used in measuring houses, etc. Formerly the foot length was not in use. The Hopi use the forearm to measure the length of ears of corn when trading, but the Havasupai make no use of this measurement. 804 [171]

By way of a device for laying out lines, for example, in making a woman's dress, the bow is used: the back furnishes curved lines, the string straight ones. [294]

I have not observed that the fingers or other objects are used in counting. Of course counters are used in certain games, but not because they cannot reckon without them. Beside the numerals given below,[1] fractions (at least a half) are named. 802

1 ɬsl'tȧ
2 xuwȧ́gȧ
3 hūmúgȧ
4 hop'ȧ́
5 θθt'ȧ́pȧ
6 tacpθ'
7 xuwagacpθ'k
8 humugθacpθ'k
9 halθθdia
10 viwa''avȧ
20 wavȧ́huȧ́gȧ or xuȧ́gȧvuwȧ́gȧ

[1] See also Harrington, (a), 234.

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22 wavàhuágà xuágàtcšálš or xu'agávuavá xu'agà tcšálš
23 wavàhu'agà hümugà tcšálš or xu'agávow'avà hümugà tcšálš
30 wavahumugà or humúgávuwávà
40 wavàhopa" or hopadjšvuwávà
41 wavàhopa" sl'tlgtcšálš or hopadjšvuwàva sltlgtcšálš
50 wavàšet'apà or ššt'apávuwávà
60 wavàtšcpš' or tšcpaivuwávà
70 wavàxuagàcpš' or xuagàcpaivuwávà
74 wavàxuagàcpš'hopaktcšálš or xuagàcpaivuwavà hopak tcša'lš
77 wavàxuagàcpš'xuwagàcpš"tcšálš or xuagàcpaivuwavà xuwagàcpš"tcšálš

One to five, nine, and ten are independent stems: six is presumably based on one, seven on two, and eight on three.[1] Twenty is either ten-two or two-ten: twenty-two is compounded of ten-two and two, and so on.

805 Four seasons of the year are named, although it is doubtful that these are thought of as definite divisions: *dtcúdìgd*, winter; *tnyádtúyd*, summer; *n„tmuwémtmd*, spring (March and April); and *matmúntmd*, fall (October and November).

Years are said to be counted by snows (*kandpatcd*); a myth gives a duration of ten winters (*tcúdin„dvuwdvd*).[2] Shorter periods are designated in months, i.e., moons[3] (as *kàldhop'dgd*, four months) or in sleeps (as *hopa'djàsmš'g*, four sleeps).

The calendar presents the confusion commonly observed where twelve named periods are intended to correspond to the thirteen lunar months, and because some of them begin with the appearance of certain constellations there is further confusion. In addition, my information is not clear.

The year begins in the middle of November when the Hoop constellation rises. The following list of months was obtained in August, 1918 from Sinyella.

1. sòldjš'lìà, hand + to come.
Cottonwood leaves fall.
[821] Begins with the rising of Tavádjúdà, the hoop of the hoop-and-pole game, at dawn in the southeast. One of the culture heroes fixed this as indicating the first month. (Rose November 4, 1919.)
2. hàlì'jaginyuwéva, moon + [man] staying at a house.[4]
Cool; a little snow on the plateau.

[1] I neglected to record in my notes the numbers from eleven to nineteen, but as I recall eleven is vuwívàdlà, and so on.
[2] There are no calendar records of the Piman type (Russell, (c), 76–80.)
[3] A San Carlos man kept track of a child's age by moons (Hrdlička (d), 402). For the division of the day and year among the Yuma, see Trippel, 578.
[4] This may refer to the winter solstice.

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6 tacpɓ'
7 xuwagacpɓ'k
8 humugɓcpɓ'k
9 halɓɓúia
10 viwa"avá
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802

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Years are said to be counted by snows (*Aandpaicd*); a myth gives a duration of ten winters (*icâdîn„dewaded*).[2] Shorter periods are designated in months, i.e., moons[3] (as *hâldhop'dgd*, four months) or in sleeps (as *hopa'djâmâ'g*, four sleeps).

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Cool; a little snow on the plateau.

[1] neglected to record in my notes the numbers from eleven to nineteen, but as I recall eleven is wundrâtcŏâlĕ, and so on.
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[3] San Carlos men kept track of a child's age by moons (Hrdlicka (4), 469). For the division of the day and year among the Yuma, see Tröppel, 374.
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2. i'pedja'ẃlia, the name of a constellation rendered ip'tha in a myth, (from i'i, wood, pik, to carry.)

Very cold; snow nine to twelve inches deep on the plateau.

Begins with the appearance in the southeast of a constellation representing Coyote carrying a pole of smaller stars on his shoulder. Mountain Lion came to his camp and ate his food. Coyote was angry. They told him to get a long pole and build a fire. He did not want to burn his pole, so they told him to go to the west and come back from the east. (Rose December 12 or 13, 1919.)

This is called the second month in a letter from Jess Cherkaŋanyega giving the date on which the group arose. As this is only a month later than the first fixed date (Nov. 4, 1919) this information is probably correct. The month listed as second is perhaps the third, for the fixed date for the fourth month (Feb. 6, 1920) is two months later, leaving one lunation unnamed.

4. hẽmtaſkâ'dielia, star+very cold

Bitter cold; snow thigh deep.

Begins with the appearance of a constellation (Fig. 3b1) in the east. (Rose about February 6, 1920.) This group may represent a portion of the constellation Perseus including the star alpha which would be visible in the northeast in December, January, and February in the early evening.[1]

5. mâdigimaſâ, bean dance.

A little warm; snow a foot deep now melts a little.

The Hopi plant beans in a bucket and build a fire near it. They boil the sprouts and have a dance for joy, I was told. This is the Hopi Powamu ceremony which occurs early in February.[2] My informant said this month is not counted, hence its name may be an alternative for the fourth month.

6. mâwaſipûk, warmed.

Warmer; snow melts lower [March.]

7. mâwalâi'dvisgâ, warm+half-way

Some begin to plant when the last crescent of the moon shows.

[Leaving out the fifth month, this is April: planting begins in mid-April.]

8. mâwaifkâtâvâôvâ, warm+gone. (The moon is gone by the end of this month.)

Planting during this month [May].

9. myâtâpê'k, sun+to make [warm?]

Hot; planting ended; alfalfa high and cottonwood in full leaf [June.]

10. myâkâtuyumiyâ'kâ

A little rain [July.]

"We do not count this month."

11. gâfastâsâpe'gâ, thunder storm

Summer storms begin when this moon is half gone [August.]

The current month was given as gafω'pabud on August 31, 1921.

12. gâfaqpâ'kteiwê'k.

Many storms with floods [September.]

[1] Dr. C. D. Walcott was kind enough to suggest identifications of these star clusters on the basis of my informant's fragmentary data.

[2] Voth, Fd, 83.

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805 821 The list is apparently incomplete and garbled, yet I have attempted to give the approximately corresponding months in our calendar on the basis of the dating of the constellations and the descriptions of the seasons.

It is obvious that twelve names cannot do duty for not quite thirteen lunations and it is manifest that the Havasupai do not attempt the impossible. I was told that these are not intended to coincide with the lunar months and that the days are not counted. It seems that what I [171] found true of the Southern Diegueño applies here: that these Indians are interested only in designating a series of periods without attempting to fix their limits, and these periods are roughly the lunations, the names of which are variable and frequently in doubt. The only certain months are those fixed by the appearance of the several star clusters, and these all occur at the beginning of the Havasupai year. There can be no question here of intercalation of the thirteenth lunation in a twelve name series.

There is some suggestion that the months begin with the full moon.

Month	*Began*	*Full Moon*
1st–1917	Middle of November	Nov. 28, 1917
1st–1919	Nov. 4, 1919	Nov. 7, 1919
3rd (or 2nd)– 1919	Dec. 12 or 13, 1919	Dec. 7, 1919
4th–1920	Feb. 6, 1920	Feb. 4, 1920

The solstices are recognised. Sinyella has a definite place where he stands to observe both solstices at sunrise. Presumably the other fixed points are pinnacles, etc., on the canyon walls. (Normally the canyon is deserted in mid-winter.) The winter solstice (*n„avökig*, coming back) occurs when the moon is half full. Sinyella fixed this as December 30, 1919. The summer solstice is *inydhIn„an„ndwaha*, the sun is home. I did not learn of any rituals connected with these dates.

Time is indicated chiefly by the position of the sun.

n„lmiθk'vumá	day time
inya"djı'áligigá	sun barely risen
inyá'tapévigigá	sun risen half way
inyá'viluwivigá	noon (sun in the middle[1])
inyádcepévigá	sun halfway down
inyátθ'pmigá	sun fallen out of sight
naták'épigá	night
naták'épvíluwivigá	midnight
djuˈvn„mθavàn igpaílm	before the dawn
halávàθ'pigigá	dawn.

[173] The moon (*hald*) is a man or a man's head. A myth also describes it as a disk chipped out of ice.

[1] Or the sun making no progress; compare o'lovíluwivigá, horses racing nose to nose.

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A knotted cord or quipu (*dûtsuwddjîgâ*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 26, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth.

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

north	máłávígà
west	nyatóṇovî (sun's setting place)
south	kâwévígà
east	nyádjà'álovē (sun's rising place)
zenith	amiávígà or ḥmiatávígà (middle of the sky)
nadir	matviálà or ámötávígà (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ámötátu"waiyū'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

Color terms are as follows:—

ḥnyágà or ḥnyádj	black
ḥnyaégà	brown
áhwō'tígà	red
gwalaégà	pink
ágwáðg	yellow
ɲyḥnaā'vá	white
vaadwá	blue-green
vahaadgà (?)	blue
vahaaótávígà	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Stephen, 94, 302); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Parsons, (a), 33). That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache circuit is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 7.)

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822 151

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822 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course
151 recognise and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (*n¸ûdlgd*) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the
171 Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains,
805 and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North
x American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

Some suggested identities among the constellations recognised by
171 tribes in this area follow[4].
821

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand+to come)
		Begins year November or September				Begins year November
		Buzzard (in third month) January or November				
		Cïlûk (in fourth month) December?				Coyote (in second (month) December
						Cold star (Perseus?) February

[1] Cope, map 2.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 88.
[3] Corbusier, 330; Spier, (a), 347. Cope classes the Yavapai case (called Tonto), marked by seed-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but seed-gathering belongs with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño case is classed with the solstitial type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] De Huis, (a), 183, 184; Waterman, footnote 56; Spier, (a), 319, 347; Tripp, 373; Corbusier, 334.

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Hulaish or hula'-chum	Mu or amu, mountain sheep	Amu, mountain sheep	A-mau	Amo, moun-tain sheep	Mu-'u, moun-tain sheep
(3 stars) (Orion)	(Orion)	(3 stars)	(3 stars) (Great Bear)	(3 stars) (Orion)	(Orion's belt)

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand+to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest

Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cĭlŭk (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-ma, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavish, buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cĭlŭk* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure

[1] *Handbook*, 383.

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171 821 [905] only in the early months of both calendars is presumptive evidence of historic connection.

There are some data on the identity of another group in this region. The Havasupai may know the cluster, but I did not record it. This appears to be the three stars of Orion's Belt, called *Mountain Sheep* by Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and *Hulaish* or *Hula'chum* by Luiseño. I think Trippel is mistaken in identifying *A-mau* (presumably mountain sheep) with the Great Bear; there is no obvious triad in that constellation. Waterman doubtfully questions the identification of the Northern Diegueño group with Orion. Southern Diegueño *Mountain Sheep* is probably the same group, which makes it impossible for *Cïlûk* to be the Belt.

211 905 171 In our area the quipu or knotted string record is a formal accompaniment of an invitation to a gathering; one knot is cut off or untied for each day that elapses until the event. Beside the Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho, this must have been in general use among the Pueblos for it figured in the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.[1] There is also a mythical reference to the device among the Zuñi.[2] The Miwok and the Northern and Southern Maidu have invitation strings identical with these.[3] The Huichol knot strings to keep count of days, untying a knot for each day elapsed. They also enumerate lovers by knotting cords.[4] As a mnemonic device the knotted string is also known to some Mission Indians, the Palonies (a subdivision of the Chemehuevi), the Klallam, Yakima, the Interior Salish of Nicola Valley, B.C., the Zuñi[5], and in a variety of forms in Peru. It is conceivable that this has a continuous distribution from Peru to Canada.

[1] Bandelier, (b), 118; Hackett, 100.
[2] Cushing, (a), 17.
[3] Dixon, (a), 326, 371; Fagg, 44; Powers, 362.
[4] Lumholtz, (c), II, 139–140.
[5] Hoffman, in Reid, 28. Modern information from Ezra Gunther, Leechman and Harrington.

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the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . . " Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . . "; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . . " Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *hdnlgd*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of [768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. [775] Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose [727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of [754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821
221 They are fairly acquainted with the principal constellations, giving them
● 805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

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802

22 wavàhuágà xuágàtcčálš or xu'agávuavà xu'agà tcčálš
23 wavàhu'agà hūmugà tcčálš or xu'agávow'avà hūmugà tcčálš
30 wavahumugà or humúgàvuwávà
40 wavàhopa" or hopadjövuwávà
41 wavàhopa" sï'tigtcčálš or hopadjövuwáva sïtigtcčálš
50 wavàčet'apà or čšt'apávuwávà
60 wavàtčepš' or tčepaivuwávà
70 wavàxuagàcpš' or xuagácpaivuwávà
74 wavàxuagàcpš'hopaktcčálš or xuagácpaivuwavà hopak tcča'lš
77 wavàxuagàcpš'xuwagàcpš"tcčálš or xuagácpaivuwavà xuwagàcpš"tcčálš

One to five, nine, and ten are independent stems: six is presumably based on one, seven on two, and eight on three.[1] Twenty is either ten-two or two-ten: twenty-two is compounded of ten-two and two, and so on.

Four seasons of the year are named, although it is doubtful that
805 these are thought of as definite divisions: *dtcúdïgd*, winter; *ïnyädtáyd*, summer; *n„ïnuwémïmd*, spring (March and April); and *matmúnïmd*, fall (October and November).

Years are said to be counted by snows (*hanápatcd*); a myth gives a duration of ten winters (*tcúdïn„dvuwdvd*).[2] Shorter periods are designated in months, i.e., moons[3] (as *hàldhop'dgd*, four months) or in sleeps (as *hopa'djàsmš'g*, four sleeps).

The calendar presents the confusion commonly observed where twelve named periods are intended to correspond to the thirteen lunar months, and because some of them begin with the appearance of certain constellations there is further confusion. In addition, my information is not clear.

The year begins in the middle of November when the Hoop constellation rises. The following list of months was obtained in August, 1918 from Sinyella.

1. sšldjïš'lš, hand + to come.
Cottonwood leaves fall.
[821] Begins with the rising of Tavádjódá, the hoop of the hoop-and-pole game, at dawn in the southeast. One of the culture heroes fixed this as indicating the first month. (Rose November 4, 1919.)
2. hàlš'pagïnyuwéva, moon + [man] staying at a house.[4]
Cool; a little snow on the plateau.

[1] I neglected to record in my notes the numbers from eleven to nineteen, but as I recall eleven is vuwávàlš, and so on.
[2] There are no calendar records of the Piman type [Russell, (c), 76-80.]
[3] A San Carlos man kept track of a child's age by moons (Hrdlička (d), 400). For the division of the day and year among the Yuma, see Trippel, 878.
[4] This may refer to the winter solstice.

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3. i'podja'dlia, the name of a constellation rendered ip'éha in a myth, (from i'i, wood, pik, to carry.) 805 821
Very cold; snow nine to twelve inches deep on the plateau.
Begins with the appearance in the southeast of a constellation representing Coyote carrying a pole of smaller stars on his shoulder. Mountain Lion came to his camp and ate his food. Coyote was angry. They told him to get a long pole and build a fire. He did not want to burn his pole, so they told him to go to the west and come back from the east. (Rose December 12 or 13, 1919.) [773]
This is called the second month in a letter from Jess Chevkapanyega giving the date on which the group arose. As this is only a month later than the first fixed date (Nov. 4, 1919) this information is probably correct. The month listed as second is perhaps the third, for the fixed date for the fourth month (Feb. 6, 1920) is two months later, leaving one lunation unnamed.

4. hömásfkà'dádla, star+very cold
Bitter cold; snow thigh deep.
Begins with the appearance of a constellation (Fig. 38d) in the east. (Rose about February 6, 1920.) This group may represent a portion of the constellation Perseus including the star alpha which would be visible in the northeast in December, January, and February in the early evening.[1]

5. màdigimafà, bean dance.
A little warm; snow a foot deep now melts a little.
The Hopi plant beans in a bucket and build a fire near it. They boil the sprouts and have a dance for joy, I was told. This is the Hopi Powamu ceremony which occurs early in February.[2] My informant said this month is not counted, hence its name may be an alternative for the fourth month.

6. màwafipük, warmed.
Warmer; snow melts lower [March.]

7. màwalàt'dvingà, warm+half-way
Some begin to plant when the last crescent of the moon shows.
[Leaving out the fifth month, this is April; planting begins in mid-April.]

8. màwaifkàtàvàövà, warm+gone. (The moon is gone by the end of this month.)
Planting during this month [May].

9. inyätäpü'k, sun+to make [warm?]
Hot; planting ended; alfalfa high and cottonwood in full leaf [June.]

10. inyäkàtuyumiyä'kà
A little rain [July.]
"We do not count this month."

11. gàfwtàsàpé'gà, thunder storm
Summer storms begin when this moon is half gone [August.]
The current month was given as gafw'pabud on August 31, 1921.

12. gàfwpü'kteiwü'k.
Many storms with floods [September.]

[1] Dr. C. H. Sloan was kind enough to suggest identifications of these star clusters on the basis of my informant's fragmentary data.
[2] Voth, 73, 83.

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805 The list is apparently incomplete and garbled, yet I have attempted
821 to give the approximately corresponding months in our calendar on the basis of the dating of the constellations and the descriptions of the seasons.

It is obvious that twelve names cannot do duty for not quite thirteen lunations and it is manifest that the Havasupai do not attempt the impossible. I was told that these are not intended to coincide with the lunar months and that the days are not counted. It seems that what I [171] found true of the Southern Dieguefio applies here: that these Indians are interested only in designating a series of periods without attempting to fix their limits, and these periods are roughly the lunations, the names of which are variable and frequently in doubt. The only certain months are those fixed by the appearance of the several star clusters, and these all occur at the beginning of the Havasupai year. There can be no question here of intercalation of the thirteenth lunation in a twelve name series.

There is some suggestion that the months begin with the full moon.

Month	*Began*	*Full Moon*
1st–1917	Middle of November	Nov. 28, 1917
1st–1919	Nov. 4, 1919	Nov. 7, 1919
3rd (or 2nd)– 1919	Dec. 12 or 13, 1919	Dec. 7, 1919
4th–1920	Feb. 6, 1920	Feb. 4, 1920

The solstices are recognized. Sinyella has a definite place where he stands to observe both solstices at sunrise. Presumably the other fixed points are pinnacles, etc., on the canyon walls. (Normally the canyon is deserted in mid-winter.) The winter solstice (*n,avökïq*, coming back) occurs when the moon is half full. Sinyella fixed this as December 30, 1919. The summer solstice is *tnydhïn,an,ndwaha*, the sun is home. I did not learn of any rituals connected with these dates.

Time is indicated chiefly by the position of the sun.

n,imïθá'vumá	day time
inya''djï'áligigá	sun barely risen
inyá'tapóvigigá	sun risen half way
inyá'viluwivigá	noon (sun in the middle[1])
inyádčepóvigá	sun halfway down
inyátû'pmigá	sun fallen out of sight
naták'épigá	night
naták'épviluwivigá	midnight
dju'vn,mθavàn igpafim	before the dawn
halávàô'pigigá	dawn.

The moon (*hald*) is a man or a man's head. A myth also describes [173] it as a disk chipped out of ice.

[1]Or the sun making no progress: compare a'luviluwivigá, horses racing nose to nose.

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822 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course
151 recognise and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (*n,ádĭgɑ*) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the
171 Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains,
805 and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North
x American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

Some suggested identities among the constellations recognised by
171 tribes in this area follow[4].
821

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand+to come)
		Begins year November or September				Begins year November
		Buzzard (in third month) January or November				
		Cĭlŭk (in fourth month) December?				Coyote (in second (month) December
						Cold star (Perseus?) February

[1] Cope, map 2.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 56.
[3] Corbusier, 326; Spier, (a), 327. Cope classes the Yavapai area (called Tonto), marked by seed-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but seed-gathering belongs with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño area is classed with the solsticial type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] Du Bois, (a), 163, 168; Waterman, footnote 98; Spier, (a), 319, 327; Trippel, 378; Corbusier, 328.

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Hulaish or hula'-chum	Mu or emu, mountain sheep	Amu, mountain sheep	A-mau	Amo, mountain sheep	Mu-'u, mountain sheep
(3 stars) (Orion)	(Orion)	(3 stars)	(3 stars) (Great Bear)	(3 stars) (Orion)	(Orion's belt)

171
821

The Southern Diegueño *Hand*, a group of five stars, appears in the morning and marks the beginning of the year, in all of which it corresponds to Havasupai *Hoop* (Fig. 30a). A further identity lies in the name of the first Havasupai month, *hand+to come*. This suggests either that the correct name of their constellation is *Hand*, that the name has been borrowed and used in a new sense, or that this is an old name for the month common to the two, the Diegueño having changed their designation or the Havasupai their constellation. At first sight the greatest [805]

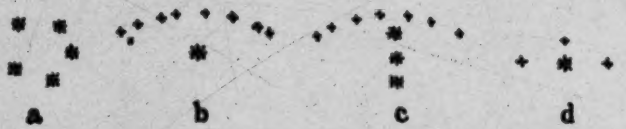

Fig. 30. Constellations. *a*, Hoop; *b*, Coyote and Pole; *c*, Cĭlák (Southern Diegueño), *d*, Cold Star (from native sketches).

discrepancy is that the Diegueño date is September and the Havasupai November. But my Diegueño information was confused, while Gifford obtained November as the initial month from the same informant. I [114] think there can be little question then of the identity of the constellations and the correctness of Gifford's calendar. A confirmation of this solution appears if Luiseño Nukulishpo-ma, his hand, refers to the same star or constellation. This is Arcturus, by Kroeber's identification,[1] a star which rises in the morning in early November. Certainty is added by an identification of Diegueño Buzzard, which rises in the morning in the third month (January), with Luiseño Yungavish, buzzard. The latter Kroeber gives as Altair, which does rise in the morning in early January.

The configuration of Havasupai *Coyote and Pole* agrees with Southern Diegueño *Cĭlák* (which I reproduce from my field notes). (Fig. 30bc) Furthermore both rise in December, if my Diegueño calendar is correct, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, the fact that the constellations figure [805]

[1] *Handbook*, 682.

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only in the early months of both calendars is presumptive evidence of historic connection.

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[1] Bandelier, pp. 112; Hodge, 102.
[2] Cushing, pp. 37.
[3] Kroeber, pp. 371; Powers, 44; Powers, 322.
[4] Lumholtz, pp. 17, 120-121.
[5] Stevenson, in Hodge, 32. Written information from Ross Gunther, Loudermilk and Harrington.

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338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

> As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Ilckdyúgdllga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'igdgwaúwd*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígdlyúg vadel'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montandon for an account of these.

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ern Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Dieguefio use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Moapa, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Dieguefio reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 209; Lowie, (i), 257; Kroeber, (h), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (c), 324–329.
[3] Hough, (a), 265; Stevenson, J., Fig. 261.
[4] Russell, (a), 270; Curtis, I. 58; Goddard, (b), 263; (c), 170; Franciscan Fathers, 402; Hrdlička, (a), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 169; Lumholtz, (c), II, 185, 428; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (i), 260, 303; Reagan, 30; Lowie, (a), 219, 220; Sapir, (e), 306; Dorsey, G. A., (a), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 56; Mason, J. A., (a), 158; Kroeber, (c), 277.
[7] Brown, 609; Spier, (c), 249.
[8] Lowie, (a), 223; Dixon, (a), 209.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (a), 186; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 340).

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occurred a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monster and force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless in their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that *far-off land.*

462 that his womenfolk may have assisted in this casual way in former times
[476] when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the
[281] whole family.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for
[294] himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, influences
brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. Availability of woven
[177] materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.
Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use
treadle sewing machines. Spier (personal communication, 1957) records
[184] that there were a couple of treadle sewing machines in use in 1918. All
men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

As mentioned previously, puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that
[324] several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old
man explained that old men in his youth told him that points for arrows and
[82] spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon, but younger informants urged me not to let the older people know I had collected any. As one woman
[775] phrased it, "In the old days they belonged to people who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds, which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women's Work

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts.
[177] Women commonly made rabbitskin blankets, now no longer used, but they
[297] were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are made by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows for this purpose.

576
574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of
[768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sacrifice. Upon the wings of the last film
[775] of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose
[727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of
[754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821
221 They are fairly acquainted with the
805 principal constellations, giving them names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[P. 556A]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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A knotted cord or quipu (*dätwasdjigä*) is used to add formality to an invitation to another tribe or in accepting an invitation from them. The cord, which is carried by the messenger, contains a knot for each sleep which will elapse before the meeting. One knot is cut off each night: the last one, which is by itself at the end of the cord, represents the meeting. Thus the Havasupai sent one, made by the reservation policeman, to the Navaho at large by a member of that tribe. This had seventeen knots and referred to a dance held in September, 1919. Two instances of quipus brought by Walapai were noted; both invitations of local chiefs to mourning ceremonies. On August 26, 1921 a Navaho, who was not a chief, gave one with ten knots to Supai Jack, a prominent man, with the information that the Navaho would arrive at the Havasupai village in the afternoon or evening of September fourth. 805 211 648

These are not used as mnemonic devices, nor do they use notched sticks in this way.

A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses. 211

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir. 823

north	mätávigä
west	nyatdqovi (sun's setting place)
south	käwávigä
east	nyädjä'dlovä (sun's rising place)
zenith	amjávigä or tmiatávigä (middle of the sky)
nadir	matvidlä or ämötävigä (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ämötätu"waiyü'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association. 822 151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágä or hyädj	black
hyuu'gä	brown
ähwö'lägä	red
gwalaa'gä	pink
ägwä'g	yellow
a,hwat'vä	white
vaatwä	blue-green
vahaadgä (?)	blue
vahaadtävigä	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 55; Stephen, 64, 889.); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Fewkes, (a), 23). That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 73). The San Carlos Apache ritual is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (f), 1.) [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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822 151 The familiar blue-green confusion occurs here, but the Indians of course recognise and designate the difference between the colors whenever the occasion requires. Spotted (n,ádlgd) and variegated are not colors.

Comparative Notes

171 805 The beginning of winter (mid-November) as the initial point of the Havasupai calendar has its counterpart throughout the Basin, Plains, and the interior of British Columbia, according to Cope's summary.[1] In this vicinity, the Navaho year begins about October[2]; the Yavapai in September, and the Southern Diegueño in September or November.[3] This extends the distribution of this type further south. On the other hand the calendar turns on the solstices in the Pueblos and in southern California.

The month names are in general descriptive as in most North American calendars. Unlike the Hopi, Hano, Zuñi, and Southern Diegueño, these are not divided into two series of six repeated names.

171 821 Some suggested identities among the constellations recognised by tribes in this area follow[4].

Luiseño	*No. Diegueño*	*So. Diegueño*	*Yuma*	*Mohave*	*Yavapai*	*Havasupai*
		Hand (5 stars)				Hoop (5 stars) (Month name, Hand + to come)
		Begins year				Begins year
		November or September				November
		Buzzard (in third month)				
		January or November				
		Clûk (in fourth month)				Coyote (in second (month)
		December?				December
						Cold star
						(Pleiades?)
						February

[1] Cope, map 5.
[2] Matthews, Navaho, 88.
[3] Carlsmith, 230; Spier, (a), 347. Cope shows the Yavapai year (called Tonto), marked by acorn-gathering in September, with the harvest or summer type of calendar beginning, but acorn-gathering belongs with the winter round of activities in this region. The Diegueño seem to channel with the coincident type, but there is no authority for this. Their year begins in September (or November, see below) when the weather turns sharp.
[4] Du Bois, (a), 166; Waterman, footnote 96; Spier, (a), 318, 327; Trippel, 379; Carlsmith, 230.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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was used by people long ago. Pete cut across by a new road to intercept him, there he waited and watched, but the ghost never came. Perhaps the ghost made him drowsy. The ghost did not look exactly like a man, rather like a man's shadow. The horse was not afraid at first, but by and by the ghost looked like a man; then he shied, bucked, and refused to follow him.

The souls of dead men are said to go to the north where they live well, but what the hereafter is like and even its location is indefinite in the minds of informants. It is not known if the soul of a suicide also goes there. Objects have no souls, but one informant stated that dead trees and weeds were in this land of souls.[1]

Reference is made in a myth to Pagiyógà (man+to draw after) who draws souls into the sky. According to Sinyella this concept existed when he was a boy, whereas Pagiyóvà (man+make alive again), who makes people live after they die, is the white man's God. Manakadja identifies Pagiyóvà with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heroes.

The older speculative writers on the origins of religion have placed so much weight on the savage's confusion of his identity or his soul, or both, with certain illusory phenomena, as reflections, shadows, dream apparitions, etc., that a consideration of the Havasupai ideas may well be given at this place. Neither the dream-actor, the reflection of one's face in the water, nor one's shadow bears any relation whatever to the soul. The attitude to the mirrored image is our own. Two words for shadow are used; *ulitapod*[2], that of an animal (man, dog, or insect), and pá'dazi-pá, that of any other object (cloud, tree, or house). The distinction is of name only; the shadows do not differ in kind.

> The mirrored image goes with me; when I leave the pool it leaves with me. When the sun shines, my shadow shows; when it ceases to shine perhaps it returns to my body. (Sinyella).
>
> I think my shadow goes to the sun, because it fades as the sun ceases to shine. No; when I walk into another shadow, mine becomes merged in it. Wherever I go, it goes. At night it may be with me, or may have gone off somewhere; I do not know. (Jess)

Spirits, in distinction to souls, are limited in number. Almost without exception they are shaman's familiars. Nobody has seen a spirit (*atsuá*[3]). Each shaman has one within his chest. When he wants to discover something he sends the spirit travelling, perhaps for a day and night. The shaman goes out into the darkness; his spirit is heard hollering and whistling to him from a distance. It re-enters his mouth, makes noises, and talks. The shaman shuts his eyes and apparently sings, but in reality it is the spirit telling what it saw.

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[1] No food offerings are made to the dead.
[2] Possibly identical with *ulatsud*, medicine.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was [386] stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual [301] matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 515 302 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos throughout her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756 787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
●822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

212 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Iliff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

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A family may keep track of the return of a traveler by marking on a stone or post, erasing a mark for each sleep as it elapses.

211

Six directions are recognized: the four cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir.

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north	mátávigà
west	nyatópovi (sun's setting place)
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east	nyádjà'álové (sun's rising place)
zenith	amávigà or hualávigà (middle of the sky)
nadir	matávilà or ámtávigà (middle of the ground)

The place where the speaker is (ámčàtù"waiyū'g, ground where I am), is not considered a direction. In naming the directions they are given in the order north, west, south, and east.[1] There is no color-direction association.

822 151

Color terms are as follows:—

hyágà or hyádj	black
hyaw'gà	brown
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gwalaw'gà	pink
ágwáfg	yellow
a,hual'vá	white
vaqwà	blue-green
vahaqigà (?)	blue
vahaqtlávigà	green

[1] The Navaho order is east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir (Franciscan Fathers, 83; Stephen, 64, 260); that of the Hopi north, west, south, and east (Voth, (a), 33). That of the Pima in lighting a funeral pyre is south, east, north, and west (Curtis, II, 72). The San Carlos Apache circuit is like the Navaho, east, south, west, and north (Goddard, (b), 7.)

[171]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Vesnor and his horse. The children scampered off through the brush on the trail that led to the village. At home there would be food, the kind they were accustomed to and for which they hungered in a way no white man's viands could satisfy. Perhaps it would be the delicious corn bread their mothers made by crushing grains of new corn to a pulp, molding it into elongated shapes which were fitted into the husks of green corn and baked in the ashes. The bread would be rich and sweet and more delicious than any hardtack ever made. Or if it were the season for little green squashes, there would be another treat. The squash, cooked, mashed and mixed with the cooked grains of new corn, was a delicacy so enjoyed that the thought of it could start the children's feet running toward home. There would be food at every house they passed on the trail, and a Havasupai shared as generously as our own ancestors did before we measured our sustenance by its cost in dollars and cents.

That week another letter came from Mr. Ewing demanding that I submit the annual report immediately. He added the important news that the Hackberry Day School would open in the fall as the Truxton Canyon Training School. This would be the fulfillment of the promise he had made to the Walapai that he would establish a boarding school for their children.

Early Saturday morning I started to the Indian village to get additional information to incorporate in the annual report. The trail hugged the foot of the west wall. I had passed scattered wickiups, tucked back among the willows, before I came to a high, precipitous section of the wall that narrowed the passage. Bob, one of the tribe's medicine men, had told me that the god-spirit lived in two columns of stone on the rim of this inthrust section. The Indians had discovered these at the time they had settled in the canyon.

I had an excellent view of the two great pillars of red sandstone, as tranquil and aloof as images of Buddha. Neither white man nor Indian could fail to be impressed by them. What force placed them in that exposed position? How had they stood through the

2:111ff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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ages, battered by gales and floods which had brought down sections of the wall itself? The Indians must have asked themselves these questions many times. The wise men of the tribe gave them a satisfying answer: the indestructible god-spirit lived there to watch over and protect the people in their new home. The Indians spoke of these gods with the naturalness with which one mentions a neighbor or a friend.

"Our gods make gardens grow good. They watch over the people," they told me confidently.

And in a sense, I was indebted to their gods for this greatest adventure of my life. The Indians' well-being depended on these god-spirits, so they had refused to leave the canyon. When the Indian Office considered establishing a school for the Havasupai children, pressure was brought to induce the Indians to move to the plateau. It would be simpler for them to move out of the canyon than for the government to freight equipment for the school across the desert and down the precipitous trail. But the Indians became bewildered and frightened. "If we leave our gods, we die!" they cried. So the school came down to them. Yet the officials located it a little too far up the gorge for the gods to guard it with a watchful eye, which may account for the fact that, later on, it was destroyed by a flood.

Just beyond the gods, the walls swung apart. The broad, level floor between was occupied by the village. Spaciousness of land and sky inspired a sense of freedom. The cultivated acres were laid out like a checkerboard, in somewhat irregular squares, each displaying the mixed greenery of gardens and orchards. A fence of brush or poles enclosed each square, emphasizing the mosaic effect. The Indians had not completely removed the wilderness from the canyon; the stream could be traced by the tangle of wild vegetation lining its banks, and dense thickets claimed too much of the land. Old willow trees and cottonwoods dominated the scene.

The houses sat cosily near the gardens, or were connected with them by tree-shaded lanes. There were several half-dugouts, but

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727 162 It was a gala occasion of feasting and dancing. Faces were grotesquely painted, costumes and ornaments were designed to heighten the emotional orgy. Enemy scalps, taken in the fight, were washed and cleaned by the old women, then tied to the tip of an upright pole. The people danced round and round the pole, patting their mouths, giving a more savage note to the victory song, working themselves into a frenzy while they harangued the scalps, blaming them for the raid. "We do not steal from your home. We stay here and make our gardens grow. You kill our people. You steal our food, our blankets, our horses, our women. Now you cannot eat. You cannot sleep warm at night. You are dead."

When Gentle Annie or any of the older Indians spoke of the victory dance, emotions ran deep, their eyes kindled with a fierce light. Again they were driving back the hated foe, running the scalping knife around the hairline of his abandoned dead, peeling off a scalp.

648 Eventually, the Great Father in Washington sent his soldiers to clear the canyon of all hostile Indians and settle for all time the matter of raids. We found the names of soldiers and those of army officers, including General Crook's carved on the canyon walls.

712 We retraced our steps down the trail feeling that, in those little rooms, we ourselves had lived their tribal wars. We crossed over to the fort that stood on an outjutting bluff, impregnable on three precipitous sides; on the fourth side, a narrow trail wound steeply to its top. At several points along the trail we found piles of stones left from their last battle, ready to be rolled down on an enemy. We picked up arrowheads, but could not determine whether they had been dropped there by the Havasupai or shot there by the enemy, nor if they had been smeared with the deadly poison. We peeped through the portholes, took pictures of the place and departed.

713 823 High up on the wall to our left were two lonely figures, the Buck and the Squaw. The Indians had told me the legend of their plight, so we stopped to see how closely the two stones resembled the figures of a man and a woman. At a time when the Apache had

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

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a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the tree, and then sat down to await the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, deluges came, making more noise than a thousand Hack-a-tai-as (Colorado River) and covering all the earth with water. The pinion log floated, and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh, while the waters surged higher and higher and covered the tops of Hue-han-a-patch-a (the San Franciscos), Hue-ga-wool-a (Williams Mountain), and all the other mountains of the world.

"But the waters of heaven could not always be pouring down, and soon after they ceased, the flood upon the earth found a way to rush into the sea. And as it dashed down it cut through the rocks of the plateaus and made the deep Chic-a-mi-mi (canyon) of the Colorado River (Hack-a-tai-a). Soon all the water was gone.

"Then Pu-keh-eh found her log no longer floating, and she peeped out of the window Tochopa had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and almost dark, she could see in the dim distance the great mountains of the San Francisco range. And near by was the canyon of the Little Colorado, and to the north was Hack-a-tai-a, and to the west was the canyon of the Havasu.

"The flood had lasted so long that she had grown to be a woman, and, seeing the water gone, she came out and began to make pottery and baskets as her father long ago had taught her. But she was a woman. And what is a woman without a child in her arms or nursing at her breasts? How she longed to be a mother! But where was a father for her child? Alas! there was no man in the whole universe!

ward glance at his own threadbare soldier coat and well-patched breeches.] I am young [he was nearly fifty], but am I not old enough to remember how my people dug the soil with wooden hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins with stone axes, and skinned the deer with a knife of flint? No; I take the father of the Land of Sunrise [Washington] by the hand, and my father of the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox] do I grasp by the hand, that we may look one upon another with smiling faces."

The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai consists of prayers, made during their smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which are merely groups of rude pictographs along nooks or caves in the walls of the cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the worshiper blows smoke to the north, west, south, and east, upward and downward; then says, in a low tone, some simple prayer, only one of which, addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god, I was able to record: —

"Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weapons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants, to accept of my sacrifices."

The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the source of his river is sacred and pure; that polluted by the touch of man it would cease to give forth its waters, and the rocks of the cañon would close forever together.

Ko-hót told me, one morning, the following beautiful story of the origin and history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was covered with waters, save where a single mountain peak to the north looked out above their surface. Here, alone, wandered the great Coyote. Mankind lived in the four dark cave-plains of earth, below this mountain, until, under the guidance of a great cacique, they journeyed up from one to the other, and were finally led out into the light of the

RELIGION

The General Character of Havasupai Religion

[Spier (1928, 275, 289) has well, but briefly, discussed the position of supernatural beliefs in Havasupai culture. Religion was poorly developed; ceremonialism was meager except perhaps when it involved shamanistic practices. Some incipient borrowing was made from the Hopi in the use of prayers, masked dancers and prayer sticks; from the Southern Paiute in the acceptance of the 1890 ghost dance; and from the Mohave funeral rites. The concern with shamans and curing through spirits was typically Yuman, as were cremation, mourning ceremonies and fear of ghosts. The round dance undoubtedly was derived from the Great Basin. (See also Spier, 1929).]

Cosmology

The Havasupai believed that the world was flat and that the sky was a dome that came to meet the earth all around the edges. The middle of the world was at the San Francisco Peaks [the highest peaks in Arizona, north of Flagstaff, and visible from all parts of Havasupai territory except, of course, in the deep tributary gorges of Grand Canyon. This visibility accounts for the belief that the San Francisco Peaks are central in Havasupai world concepts even though, geographically, they are near the southeastern corner of their former range]. The earth, high in the middle and sloping away to the edges, was small, but the sky was large and very high.

Underground consisted of four levels, as did the sky. Shamans are reported to have seen these latter levels, which were inhabited by people with wings, sky people, mi ɬ?bĭ?djih.

The Havasupai recognized six directions, including the zenith and nadir (Spier, 1928, 169). There existed a vague notion of an ocean to the west [probably learned from the Mohave who had traded with coastal people]

Of the neighboring tribes the Havasupai knew the Walapai, Hopi, Apache, Southern Paiute and Navajo. [An interesting denial of knowledge of the Yavapai perhaps results from the Havasupai consideration that, of all creatures, the Yavapai were farthest from a human category. Further, unless one makes specific separate inquiry, Havasupais often tend to equate the Yavapai and Apache. Tales of Apache raids in reality refer to Yavapai encounters.] They knew of Zuni and Acoma, but did not visit Zuni or farther east. Knowledge of these pueblos came to them through the Hopi.

199 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[487] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below [317] the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [341] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

[539] The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."] [823]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai villiage. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

that's why she had the bone. She split one piece of the bone lengthwise and put it in the ground. She left it a few minutes and pulled it out and water came forth. She traveled on to the southwest until she was thirsty again. Again she split a bone, put it in the ground, and brought water out. A spring is still there on the Walapai Reservation. [Perhaps Rose Well.] She kept doing this until she had made four springs, all the while traveling southwest. Then she reached some people camping at a village in the afternoon. An old lady was on the edge of the village. Some of the men were out hunting. When they returned, one shouted that there was a runaway girl and that she was going to be his. Another man said no, we'll look into it and see whose she will be. The men ate supper, and about dark they built a fire a little way from the house where the girl was staying with an old woman. The men started playing the sixteen-stick game. [A gambling game, not reported by Spier (1928), wherein the sticks were used as counters. Probably borrowed from the Southern Paiute.] Every once in a while a man would slip away from the game and go to the girl's house but she would beat them away and throw dirt on them. Even all the birds and animals tried except the quail. Others told him to try but he said, "I'm not a good-looking man like some others she has turned down. So why should I try. " But he finally tried. He put makeup on the feathers on his head and went in. She grabbed him and took him for her husband.

539* [523] [525] [177]

The men went hunting, all except the quail. He was lazy. Other men were jealous of him because he ate gravel and didn't hunt for meat. The men said they wouldn't give him any more meat.

Finally, the girl was expecting a baby. It was in the girl's thumb. When delivery time came, the girl went out and thrust her thumb in a forward motion and the baby stood up on the ground before her. After the baby boy was old enough, his mother wished for meat. She told him to go to Grandfather Squirrel who was a good hunter. The boy didn't say anything. After they went to bed, he got up, put a stick under his cover for a dummy, and went to his grandfather, the squirrel. The boy was approaching his grandfather's house when he came to some women picking pinyons. They gave some to him, and yucca juice to drink. When they set his food before him, he said, "This isn't good to eat, just good to soften leather of shoes. " So he put it on his shoes. The juice was good for shampoo, so he washed his hair. Then he got his fine cornmeal lunch out and told them to eat. They said, "This isn't good to eat, just good for makeup. " So they painted their faces with it. No one ate anything. Then they went to bed. The ladies were lying in a row. After they were asleep he got up and tied their hair together. In the morning he awoke and waited for the women to wake up. They slept on so he called out, "I never saw anyone sleep like that. I thought you wanted to work. " One started to get up and all jerked each other, and laughed.

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Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sulam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff T-5 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 330) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 84) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 138) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as coru, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, mutongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, scilla (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1932, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djk). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [25]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow-leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

THE HAVASUPAI

of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 434

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 294 [342] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [437] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the sesesia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [324]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 521 [387]

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated
● [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor
343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would
533 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres-
75 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times.
343 75 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 148-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 343 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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302 rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with
[515] yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds
● [825] cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not
301 [439] made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the
[751] neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in
[171] type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such
[439] necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a
304 relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and with-
[751] out esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants
301 are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads
[439] hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons
[304] are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat
301 spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and fore-
306 finger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sălĭărlăkĕ*; *săl*, finger, hand; *dĭdĭă*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidĭvĭgă*) is indulged in by both sexes and all
302 ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 244).
[2] Cushing, (a), 344.

[Text continues on p. 196]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

> As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Itkáyágálíga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*I'igágwaáwa*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígalyág vadá'gíu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 866.
[2] See Montezuma for an account of these.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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era Maidu, and Shivwits Paiute it is only a toy.[1] The Ute also know it. The Luiseño and Diegueño use it to summon people ceremonially.[2] It has ceremonial usage among the Pomo. While the Arapaho model with its serrated edges resembles the Havasupai, it may be that this is a device to increase the sound independently arrived at.

The distribution of the notched rattle, or musical rasp was briefly discussed by Lowie years ago. It is now possible to augment his list of tribes who use it: Havasupai, Hopi, Zuñi, Rio Grande Pueblos,[3] Jicarilla, Navaho, Pima, Papago, probably Yaqui, Tarasco (?), Huichol, and Aztec specimens have been found in the state of Mexico.[4] In the Great Basin and Plains its occurrence is among the Mosqu, Paviotso, Gosiute, Uintah Ute, Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Upland Takelma, Wishram, Wasco, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Wichita, and Tonkawa.[5] The Paviotso also have a form which should undoubtedly be included; this is a stuffed hide wound from end to end to form the rasp. Its distribution appears to be along the western plateaus with some extension into the Plains. It is not used by Californian tribes with the sole exception of the Salinan.[6]

The rasp is scraped with a scapula by the Hopi, Zuñi, Jicarilla, Papago, and Huichol; elsewhere a stick or bone of another sort is used. The Hopi rest the rasp on a gourd resonator; the Havasupai, Jicarilla, Pima, Papago, and Klamath use an inverted basket, the Wichita a rawhide. The Gosiute draw the notched stick across the edge of an inverted basket. This suggests the Southern Diegueño reference to scraping a basket.[7]

The Havasupai associate this rasping sound with the frog and the production of rain. They have also a mythical reference to tearing a frog apart and thus causing a flood. These have analogs elsewhere. The Pima call the notched rattle a "rain stick," for rubbing it brings rain. The Northern Shoshoni believe that killing a frog and placing it on its back will cause rain; the Northern Maidu that chasing it will come to the same end.[8] There is also a connection of the frog with fog and thunder suggested in a Southern Ute myth, the frog and a flood in one of the Luiseño, and an association of the frog and rain by the Klamath.[9]

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[1] Dixon, (a), 329; Lowie, (f), 237; Kroeber, (b), 191.
[2] Sparkman, 211; Spier, (c), 324-326.
[3] Lough, (c), 262; Stevenson, J., Fig. 361.
[4] Russell, (a), 270; Curtis, I, 66; Goddard, (b), 262; (c), 179; Franciscan Fathers, 462; Hrdlička, (c), 41; Russell, (d), 167; Davis, (b), 180; Lumholtz, (c), II, 183, 428; Saville, (c); Starr, (b).
[5] Lowie, (f), 236, 202; Reagan, 39; Lowie, (a), 218, 220; Hagar, (c), 206; Dorsey, G. A., (c), 17.
[6] Hopkins, 55; Mason, J. A., (a), 188; Kroeber, (c), 377.
[7] Brown, 620; Spier, (c), 345.
[8] Lowie, (a), 222; Dixon, (a), 266.
[9] Lowie, (k), 55; Du Bois, (a), 186; compare the Omaha association of the turtle and frog. (Dorsey, J. O., 249).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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881 covered girl lies on this (*opágə*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

[173] Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'ñgə*, lit., red) end.

841 A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire 585 body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. 841 The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

● 825 Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

758 Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[171]

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (j), 140–147, (j), 282, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the ochdoonee ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

2.5111 Y-5 (co. 1961) 1964 NT14 Pintore Tumam NT14
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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun; while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 262 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 263 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports."A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

755 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the
756 Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had
775 seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep,"
775 one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon
774 waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with
[751] you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the in-
[788] dividual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to re-
833 late it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly
774 one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

● 825 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one
763 heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber. 763 825 843 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that." 763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him. 756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit. 756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body. 755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimní dem gen-wí va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai íj gen wí va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The 755 756 776 533

It was considered improper for shamans to request payment for their services although relatives of the patient usually proferred gifts within a month of the treatment. Tanned buckskin, Navajo blankets, or food were typical gifts. It would appear from our data that the shaman considered this an act of good will rather than specific payment for his "professional services." 756

Weather shamans had less power; usually they did not acquire a spirit. Spier (1928, 282) noted that they "obtained power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms." Rock Jones dreamed of clouds that talked to him. He could see the clouds but could not feel them. He could call them to come near, but only if he was alone. Later, when he became a curer, the same clouds helped him to cure spider and snake bites. Weather shamans did not dance for rain. They sang alone, sometimes before an audience. 756 789 [787]

Before Rock Jones died he didn't leave his cloud power to anyone. The Havasupai have not had a weather shaman since, although our shaman informant believed the power could still come to one of Jones' descendants. Another informant, however, referred to Rock Jones as a malevolent person who had witched and killed many people. Upon his death, his power was consigned to the Yavapai, enemy people, so that it could never return to harm anyone.

Game shamans also were known to the Havasupai. Before extended hunting forays, the shaman would sing special songs calculated to quiet deer and prevent them from running when hunters approached. These were sung at night and repeated four times. Content involved not only information about the habits of the animal, but also that the hunters were sorry for killing the game they needed to assuage their hunger. Locations the hunters intended to visit were also mentioned. Successful hunters frequently prayed to the sun to shine brightly so the deer could be seen. The sun was thought to "own" the animals. 756 224

Game shamans could lure only certain species. Čik pániga, one of three remembered by our informants, was thought to have power over deer and mountain sheep, but not antelope. (Interestingly, while antelope abounded in the upland regions of Havasupai territory, they were hunted only in time of dwindling food supplies. There existed a belief that if antelope hair got on the meat it would bring stomach cramps to the eater.) None of these men were curers. They gained their power through dreaming of specific animals and were not instructed by other shamans. Following a successful hunt, the game shaman usually was given a hind quarter or a section of the ribs, but this was not mandatory. [262] [825] [753] [787]

000 shaman was called upon to effect a cure.

753 Frequent cases of diarrhea in children were thought to result from
755 the parents' eating spoiled meat or meat from an animal that had been killed by a predator. Shamans had to be told the particulars before attempting to cure.

Preventive Medicine

751 The Havasupai had few concepts of preventive medicine. Strips of porcupine skin with the quills attached occasionally were worn on a hat or on the back of the shirt over the shoulder to ward off illness. A sharp piece of obsidian worn as a pendant was thought to be similarly effective. No decoctions were drunk, no physical exercise was indulged in, and no precautionary ceremonies were employed as preventive medicine. No [302] care was taken to hide hair or nail parings nor was any significance at- ●[825] tached to them. Babies' hair, however, was not discarded on the ground; [761] should a bird make a nest from it the infant might die.

Medicinal Therapy and Contraceptives

757 Only a few plants and minerals were thought to have therapeutic value, and these were used primarily for minor dermatic inflammations. [See also Spier, 1928, 285.] Sap from stems of the willow was applied to pimples. Grass ashes were sprinkled on any type of open sore. A pinch of salt, either dry or dissolved in water, was blown on sore eyes. Needles of the Douglas fir were boiled and the liquid drunk to stem excessive bleeding from an injury or during menstruation. Tea made from the leaves of Ephedra or juniper was taken for diarrhea.

276 [We were unable to obtain any data concerning the importation and use of peyote. All informants denied it. Iliff (1954, 104-5) discussing the period just prior to 1900, also indicated that the Havasupai "apparently had no knowledge of peyote." Her illustration entitled "Under the tent the peyote cult will hold its all-night service, followed by a feast," seems [771] not to have been photographed in the Havasupai country. Although the Walapai might have experimented once with peyote (Iliff, 1954, 54-56), the movement did not last and is not present among them today.] Jimson weed was not used in any way according to most of our informants [and this is in agreement with James (1903, 256), although Spier (1928, 269) reported [757] its sporadic use by lay persons if not by shamans]. One individual, however, remarked that the juice from the leaf of jimson weed was rubbed on red ant bites.

*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [825] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [226] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301] [304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead ●[826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, 854 in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [824] 524 177

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally [301] were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 826 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Although a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 826 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 774 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

[683
754] versal punishment of death. Like most
752 other Indians, they have a good under-
826 standing of the practice of surgery, and
a remarkable knowledge of anatomy.

462 Labor is not regularly divided, except between the sexes; save that among the men, arrow-making and some such special arts are more practiced by those who excel in them than by others, and basket-making among the women. The men do all the hunting, bringing the game to camp, and skinning the larger kinds; the women cutting it up and preparing it for drying or cooking. Both men and women gather the agave plant, in its season, with many festivities, vying in the preparation of it for mescal, although the burden of the labor in burning it falls to the women. The men break up the soil, lay out and dig the acequias, etc., performing the heavier agricultural work, as well as the planting, while the women weed the crop and assist in hoeing. When the corn ripens, the women gather it and bring it in, make it ready, and store it in the little stone and adobe granaries under the cliffs, and in little obscure rock shelters. They also cook all foods, make baskets and most other implements of household use, while the men cut out and sew the clothing both for themselves and for the women. Much of the heavier part of the work and drudgery falls on the women, who seem, however, perfectly contented with their really hard lot.

461 Sedentary agriculturists in summer,
221 the Ha-va-su-pai produce immense quantities of datila, mescal, water-tight basket-work, and arrows. Nomadic hunters in winter, throughout the choicest ranges of the Southwest, they have become justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande, as are the

[281]

[P 553A]

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

*539 [114] Twelve of the legends in Walapai Ethnography are identical to those Smithson collected, varying only in minor detail and in certain geographical aspects that seem to be localized.

538 [825] The Havasupai told these stories only during long winter evenings. If they were related during other seasons of the year it was believed that black widow spiders or snakes would bite the teller. Stories had no particular sequence. The story teller or someone in the audience would suggest favorites. Or, the teller would ask for suggestions from the listeners. Some legends were specifically designed for children, but none were withheld from them. Stories must be completed the same evening they are begun. [826] If not, the teller or his listeners might become crippled in some way. Narrators of the tales usually were given presents of meat.]

1. Origins

*539 [This story contains certain elements of the usual Pai origin myths, but it also reveals data seemingly localized among the Havasupai bands. Compare Dobyns and Euler, 1961.]

People [once] lived under the earth somewhere, nobody knows where, they lived underground where it was dark with no sun; they lived near a pool of water; there were just a few families living there.

One day two brothers, leaders, told their people what to do all the time. One of the men planted grape seed by the pool. The grapevine grew fast. It coiled around like a spider web, then shot out straight. Then people climbed up to the coil and stayed all night. Then they climbed to the next coil, stayed all night, and then up again. We don't know how many times they stayed all night; then they came on top of the ground.

Back at camp was a young lady who had stayed with all the men a few nights but none of the men wanted to marry her. She was jealous of other women. One day she was sitting beside the pool looking in the water when some women came with jars for water. One of the women said, "Why do you run off like this? We want you to come home." The woman grabbed her and started looking in her hair for lice. She saw many scars and asked what they were.

The young girl was mad and went down from the top and thought the men didn't like her. She wondered what she could turn into that men would like, so she turned into a tobacco plant growing beside the pool. The men gathered it and took it to the camp. They put it in the middle of their circle and started smoking it. Then the tobacco changed to a

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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789 338). Luck is based on dreams (pp. 332, 341). The annual dance and the masked dance bring good fortune, rain, and make the crops grow (pp. 260, 266); feathers worn at the dance bring rain (p. 193). A formula is said when corn is planted (p. 102), when a bow is strung (150), and while tanning (p. 142).

Charms are used only in deer hunting: these are calculi found in the paunch of the deer.

302 754 I was told that hair cuttings are burned so that birds would not use them in nest-building, but I noted no care in their disposal. No care is taken of nail-parings. Cushing, however, implies otherwise:[1]

[572] As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken by sorcery,—a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail,—this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard.

789 A drawing made in the sand to illustrate a point is erased for fear someone will use it to make the draftsman sick, but how he would use it is not explained. Pictographs, which were made by the mythical beings (*Uckáyúgálĺga*)—the Havasupai do not draw them—are harmless.[2]

The bullroarer (*U'igágwaúwa*, wood talking) is swung to make the wind blow and to bring clouds and unsettled weather when warriors set out. Before they charge on the enemy camp it is used to make the wind [534] blow hard, so that the enemy will flee before it. The bullroarer is a flat stick of rectangular shape, 25 to 30 cm. long and 10 wide, having notched edges and painted red. It is fastened by one end to a thong, 1.5 m. long.

A notched stick, laid flat on an inverted coiled tray basket, is rubbed [821] with another stick. The grating noise is said to resemble a frog and to [825] produce rain. The practice was thought to have been copied from the Hopi. The association of these ideas, frog and water, is also noted in the myths: pulling a frog to pieces causes a flood.

[829] A man sneezes because a woman is thinking favorably of him. He then thinks of her and she also sneezes. One also ejaculates: *vagígályúg sada'giu*, I am still alive.

Ringing ears are a sign that bad spirits are whispering to one; perhaps he will die. So he shouts: "Huuu, no; though you talk like that, I am not going to die."

Snakes are killed but in the case of rattlers care is taken not to touch 825 the blood or to let it spatter the clothes, for if it is "inhaled" it causes sickness.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555.
[2] See Montandon for an account of these.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúda*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which [852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. [732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The 853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to 862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgahánà*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing [Lowie, (1), 263.] [171]

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

827 To the primitive Indian, unconsciousness is "going dead for awhile." I learned this one day when I fainted in the classroom. The children ran from the room in terror, but later told me, "You went dead and we were afraid." The deduction was that one who "went dead for awhile" had most certainly entered the land of the departed and should have exciting experiences to relate.

177 However, the people were soon disillusioned. These emotional
796 orgies did not bring back their dead. Even more discouraging, some of those who climbed the pole were said to have died within a short time. This gave the Havasupai their reason for discontinuing the dance. But more potent forces were at work. On some reservations the dances drew large crowds and the emotional demonstrations reached such extremes that soldiers were called in to restore order. One agent, at least, resorted to strategy by preparing a big feast for the day of the dance. Food would be plentiful, and free—but no dancing. The feast was well attended—the dance floor deserted. Within four or five years the demoralizing ceremony was entirely discontinued.

796 However, after the terrific excitement of the Ghost Dance, the
527 older Havasupai women may have found their native Peach Dance a little slow, so resorted to hysterical demonstrations to enliven it.

The Peach Dance would end with feasting and horse racing.
796 For the feast men and women were strictly segregated. The former,
527 on one side of the race track, were discussing rules with Manakadja.
574 Across the track, the women were busy with food under a long open-sided shelter.

The men served the food, placing it, according to custom, on green branches spread on the ground. As a matter of courtesy, visiting men were served first. Then men of the tribe. Women and children shared what was left. The feast over, the leaders took turns lecturing the crowd on proper conduct.

796 Up to this time neither men nor women had manifested much
527 excitement. They had danced the previous night until long past
541 midnight, and were tired and sleepy. The loud thump, thump of the dance drum had echoed and re-echoed up and down the

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body ●[827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good 854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work is his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Thought

So much nonsense has been written about savage thought that it may not be amiss to record that I find the Havasupai clearly the equals of my white acquaintances in reasoning.[1] Granting them their premises and the limitations of their knowledge, their judgments are justified. 153

The inability of the savage to isolate abstract concepts has also been asserted. As a somewhat indirect test I asked how one thinks[2] (*wɨsdɨlgà*). Sinyella, who understood the interpreter's question with difficulty explained that he knew nothing about it: he had never been told. Jess to whom the question could be put directly,[3] said that his whole body was involved in thought, although his eyes, head, and to a lesser extent, his ears, were more intimately concerned. Two years later he stated:— 828

"I feel myself thinking. Perhaps part of my body thinks; I feel it move. Perhaps it is the tendons all over my body: no, they simply move. The blood in my veins goes into my brain and my heart: when it enters my brain I think what I am going to do. My thought goes on all over my body. It (both blood and thought) causes my whole body to move about. (Q.—You are thinking hard, trying to tell me; where do you feel it most?) In my head: it feels as though I were trying hard there." Sinyella added, "Most men say they think with their hearts: I say so too. Some say they think with their heads: they talk about who has the most brains." Jess' wife, who was listening, answered, "I think with my heart."

Like ourselves, Havasupai scratch their heads when in a quandary: [201] *kàpdd'dtàtópɨgà*, "It is hard to say."

The conventional expression is then that the heart is concerned with thought, as it is also the seat of the soul, the life. Jess' answer is however a reasonably good attempt at introspective analysis.[4]

Dreams

So much stress is laid on the connection of dreams with religious phenomena by some writers that it seems important to record dreams and the attitudes to them. Dreams (*tàsmàdjɨgà*, *gwétàsmà'djɨgà*, cf. *smàgà*, sleep) were obtained from an old man, Sinyella, and a young one, Jess Checkapanyega. These are on their face actual dreams, not stereotyped like those of the Crow recorded by Lowie and the Ojibway visions of Radin. 114 115 124

A distinction is drawn between unimportant and significant dreams. While there are no definite criteria to distinguish them, it seems that those 787

[1] This is also the well-nigh unanimous judgment of my American colleagues respecting those Indians they know. Curiously enough, published statements of this fact are rare – is it too obvious? — leaving the field to the fulminations of the closet-philosopher.

[2] See also the remarks on shadows, p. 276.

[3] He has attended school.

[4] These statements modify those made earlier in this series, vol. XVI, 514, footnote.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

526 piece of buckskin 13 to 15 cm. across. A thong is threaded through holes in its edge; it is stuffed with damp deer hair, and the thong pulled taut and tied. The long ends of this drawstring, tied in a loop, remain until ready for play, when they are cut off. This allows for shrinkage, otherwise, if the string were cut short before the ball is dry, it would pull out when it was struck. Some balls are decorated in red paint (Fig. 58). The stick (*ldcdvid*) is a branch with a short section of trunk for the crook. Children use smaller sticks.

The hoop and pole game (*t'údávid*) is played by men alone. The hoop (*tavádjúdá*) is a 2 cm. ring, 15 to 20 cm. in diameter, made of a bundle of buckskin strips about which another strip is spirally bound. The poles (*i'it'údává*), 2.5 m. long, have a deep notch encircling the butt. The ground is carefully smoothed for 10 to 12 m. and a line to mark its boundaries drawn at each end, beyond which brush is piled.[1] Two men stand at one end: one flings the hoop down to roll along the course, and both running a few steps, throw their poles. In throwing, the loop is held vertically against the wrist, the back of the hand moving forward and down. The object is to have the hoop lie on the pole; this counts one. A sector of the hoop must rest wholly on the pole; if this is disputed, a little stream of sand is poured from directly above, which must clear both the inside of the hoop and the edge of the pole. In the next trial the winner rolls the hoop back along the course. The stakes are [525] won when two points are gained in succession. If the ring lies in the notch (*p'ô'mágydgá*), it scores two and the game is won. An erotic interpretation is given when the pole pierces the hoop. The game really requires some skill.

● [831]

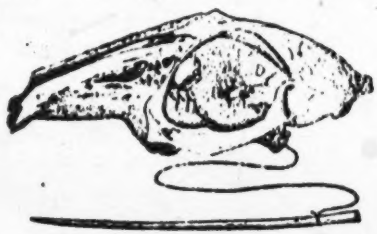

Fig. 60 (50.2-1614). Cup and Pin Game.

The cup and pin game (*hugdθd*) consists of a cotton-tail or jack-rabbit skull fastened to a sharply pointed twig, about 8 cm. long, by a slightly longer cord (Fig. 60). The base of the skull is cut away, the teeth drawn, and it is boiled free of meat. The cord is tied back of the incisors. Holding the stick, the skull is swung toward the body and caught on the point. Catching by any hole scores one; any tooth hole, six; ear hole(?), ten; incisor hole, forty; and if the stick splits

[1] There is no word to designate the course.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 158 589 [831]

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 578 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

832 On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

562 While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

648 The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of
574 cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a
[439] present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adop-
[697] tion is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

574 It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared,
[576] otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *hdnlgd*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

291 ship period.

302 832 [114] Spier (1928,183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data can be added to Spier's.

291 [301] In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard-soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier 1928, 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier 1928, 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four handannas, which was knotted under the chin and hung to the heels in back.

[287] [285] Two hat styles, a woven basket type and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women. Another [415] informant denied that basketry hats were ever worn by either sex, stating that baskets of this shape were in daily use as food bowls, both as containers and as receptacles for food to be eaten. For protection from the sun, women stripped the long leaves from a yucca, tore them in half, and wrapped two a three of them around the head and knotted them on the forehead.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. It was fashioned from two large buckskins [177] with sides sewn together, the buckskin sometimes being stained red with powdered ocher. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side, with its ends hanging free. Metal jinglers sometimes were added to the belt ends and to the skirt edge. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, [301] turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their [302] faces variously with red, white, or black designs. The rock for red and white paint was of local origin, but the black came from some distance and was rarely in supply.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and [768] by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While beading was learned at boarding [177] school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was seldom if ever used by the Havasupai.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

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Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

832 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be
581 drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position
183 of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an
762 unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the
208 shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental op-
position, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the
[177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disre-
garded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selec-
tion of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has
gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically
to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further,
to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside
and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception,
it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents,
the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home.
[302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar-
[841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and
groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their
bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward
the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four succes-
sive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in
[554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly
married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this
pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in
recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its
practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning
the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly
and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

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224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

inyí·ẽn,yâkídjâ Sun, my relative	pá'âmâhágâ look at us	lyádjẽ that is why I am here
pá'âmâwíwokâ you should gives us	djipaimẽnh ítovâ your domestic animals	má'ávokâ let us see them quickly
inné'°djâ°âkâ we want to kill some.		

•So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer,

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*ămauldjuwóvlgd, dkwagddjuwóvlgd, dmudjuwóvlgd*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

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171 White Mountain and San Carlos Apache). Like the Havasupai, the
222 Yavapai and White Mountain Apache dry it in large cakes on a layer of
[252] sticks and make a concoction of the dried product.
[412]

The method of harvesting wild seeds by beating them with a scoop into a basket held in the free hand is characteristic of the Basin tribes and those in adjacent California and Arizona. A woven seed-beater is used by the Kaibab Paiute, Panamint, Paviotso, Gosiute, Ute, Northern Maidu, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Cahuilla. The Northern Shoshoni and Salinan substitute tray baskets for these; the Western Apache and sometimes the Salinan a stick. The Yavapai also gather the seeds in the characteristic manner.[1] There are differences in the shape and technique of the beater which would repay investigation.

171 A number of tribes share a definite procedure prior to a deer hunt
224 which corresponds to the Havasupai meeting at a fire and praying to the sun. The Huichol obtain power from a fire on the evening before the hunt; Luiseño hunters stand in the smoke to be freed of the effects of any breach of social observance. The Maidu meet at a fire to offer to the spirits; the Achomawi and Atsugewi have a ceremony in the evening of the first day of the hunt at which the leader chews roots which he throws toward the mountains. Bourke states that the Paiute and Walapai (but not the Mohave) sing and dance before a deer hunt, but he does not specify the procedure. There is at least a partial analogy in the Western Apache sprinkling pollen and praying to the sun.[2] The Tepecano and Hasinai also have special observances.[3]

[833] The Havasupai also hold continence a prerequisite for success in the hunt. This is true of the Huichol, Paiute, Walapai, Maidu, and is at least suggested by the Luiseño data. It may be general.

I do not know that the deer drive of the Havasupai constitutes a definite type. Driving them into a *cul de sac* or over a cliff may be very common. It has been noted for the Navaho, Yavapai, Maidu, and Gosiute.[4] The chute-and-pound method is widely distributed over the Basin-Plateau and Plains, but is unknown to the Havasupai.

The use of a deer head, or that of an antelope or mountain sheep, as a disguise in stalking is a rather widespread practice. In the west it is recorded among the Mimbreños Apache, Navaho, Zuñi, Hopi, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 126f; Coville, 253; Lowie, (h), 234; Chamberlin, 341; Mason, O. T., (g), 489; Dixon, (a), 189; (c), 212; Barrett, (a), 257; Kroeber, (g), 45; Lowie, (a), 187; Mason, J. A., (a), 120, 145; Bourke, (d), 131; Corbusier, 326.

[2] Lumholtz, (c), II, 40, 41; Sparkman, 190; Dixon, (a), 193; (c), 213; Bourke, (a), 178; (c), 302, 304; (e), 436.

[3] Mason, J. A., (d), 138; Bolton.

[4] Stephen, 357; Franciscan Fathers, 475; Matthews, (d), 239; Corbusier, 329; Dixon, (a), 193; Chamberlin, (b), 235.

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

755 756 775 The next morning he went to a [Walapai] shaman, Dr. Tommy, from the Pine Springs-Diamond Creek area. The shaman told him that he, also, had seen the ghosts. One was a man who had died not long before. The shaman had talked with the ghosts, who indicated that they meant no harm. But the shaman ordered them back to the grave. They were not seen again, and Dr. Tommy did not sing over the patient.

787 775 774 [758] [788] If one dreamed of a deceased person or "a dead horse you used to keep," one would, in the dream, accompany the ghost and eat with him. Upon waking, the person would exhale audibly and forcefully, at the same time brushing the hands away from the face and saying, "I don't want to go with you dead people. Go away from me and stay away." This procedure was repeated four times. This was thought to prevent any harm, but if the individual became sick, a shaman was called. During a dream a person's soul traveled around, returning before waking. A person should not be awakened suddenly since the soul might not have time to return.

787 833 If men or women dreamed of sexual intercourse, it was proper to relate it upon waking. The dream was told after one exhaled and brushed one's hands away from the face four times. If this was not done, one's back would stiffen or "something like a young cottonwood tree will grow on your backbone so you can't bend before middle age." It was dangerous if one could not remember the details of a sexual dream. Then it would "stay in the heart" and one could not counteract it. There was no danger in forgetting an ordinary dream.

787 774 If one dreamed of being in a precarious place, if awakened suddenly one must relate it and not keep it in the heart; otherwise either illness would occur or the spirit would fall from a cliff causing the person to be killed in the same way.

825 763 The Havasupai had but few other omens of impending death. If one heard an owl hooting during the day or late in the evening, it meant that a close relative was dying somewhere. The noise of a porcupine could indicate the same. As one informant phrased it, "Those two are really proof, because we saw a porcupine in a tree where we camp out and go to bed. When it just got dark, when we thought we heard an owl say, 'h-hoo, h-hoo,' then 'ow, ow, ow,' we saw it was a porcupine. That was dangerous, so we took a gun, held sticks from the fire to see by, saw it by building up fire, and shot it. Just a few days later we met some boys who told us a close relative in Supai was dying. We were near Ashfork. We saw that it was proof."

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 198 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 [177] The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 553 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[827] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
[864] girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
[177] broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later
571 at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [684]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [183]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand, that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior *was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify*. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable. [591]

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance, to violent rejection and *even repeated flight.*

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.) [896]

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 834 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistence, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

● [834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

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it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush"[Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure.
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, [834]
the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the
same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
842 the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone
[787] visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
843 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These
746 taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ddjúdd*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one
844 case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties." 302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. 302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing. 515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general. 836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself. 864 834

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [183]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

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of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his
absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to
gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in
trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fel-
low tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use
it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both re-
plied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid
to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several
years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking
together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in
secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional [591] period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

● [84%] Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of [836] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

842 No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

836 If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

584 In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have pre-
582 dicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[836] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

867 562 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 [573] Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [826] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 578 156 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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but he would not attempt to kill him. He would kill the man's horses. Anybody might interfere to put a stop to this. Another informant said that the guilty woman would be beaten and divorced: her husband would keep their children. 586 684

Divorce for barrenness had never been heard of. If a wife proved barren (*plk'lglθdatddj*, barren women) the husband would take a second wife in order to have children. A quarrelsome wife, one who pulls her husband's hair, bites, scratches or pinches him, destroys his property, etc., would be turned out. [595]

If a man maltreated his wife, beat and stunned her, her relatives would interfere, admonishing him to treat her well. She might retaliate by throwing away the food she cooked, or in an extreme case by running away to her parents or to another man. If a girl returns to her parents without cause, her mother would send her back. A Havasupai woman married to such a Walapai runs away every year with a different man, though the Indian police bring her back to her husband. The Havasupai consider her justified; their head chief, taking over the function of the agent, recently married her to another Walapai. However, it is generally recognized that she is a light character. 593 684

Marriages were not often contracted with foreigners. The situation today represents the condition fairly well: there are six Walapai women and one Yavapai married to Havasupai, while a few natives are wives of Walapai. Walapai women are considered the marital equivalents of native women; a view undoubtedly induced by a unity of culture, speech, blood, and by friendship. I was told that Hopi women were never married, but Cushing saw one there in 1881.[1] Occasionally Paiute and Navaho women were married.[2] Other tribes were too distant to furnish wives. Havasupai men did not steal girls from other tribes because it was too dangerous. I doubt that Yavapai women were married in the old days, because they were the chief enemies. 582 648

Walapai and Navaho girls were married when they accompanied their families down into Cataract Canyon to trade at harvest time. Such women sometimes stayed only a short time and then went home. In [illegible] marriages a Havasupai man did not live and work with his wife's [illegible]s. Alliances of this type might be casually formed, as in the following instance of a lost Navaho woman told by Sinyella. Illicit relations with Walapai, Navaho, Hopi, and Paiute were common. [439] [586] [837]

When I was so big [about fifteen years old] we were camped just a little above Lee Canyon: many Havasupai were camped up there. Six or seven men, my father,

[1] (a), 551.
[2] Walapai and Paiute are said to intermarry.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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conquered and held all the land on one side of the stream, limiting the tribe to the strip on the other side of the Blue Water, an Apache man fell in love with a beautiful Havasupai woman. He crossed the stream, killed the woman's husband, and fled with her up the steep canyon wall. The Havasupai gave chase, but when the guilty couple had almost reached the rim of the inner canyon, the gods struck quickly, turning the pair to stone. There they remained through all the centuries, a grim reminder to all Havasupai women of the penalty of illicit love.

Such love affairs were not unknown in the village. When neighboring tribes came in to trade, a man would dole out the quantity of food he would pay for the transient affection of some woman of the visiting tribe: so many ears of corn, so many measures of beans. Some of the Havasupai women were capricious and took advantage of these occasions to live daringly. However, as a rule, the home seemed to be a stable institution in which man and wife maintained its integrity.

A slow walk through the village, stopping to talk to the people, accepting an ear of roasted sweet corn at one wickiup, a handful of crisp sunflower seed at another; then, with reluctance on my part, we started home. Somewhere in the canyon walls was a secret cave filled with tools and weapons such as were used by Those of Old. Vesnor, when a boy, had watched old men secrete this native handicraft and seal the cave, leaving no identifying mark. I knew I could never find it, and Vesnor refused to disclose its location. But how adequately those tools would reveal the ancient culture of an agricultural people such as the Havasupai!

We ate a pickup meal, then I sat in our old rocker to read my daily paper, published in Oklahoma City and a week old by the time it reached the canyon. The delay did not lessen the shock of the news of President McKinley's assassination. But the excitement, the hatred and fear aroused by his death could not reach us in our seclusion. We could not plunge into political intrigues and the turmoil of a world that seemed hardly to exist while we lived, vicariously, the adventures of a courageous people in discovering and defending a mysterious canyon.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

591 a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the
428 reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

Divorce

586 Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

586 Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a
578 gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Al-
627 though this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length, saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited, but eventually separated again.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

Adultery and Divorce

586 The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was
837 almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the of-
684 fender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head, and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

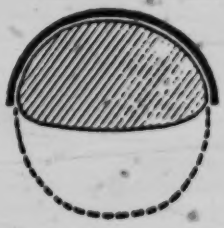

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hápú'"*) is called *kap'áylma' a*, or *kap'á*, or *puima'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 145–198.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'flgd*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

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[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (j), 145–147, (j), 282, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

881. 841 A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed [177] by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Hava- [114] supai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 773 539 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Presently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 864 841 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from contacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were [192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu ǯ tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ahuǎ't' and red as ahuǎ'ta by this investigator.

841 864 362 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 292 [622] In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

881 515 302 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos throughout her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 343

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 320) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[526] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties." 302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. 302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing. 515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general. 836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself. 864 834

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

832 581 183 762 208 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the [177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. [302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar- [841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports,"A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

799 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[787] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) [317] was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

If one violated this prescription 343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. [834]
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs 763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[187] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*hawedpídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igíθdaidádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkdl'ó'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Faviotso belief (Lowie, (1), 206).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

854 The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grandmother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark, [439] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the [174] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The [842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with pinon pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Kissell, 144).

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

842

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

856

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of [836] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 836 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering 584 strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

fault. "If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead." 586 837 684

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried. [587]

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and girls, while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them. 586

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Divorce for Barrenness

Although Spier (1928, 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past. 586 842

Spier (1928, 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, noted previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore a man several children while the latter was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. 586 595 842

586 595 842 Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage, with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

Problem of Tallying Divorces

586 582 It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under trial marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally, matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along. (Spier remarks in a personal communication: "With respect to the frequency of [114] trial marriage and divorce, I am reminded of Elsie Clews Parsons' comment on Zuni, where conditions were much like those of the Havasupai. She called it 'brittle monogamy.'")

581 586 In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

587 842 [595] [165] [586] At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes, and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children, all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason. Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

586 587 842 Six divorces involving children have been described previously. In the present population, all divorced mothers save one have remarried, and

three divorced barren women have remarried. One of the latter was reunited with her former husband. He had married, in the interval of separation, a divorcee with several children. She bore him a son, but after the child died the man returned to his first wife. Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced. 586 587 842

Relationship between Husband and Wife

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses. 593 581

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) remarks: "In my day men (at least older men) remarried to have someone cook for them, that is, to run a household; it was a frequent lament of the widowers that they had no one to cook for them."

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry, and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband. [562]

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 826 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Although a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 826 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 774 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquistion of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed" features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5 00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123).

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The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

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We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help.

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Fliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920.

[171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

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While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others,

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
[787] the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
746 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*ddjúdd*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwdgídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pXk'ígíθdaídádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkaf'ó'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

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[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (i), 205).

[3] Hrdlička, (f), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

2:1liff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Al-
842 though a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act,
826 popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of
843 pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood,
826 but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered
842 its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two
774 or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquisition of a soul.

There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women fore-
842 tell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

[Text continues on page 118]

842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[237] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

843 833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

843 789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time. 843 789

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time." [777] [525]

Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself." 843

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death. 843 262 825 [753]

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

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THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 893
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widovers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son [156]
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiki*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no paticular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

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Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us, We don't want that."

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Shamans and Illness

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Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

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[787]

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Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

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The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

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Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

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Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimnĭ dem gen-wĭ va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai ĭj gen wĭ va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjádá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*hawedgídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igídindidj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hálkaf'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:90.1 or 93.1 (Sclenay, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 178. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (2), 206).

[3] Hrdlička, (2), 60 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

776 177 787 Spier (p. 289) identified two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die." The former apparently is an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the white man's god, although Spier's informant identified Pagiyova with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Christian influence. One of them, who had seen Pagiyova in dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be neither a clear concept nor agreement among Havasupai regarding the nature and attributes of the tribal deity.

Shamanism

756 Three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." were reported by Spier in 1928 (p. 277). There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. The need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop [844] rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, white physicians being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a [755] Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness, may be extracted.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that white doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness caused directly or indirectly by a ghost.

775 Fear of ghosts is strongly developed. Sight of one may cause death as well as illness. Adults express anxiety about leaving their homes alone after dark because they may "see a ghost," but in practice most of them do not hesitate to go about after dark. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai [787] see ghosts during their lifetimes. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [34] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

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Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old." 842 159 439

Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after." [782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful. 847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations. 844

845 A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
756 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the
844 grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

844 Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder, then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks which is inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post, or two posts about two feet apart, were set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

Position and Assistance in Labor

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mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

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Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 515] [841]

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After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

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"It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times."

"Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little." (This woman has had 12 children.)

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845 165 177 Then, about 1927, a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by a white physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital or the omission of traditional birth practices. By the early 1930's a number of women were traveling to hospitals for confinement.

844 177 At present, many births take place in hospitals. In such cases the bathing and face painting are omitted, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest-if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time. 593 461 855

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit. [854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

/102 cont./

756 for if several deaths should follow his ministrations his avenging tribesmen would be sure to start his spirit on its journey to the
●B44 after-world. Women at childbirth are attended by four women, not necessarily medicine-women, although they use medicine songs.

171 793 Except for differences due to local coloring, the Havasupai have the same creation legend and other mythic lore as the Yuma and the Mohave.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 896

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakáḷagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*Auwdǫ́ldjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakáḷagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pÀk'ígłθaaláádj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hÀlkáf'ð'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 202). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (1), 206).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 60 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

Hiff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B. Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

848 culture patern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier [114] (1928, 30) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The [845] practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of asimilar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the householdof his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at thetime of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his fiture residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac- [591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough topermit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby beneat Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employedas a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [702] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

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756 ger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is
844 called. He "listens to the baby, then he sings for the woman and sends the grandmother spirit in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it." (Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when the patient is a female).

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The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igiθgiaidadj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkal'ó'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (l), 206).

[3] Hrdlička, (f), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart.[2] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Mosapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kailuli. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[3]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Mosapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Wakaachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[4] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[5]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Mosapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[6]

[2] Voth, 193.
[3] Russell, 146.
[4] Lowie, (i), 268-9; Dixon, (a), 220.
[5] Gunther, 204.
[6] Lowie, (i), 270-3; (a), 211; Powers, (c); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-126; Russell, (d), 188; Dixon, (a), 282; Pope, 35.

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 38 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [34] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was crisscrossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

● 846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the con-
[591] trary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is practiced, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old."

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Informant II:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after."

[782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful.

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Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations.

844

To prevent conception a woman could urinate on red ants, eat the meat of cottontail rabbit, antelope, or ground squirrel while menstruating (Smithson, 1959, 122) or drink a solution of water in which pack rat feces had been soaked. On the contrary, women could conceive more easily if they ate prairie dog meat. Abortion could be induced by carrying heavy objects or by having one's husband step on one's back during the early months of pregnancy (Smithson, 1959, 123). 842 847

The Sweatlodge and Its Therapeutic Functions

We were unable to elicit data concerning the introduction of the sweatlodge to the Havasupai. [It is probable that they adopted it from the Southern Paiute, or less probably, from the Navajo. We have no archeological knowledge of its earliest use.] The legend (see p. 108) that Wolf and Coyote built the first one is of no help. 343

Our information concerning sweatlodge construction agrees generally with that of Spier (1928, 336, Fig. 57). No ceremony was involved in building the small domed structure. Several men cooperated, although women sometimes assisted. Openings faced east, with the area inside and just to the left of the door provided for the hot rocks. [In Navajo sweatlodges the rocks are always to the right of the entry.] All present Havasupai sweatlodges are dirt covered, as are those of the Navajo. [Spier (1928, 336) noted that in his day the framework was covered only with layers of blankets and buffalo robes but that Cushing (1882, 548) mentioned a covering of dirt. Actually, Cushing (1882, 374) also saw them "closely covered with blankets." Iliff (1954), in a photograph taken around 1900, illustrates a used one without a dirt covering, as does James (1911, 280), and it would seem that this certainly was the more common.] Our informants indicated that the dirt-covered sweatlodge became universal around 1920. [171]

Spier (1928, 336) reported the size as "2 m. in diameter and 1.3m. high set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep." One that Smithson [and I] frequented was approximately the same: 2.05 m. in diameter; 1.07 m. high at center; 75 cm. high in area where participants sat; 53 cm. high at entry; 75 by 50 cm. area of heated rocks; 50 cm. depth of pit.

While the sweatlodge serves in some respects as a "clubhouse" for the men (Spier, 1928, 335), it also involves certain therapeutic and ritual functions. In former times, persons who had been wounded would receive part of their treatment in the sweatlodge, and even now individuals with broken bones and various aches, sprains and pains are treated there. A wounded man would enter the sweatlodge with a shaman and two others, 343 75

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

When I married the first time I gave the girl's parents one big blanket and a black woven Hopi shirt trimmed with red, and a lot of dried deer or antelope meat: just these three things. I was then about twenty-five years old, a pretty big man. In those days the old people said they did not want young boys to marry; they said they were old enough when they were grown men, young men. The girls should be the same, they said, perhaps seventeen years old. Now the boys and girls marry too young.[1] 583 582

In 1919 Gathawinga, aged fourteen, married twenty-two year old Wallin. When her father Panamida returned to the canyon several days later, he broke off the match on the grounds that Gathawinga was too young. He had no objections to Wallin.

It does not appear that the presents are a purchase price; they seem rather to be in the nature of a compensatory present given partly in return for the girl, that is, like any other exchange of presents, and partly as a gift to establish friendly relations. The only difficulty with this view is that it is said that if a woman re-married within a short time of her husband's death, his relatives might demand presents from her new spouse. This would not happen, however, if a considerable period had elapsed, one, two, or more years. 583 587

The bearing of illegitimate children seems not to have been a barrier to marriage. Mary was delivered of James by an unknown father after she married Bert. Bert treats James precisely as he does his own sons. 848

Marriage with a woman who had been previously married was "much easier." The man stayed only a week or two in her camp. Generally no presents were given, but if the man was rich, he gave something. The woman's relatives exercised some control in such cases also. A step-father treated his stepchildren precisely as he would his own. 587

A man may marry an older or younger brother's widow, just as any other man may. For example, Smiley's second wife, Tĕskám"ladwá, was the widow of his elder brother, Kŭfó. The levirate (*sa'yágá*) is not compulsory; it makes no difference whether or not there are children. The sororate was not practised, but it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it was compatible with her inclinations, when the first died. The husband would then give presents to her parents. In other words, it appears that the girl's family was not under obligations to furnish him a wife; this renders it even more unlikely that the marriage presents are payments.

A man could have two or three wives (*tahauvigĭgá*, having two wives, *huwdgá*, two; *tahamúgĭgá*, having three wives, *hamúgá*, three.) One 595

[1] This is a popular fallacy, but it is countered by the assertion that illegitimate births were extremely rare.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

Birth Customs

162 582 836 848 Havasupai families averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

842 [787] No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may resemble either a boy or girl.

843 746 For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 827 753 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much. Should she hear a hawk (*ádjúdá*) cry, her child will have the hawk's spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

844 When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched, accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form. The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house, or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 593 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an in- [591] flexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband ● [848] seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or [591] who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is practiced, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who was the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried. The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of this voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There, his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here," she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also was said to be a Hopi). When this marriage ended in divorce, the boy with his mother returned to her people, where he lived alternately with his mother, his grandparents, or other relatives. 848 609 [586]

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys," so the daughter left home to avoid frequent quarreling with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and dating. His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility for an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity, because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother or because of economic factors. Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying, "Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerent behavior shown by an illegitimate child. Illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children, but data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. [578] [157]

(4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which pressure by whites probably was responsible for measures taken. 626 183

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly and only temporarily aroused. Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject was never publicly discussed by the parents and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him. 684 626

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

Illegitimate Births

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. Leslie Spier, noting in a personal communication that he reported the rarity of illegitimate births (1928, p. 300), suggests "it may well have been that because of the shortage of women between 20 and 45 the girls were snapped up as wives as soon as they were nubile." 848

In 1953, six unmarried girls and women had borne a total of 11 babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight were from 16 to 31 years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was 14 years. Among married women, 11 mothers had borne a total of 18 babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages. (The number of women probably is larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from 18 to 88 years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. Of a total of 52 Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least 11 or approximately 1/5 of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of 24 girls 14 years of age or older (14 being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or 1/3, had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad," and her 848 554 626

848 554 626 child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. It is said that the mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or riduculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

Prostitution and Adult Promiscuity

548 626 Public censure of one girl, aged 23, who is labeled a prostitute, originates for the most part among girls in her own age group who ostracize her and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not promiscuous activities but a claim that she "says mean things to us and wants to quarrel with us." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of 60, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'This girl is this man's wife so stay away from her.'" Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were said to be middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

603 Close bonds often exist today between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another, in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom dwells far from his grandparents, even though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, and usually shares an affectionate relationship with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her mother is living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an [848] illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

[461] The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau or would climb from Cataract Canyon to the Esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

582 in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open
[626] course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her, because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked, so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told me, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing
[626] primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later the couple separated.

When the girl gave birth to a child, her parents took her from the hospi-
[848] tal to live with them in Supai. Some months later, a reconciliation occurred and the couple was married legally. Two more children were born to them. However, the marriage continued to be unstable, and now nearly six
[586] years after birth of the first child, the couple has been separated more than a year and the wife appears firm in her resolve to obtain a court divorce.

Courtship, in this example, continued until the couple began to be seen
582 together publicly and were known to be spending nights together regularly.
584 The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village
[586] at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.

582 It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have predicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, but the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The present practice of trial marriage probably has some precedent. The brief duration of many first and second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that
[836] of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that pre-
[183] marital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations
[585] as present informants like to believe. A man of about 60 (too young to have

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [177] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1] The Pima have the same caution [Russell, (d), 119]. Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run [Dumarest, 145; Parsons, (f), 9]. Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a thong loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 50). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck [Dixon, (b), 432].

[3] Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [314] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

●852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 262
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until [182]
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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853 The child is put to breast two days after birth. He is not fed during the intervening period.

854 The cradle is made by the expectant woman's mother or grandmother before the child is born. The baby is placed in it as soon as he is washed. It is bedded with a little Hopi blanket on which cedarbark, [459] rubbed soft, is heaped; after the infant is put in position with his arms at his sides, more bark is heaped on, then the blanket is wrapped tightly about him. Infants are kept in the cradle most of the time until they are able to walk. On the whole, a woman does not carry the cradle much on her back, but more frequently in her arms, in which she resembles the [174] Pueblo woman.[1] This is probably due to the sedentary life she lives. The only reason assigned for the use of the cradle is that it has always been the custom. "If the baby is not placed in the cradle, he may move about and, turning on his face, suffocate."[2] The hoop is designed to prevent this calamity by keeping the mother's blanket off the infant's face and to save him from injury in case the cradle falls. Evidently a larger cradle is made when the infant grows, since one specimen seen, much smaller than the others, must have been that of a young infant. The [842] cradle is kept for the next child when its use is finished. If broken, it is thrown away, not burned, because that would cause barrenness.

The cradleboard consists of an oval frame with nearly parallel sides, across which small sticks are closely spaced except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of two U-shaped rods, with their arms nicely trimmed and lapped. These pieces are green branches which are bent, tied, and buried in damp sand to set in the shape of a U. The cross pieces are placed as close together as possible, being bound to the frame by a continuous strand of sinew or buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. The whole wrapping is liberally daubed with pifion pitch. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) is laid along each side of the frame to cover this wrapping. This is held in place by the tie loops, buckskin thongs, which are always four in number. Two broad tying bands are used: one tied to the uppermost loop, the second to the third loop on the same side. These are tied as shown in Fig. 55. The carrying strap is a broad band, sometimes a Hopi or Navaho woven belt, fastened to the frame one third of the distance from the top. Not all cradles have such straps. The hoop is a broad wicker band. It is made with about forty slender twigs for warps which are bound side by side

[1] I have not seen children carried astride on the back by women nor astride on the hip.
[2] Also for the Papago and Pima the cradle is not primarily for transportation but for the infant to sleep in (Kissell, 148).

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854 The baby's first
thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
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interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

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854 at one end. The weft consists of two or three slender twigs which are first passed together under alternate warps; each end is then brought back and passed under the other warps, and so on. The other ends of the warps are similarly bound side by side with sinews, and the ends of the hoop are then lapped and bound together. The hoop is tied to the frame

Fig. 55 (50.2-1216). A Cradleboard.

in the open space at the top and also to the upper cross sticks. Two stay cords extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop.

[531] Dewclaw rattles are sometimes fastened to the hoop. In modern examples a string of beads, blue and white in alternate lengths, is tied back and forth diagonally on the periphery of the hoop. The baby's first

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551

FEMALES (Continued)

Approximate Age	*Name*	*Explanation*	*Derivation*
90	kokumá or bokumá, to eat piñon nuts.	Usual name.	ko' or bo', piñon tree or nut.
	sudjigañdjá, unripe things floating.		sówá, unripe; djigañdjá, material covering the surface of water.
94	djčsk', eagle.		

563
551

FOREIGN WOMEN.

23	há'dà.	Yavapai name.	
35	sámi'dídjá.	Walapai name.	
40	djad'ínyúmá.	Walapai name.	
	gátčnyúdává, tattooed.	Yavapai; she is far more tattooed than the Havasupai.	dčnyúdová, face paint, tattoo marks.
69	pagádjahúda, chewing a man.	Walapai: usual name; she said when a girl, "When I grow up and a man comes into my bed, I am going to chew him up"—she married shortly after.	ápa, man; djuínyañgá, to chew; gahúdá, tough.
	sámyókídjá, to pull with the hand.		sól, hand.
79	olaúwá, (fire) coal.	Walapai	

171
854

COMPARATIVE NOTES.

The forms of cradleboard are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map (Fig. 56). The flat type is used throughout the Plateau-Basin and Southwest, the sitting type in California, as among the Pomo, Hupa, Shasta, and Klamath-Modoc (who also use the flat board),[1] and a trough-like affair to the northwestward. The relations within the area are not clear, but it appears that the prevailing pattern is an oval or elliptical outline with local variations. The oval forms are more frequent in the Basin-Plateau; the elliptical in the Southwest. Three structural types are used; the board is made of a single piece of wood, a hoop is provided with transverse or longitudinal bars, or the longitudinal reeds are joined by open twining. The structural basis bears no strict relation to the form.

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 819–821; Dixon, (b), 434; Barrett, (a), 237. Field notes on the Klamath, 1925

[Text continues on p. 317]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Fig. 88. Distribution of Cradles in the Southwest and Basin-Plateau Areas. Californian sitting cradle and Northwest trough form omitted.

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The Havasupai type is an elliptical hoop with its long sides nearly parallel, crossed by closely spaced transverse bars. This type is also used by Walapai, Western Apache, and presumably the Seri.[1] The Mohave and Pima have a variant, a U-shaped frame which might be construed as the elliptical form with only one bow. The cross-sticks are lashed at wide intervals but still transversely. The sides however taper toward the bottom so that the board approaches an oval outline. A crude Cahuilla specimen with two longitudinal sticks similarly crossed by splints is of this type. One Miwok specimen is essentially the same; the flat splints are set close together and the ends of the side bars rise over the infant's face.[2] One Wind River Shoshoni form is of the Havasupai type, but it has the oval outline which prevails in the northern half of the area.[3] The Arapaho have a cradle of the same shape made of a framework of sticks, but it is not stated in which direction the cross-rods run.[4] Another variant appears in Round Valley, Pit River (northern California), and in one Konkau Maidu specimen. This is a single bow with the ends brought together; in outline oval above and ending in a point below. This is crossed transversely by slats.[5] It is possible that these, especially the Round Valley form, are related to the Pima, Mohave, and Moapa types. The Salinan type is described as two sticks crossed by smaller sticks: this sounds like the Cahuilla specimen. It is clear that this is at least the flat cradle, not the sitting type of northwestern California.[6]

The elliptical type is quite old in this area. Two specimens of Basket Maker age, the earliest culture now recognized in the Southwest, from Grand Gulch (?) and the middle Chinlee Valley, are of this type. The latter is rather oval. Both have longitudinal rods in a medial position in addition to transverse rods. The arrangement of the rods suggests the Mono-Yokuts-Wükchumni specimens.[7]

A peculiar type of Californian flat cradle is a forked stick set with transverse rods. In the Yokuts form tule reeds are placed longitudinally as well (practically a tule mat). O. T. Mason figures a Tule specimen like this with both longitudinal and transverse rods. The Maidu cradle is a forked stick with the arms joined at the top to form a bow. The cross sticks in this are small and set close together. This form approached the

[1] Mason, O. T., (g), 530; (b), 102; Hrdlička, (d), 486, Pl. 32; McGee, 227.
[2] Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1–11014 and 1–10955.
[3] Mason, O. T., (g), 524–5; Curtis, II, ill. after 77; Russell, (d), 103; Lowie, (a), 190.
[4] Kroeber, (b), 67–8.
[5] Mason, O. T., (b), 180.
[6] Mason, J. A., (a), 131.
[7] Kidder, pl. 38c; Morss, 36, pl. vb.

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Round Valley and Konkau specimens, and suggests that this whole group may be looked on as a variant of the Havasupai type described above.[1]

The Basin form is commonly an oval frame set longitudinally with reeds united by open twining. This is found among the Shivwits, in one Paviotso form, and possibly among the Wind River Shoshoni. Among the Southern Ute and in one specimen of uncertain derivation, but probably Wind River, the reeds extend at each end beyond the frame. The Moapa have this Shivwits type, but like the Mohave and Pima the frame is a U-shaped bow with converging ends. The Paviotso variant has the framing hoop in the form of a quadrilateral tapering to the lower end. Mason figures one extreme form of this in which the lower end is so narrow that the board is quite pointed, resembling the Californian types mentioned above.[2] The same quadrilateral occurs with variations among the Washo, Mono (probably both divisions), Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, and Wükchumni.[3] Transverse rods, small and very closely set on the back, also appear on some of the more southerly specimens: Mono, Yokuts, and Wükchumni. (Similar cross rods are seen on the Maidu examples mentioned above.) These Californian types are practically basketry structures: they have no frame or at most a very light one. The quadrilateral cradle with longitudinal rods is then a local type of the San Joaquin-western Nevada district.

In the northern part of the area the cradle is a single piece of wood, a board, of oval shape. This is the type of the Upper Thompson, Eastern Shuswap, Okanagan, Spokan, Nez Percé, Klamath, Flathead, Kutenai, Crow, Blackfoot, Wind River, Uncompahgre, and Southern Ute.[4] In the first three and the last, the lower end is square, not rounded, and some of the Shuswap specimens are angular rather than oval, but these all seem variations of a single type. So much of a Cayuse specimen as is shown in one of Curtis' illustrations shows it is essentially the same shape, but I do not know whether it has a board or basket foundation. A specimen collected by the Wilkes expedition among the "Oregon Indians" is clearly related to these although the upper part has angular shoulders.[5] The

[1] Dixon, (a), 233. Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10730, 1-10779, and 1-2290; Mason, O. T., (g), 823.

[2] Lowie, (i), 250 257; Mason, O. T., (g), 808, 826.

[3] Barrett, (b), 21, pl. XII, Fig. 3; Univ. Calif. Anthro. Museum specimens 1-10944, 1-10918, 1-2827, 1-10857, 1-10919, 1-10916, 1-10235, 1-10354, 1-10409, 1-4093, 1-10780, 1-10817, 1-10830, 1-3080. Wükchumni model in the possession of A. H. Gayton.

[4] Teit, (a), 308; (c), 584-586; Mason, O. T., (g), 816; Spinden, 225; Curtis, VII, 70, 78; Chamberlain, (a), 557; Lowie, (b), 220; Wissler, (a), 88. Wissler suggests that the Blackfoot specimen of lattice type figured by Mason, O. T., (b), 508 is from the Blackfoot Sioux. Lowie, (i), 250; Mason, O. T., (b), 826.

[5] Curtis, VIII, 74; Mason, O. T., (g), 818.

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Wishram cradle is angular, yet seems a related form. The last two and the Klamath, Cayuse, Thompson, and some Eastern Shuswap examples are provided with projecting handles in the middle of the upper end. The Klallam cradle is an interesting modification of the Northwest Coast trough cradle in the direction of these flat board forms. The trough is so slight and so filled with padding, that the child lies on, not in it. Further, the form is that of the Thompson cradle even to the handle[1]. The Cowichan cradle is like this but without the handle[2]. The Lkúñgen cradle for a young infant is presumably related to these flat board forms, although it is made of bundles of rushes, the outer one of horseshoe shape. The first Quinault cradle is also a very shallow rectangular trough, in place of the later trough form.[3]

The wooden cradle is used in the Southwest by the Zuñi, Navaho, and the Hopi of the middle mesa. One of the Zuñi forms and that of the Hopi are rounded on top, square at the lower end, and with parallel sides. These may also be variants of the oval form. The second Zuñi pattern with a terraced top is only a further variation. The Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa have a cradle of the same shape but formed of a U-shaped bow filled in with longitudinal rods held by transversely placed wickerwork. The rounded end is usually at the bottom of these specimens but sometimes it is at the top. It is, of course, possible that this is related to the Moapa type where the longitudinal rods are held by open twining. The Kaibab have also a wicker board, but its shape is not given by Powell. The Navaho cradle presents the most interesting variations of the board form, for here the two projecting points above resemble the points of the Plains lattice frame.[4]

This type, so named by O. T. Mason, consists of two broad sticks converging toward the bottom and crossed by two others. In its tapering form it resembles the oval shapes of the Basin-Plateau. This is used by Comanche, Kiowa, Dakota, and perhaps others. The Mescalero cradle at least is not like these, but apparently a solid rectangular or elliptical form.[5]

The Pima usually have a swing of cloth suspended by ropes; so have the Papago, while the Cora use a swinging netted hoop. The Navaho cradle is sometimes placed in a swing.[6]

[1] Kluxthor, 235.
[2] Field Museum, no. 19020.
[3] Boas, (a), 572. Quinault information from Ronald Olson.
[4] Hough, (c), 241; Mason, O. T., (g), 531–4; Powell, 127; Franciscan Fathers, 469.
[5] Mason, O. T., (g), 538, 511; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 16; Gatschet, (c), 1st ed., 141.
[6] Hrdlička, (c), 44; Bartlett, II, 234; Hrdlička, (c); Franciscan Fathers, 472. The Yaqui cradle described by Mason, O. T., (g, 535) is different from any of the foregoing. It consists of parallel rods fastened by dowels in rectangular form.

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Most of the wooden cradleboards of the Basin-Plateau are covered with skin; those of the Southwest are not. This appears among the Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, on the Oregon specimen of Wilkes, Cayuse (?), Nez Percé, Flathead, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Crow, Wind River Shoshoni, Uncompahgre, Southern Ute, and Arapaho. This is further evidence of the relationship of the cradle among these peoples. However, the use of the cover is a separable trait for it has been applied in the adjacent region to the hoop-and-rod types of the Paviotso, Kaibab, and the Colorado Ute. The lattice type of the Plains is provided with a pouch to hold the infant. Some of the Basin-Plateau types (Upper Thompson, the Oregon specimen, Flathead, Blackfoot, Wind River (?), Southern Ute, and Tule) have something of the sort or else the cover itself forms a pouch. Some connection between cover and pouch may be suspected, but this is difficult to work out from illustrations and descriptions alone.

The hood, arch, or awning which protects the face of the child also offers comparative points.[1] First, it is not used among the Plains tribes considered here (Comanche, Kiowa, Arapaho, Dakota, Crow, Blackfoot) nor northwestward among the Flathead, Kutenai (?), Eastern Shuswap, Spokan, and Nez Percé. It is not used in California, among others by the Round Valley group, with the Tule and Yokuts forked stick cradles, nor by the Yaqui in Mexico.

There are three principal forms of the hood. The Upper Thompson, Lillooet,[2] Wishram, Klamath, and Cayuse have a single stick forming an arch secured to the sides of the frame much in the manner of those in the Eastern Woodlands area. In the Basin and California a triangular awning is used: one blunt apex is usually fastened near the top of the cradle, the base rising above the infant's face where it is supported by a transverse arch. Paviotso, Washo, Mono, Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Chukchansi, Wükchumni, Uncompahgre,[3] and probably Wind River Shoshoni and Southern Ute have this awning made in open-twine technique, with the supporting arch usually at an angle to the board; that is, leaning toward the upper end of the board. The Shivwits awning is simple twine; that sometimes used by the Hopi of Oraibi and the eastern mesa is wickerwork. The supporting arch for these two tribes and probably the Colorado Ute is vertical.

The Southwestern tribes use either a broad arch or hoop, the latter only among the western groups. The Navaho arch is formed by four

[1] Some Californian and Basin hoods are ornamented to show the sex of the infant. One Havasupai hood bore a string of beads arranged in a zigzag and resembling the decoration of a Paviotso hood, but unplotted to enquire if this had any significance.

[2] Teit, (b), 281.

[3] Mason, O. T., (b), 189.

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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart:[1] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Moapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kaibab. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[2]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Moapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Wakachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[3] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[4]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Moapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[5]

[1] *Idem*, 193.
[2] Russell, 140.
[3] Lowie, (i), 285-9; Dixon, (a), 230.
[4] Gunther, 234.
[5] Lowie, (i), 270-2; (a), 211; Parsons, (e); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-120; Russell, (d), 188; Dixon, (a), 233; Faye, 35.

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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

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[Facing p. 216]

HAVASUPAI MOTHER AND CHILD.

A FAMILY GROUP OF HAVASUPAIS.

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A

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231
142
291

B

Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A, Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C, Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities. 842

Birth Customs

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) 844 [515] [278] [854]

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. 856 [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. 854 [302] [438]

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 28 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [314] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children.

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone.

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [482] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 15. Maturity. A, Lillian Paya, age 27 with son, Bernard, age two. B, Jack Jones, age 34. C, Viola Crook, age 41, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one. D, Ethel Jack, age 44. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been air-lifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.)

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Relationship between Mother and Children

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

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Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all youngsters, like to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but usually its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

[854]

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Intrafamily Conflict

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Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric-

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
591 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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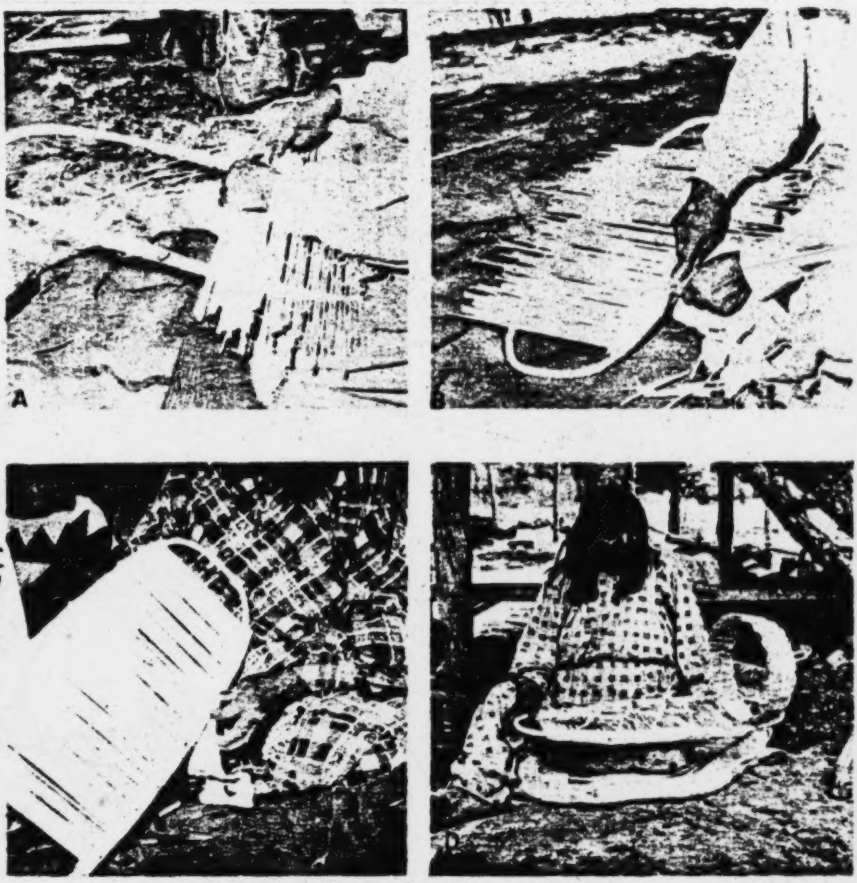

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Fig. 18. Manufacture of a cradleboard. A, Binding willow slats to oval frame. B, Trimming ends of willow to fit frame. C, Sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinyon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats. D, Lisa Iditicave displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; the former is still added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

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[445 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
537] then with pifion gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

854 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
[204 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
[439 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

594 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 *clan* or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever ex-
602 isted. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate relatives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

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The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are
giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act,
especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to
work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy,
to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal
matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice
of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others,
in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger
character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a
chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 595
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor
wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship
term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference.
A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your
mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The
word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his
wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born
child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the
nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is
bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until
they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

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Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

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The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

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The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 838

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [738]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 853 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlŏi*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-ta-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe.

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time.

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive.

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation

long one and for that or other reasons some women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest-if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly. (In the summer of 1958 the agent was attempting to persuade every expectant mother to leave Supai for delivery, only a small percentage of births still occurred in the village unattended by qualified medical personnel.) 844 177

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Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and fric- 603 593 578 604

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâ-kâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 674 The Ha-va-su-pai have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

[855 861] They are not so fair-dealing toward the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them. "But," he added, "the time has come when I see this is wrong, and my people will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

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1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwéglidjà*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pĭk'ĭgĭθdaĭdàdj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hŏlkaĭ'ŏ'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zelany, 262). If the death rate for twins is so greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (i), 295).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 63 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The baby's first

854 [852] [827] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. [732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 853 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; 862 when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgàhánà*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, 6), 293.) [171]

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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

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crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

842

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it [826] across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

881 343 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 887 869 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 262 [263] During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 [237] [531] Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] [842] [841] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] [826] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and u[illegible]don the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This rout[illegible] suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which[illegible] popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

964 834

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*nấhoviǥd*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*sdhúnd*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-building the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[539] wi ga imai nu'u maga djawîd'ma tama wi'i ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'i ta Inîm ma yaga wi'
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[2] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[539] sâhuno'dj mavoglgâna kavînyâyuyé'yûté'ê
(I want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pîkltâgî'nâ do wo wo wa (repeat)
pîkltâgî'nâ dô'haaaa

524 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.
857 Dolls (*gwedî''ê*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*wildvid*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Culin, (b), 200. I failed to note how the chance passes to another player.
[2] This was sung in unstressed syllables, so that it proved impossible to divide it into words.
[3] Culin, (b), 271.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 377; Trippel, 680; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness. 856 825

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home. 855

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly. 857 524

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together. 861

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting 869 224

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

latter at the former, and had seen the frantic endeavors of the little people to obey the stern behests of their masters. 174 342 648

All these yarns are explained by the fact that the distance of view dimmed the vision; the pigmies were boys driving the burros or horses, yelling and shouting as Havasupai boys delight to do, the voices magnified fifty-fold by the echoing walls of the canyon, while the parents moved around attending to their own business, or looked on and occasionally helped by a shout of encouragement or suggestion. [85]

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 866 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 868 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 524 533 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. [524] A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. 857 868 Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump. [535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

857 865 [114]

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may nots, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
[114] result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
●857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Canyon to tend their fields. Men gambled for buckskins, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects, such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, 341) has described. Informants say that children did not gamble, with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows. 525 [857]

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or 10 years as well as young married or single men and women in their 20's or 30's with the majority of the players being teenagers. Each player bets a dime on a game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it 10 cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game, using a yucca root ball, and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, 342) 35 years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

A standard deck of playing cards was used by gamblers in the early 1950's. A number of women and men were almost daily players while others joined in only occasionally and some individuals never played. During the summer of 1950, there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951, for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card playing groups were almost invariably composed of both sexes, with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes was usually two or three times the number of players, but these did not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys raced their horses nearby or practiced calf roping and tying if calves were available. Young people of both sexes did a great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sat and watched what everyone else was doing. 525 177 [591]

In good weather, gamblers assembled at the public gambling place. Someone took it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about 1:30 or 2:00 p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a cow's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to come. People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received $4 to $5 each day as his profit. [732]

During the winter months, card games were held in the house of a woman who seldom played during the summer. Her house was larger than

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*a-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four [439] days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[P.554B] ½ [i.e., horse. -Analyst]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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422 Other property consists of houses, horses, dress, weapons and tools, and the immaterial possessions, shamanistic materials and chieftainship. So far as houses may be conceived as individually owned, they belong to 423 342 the male head, since he can send his wife (and children?) away. But nothing else is possible, since the field in which it stands belongs to him. [462] [768] At least all the heavier work of house building is done by the men. The house is burned after the death of an inmate.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by men alone. They have 422 had a fair number of these ever since Spanish days: Garcés found them [462] plentifully supplied with live stock in 1776.[1] Two or three good riding [175] horses are killed on their owner's death; others are given away. Saddles [768] are often burned or destroyed, sometimes being left on the horse when it is killed.

Personal possessions are not numerous. Men and women own their blankets and clothing, with perhaps a gala dress apiece. A man owns his weapons, tools, some buckskins, and perhaps a mask and charm or two; a woman her household utensils, pots, baskets, and field tools. In other words, each owns the articles peculiar to his sex. Husband and wife own and dispose of their possessions independently. I have never seen either [593] interfere with the other's transaction when selling specimens to me: 422 advice was, however, sometimes asked and acted on. Children own little 432 or no property, a condition which struck both Cushing[2] and myself as ●858 being sharply in contrast with that at Zuñi. For instance, when buying a small burden basket used solely by a little girl, her mother set the price. Laying this simply to the girl's bashfulness, I offered the coin to her Zuñi-fashion, but her mother objected, claiming it as hers. To test this, I attempted to buy a similar basket from Jess's little daughter. This had been made and presented to her by her paternal grandmother. But the bargain was struck by her parents, although they turned the purchase money over to her. Perhaps boys are somewhat more favorably situated, since they freely sold their bows and arrows when I met them hunting in sport. These weapons were all products of their elders.

A dying man states his wishes respecting the disposal of his posses- 428 sions. This includes land, although the succession to this is rather predetermined. To be sure, most of his choicest belongings, clothing, weap- [769] ons, horse, etc., are burned or buried with him. Such articles as are permitted to remain are inherited by his children or by members of his family. A woman's possessions go to her children or to her own family.

[1] Coues, 337 et seq.
[2] Cushing, (a), 551.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [736]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 853 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlôd*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

595 ried, the women being monopolized, with or without their will, by the wealthier and more influential men of the tribe. The male population is in excess [162] of the female; hence it sometimes happens that Hua-la-pai squaws are mar- [582] ried; and in one instance a Moqui woman, a probable outcast from her own nation, was observed by us.

423 The children do not seem to have reg-
428 ular property, as with the Pueblos, un-
●858 til after puberty, although, on the death
171 of the father, his portable property is inherited by the son, for sacrifice at the rites to be described further on.

622 The head chieftaincy is hereditary.
643 In the absence of a son, the chief's nephew on the father's side is, I believe, chosen as successor. All of the subchiefs are named by the head chief, on account of personal preference, wealth, or influence. There seems to be no dis-
554 tinct order of warriors; when a scalp is
565 taken, it is brought to the village, and
[727] a dance, celebrating the death of the enemy, is given in honor of the victor, and the body is then cremated; no record or mark of dress being preserved to represent the rank or prowess of the warrior. In case of hostility, obligations to war are simply coextensive with the adult population. There is, however, a certain importance attached to one of the warriors, who is supposed to have in his keeping a medicine of war, and who, by virtue of his valor and possession, is [624] a sort of war chief, although the civil and martial affairs of the nation are more closely allied than is the case with most Indian tribes.

643 Nor is the ecclesiastical much distin-
793 guished from the civil, with them; for the head chief combines with his political office the caciqueship, or that which in Zuñi is distinctively religious, being termed Kia-kwe-mo-so-ne, or "Mastership of the House," — a kind of high-priesthood. He not only presides at the more important councils, makes treaties with other tribes, etc., directs

[P. 551B]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *sili'* seeds, piñon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1961) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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869 shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes
224 of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made
[789] success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all
861 my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A
774 whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance
626 with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school,
681 spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

889 Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children
867 regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the
889 warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone *this punishment* frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon,not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 538 867

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
[586] children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [585] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [522] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave bas- [525] kets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

They
never chastise children, although, like
them, they are fitfully very cruel or
kind to pets and domesticated animals.
The men, who constantly crowded about
my host's hut, were incessantly chatter-
ing and laughing, even when the gravest
subjects were approached or discussed.
The women are by education less viva-
cious than the men. While paying no
attention to pets, they are as affectionate
toward children as are the men. They
shrink from strangers, rarely, if ever,
join in conversation, and preserve a mod-
est bearing, not so much from nature as
through fear of censure from the men.
They are patient and industrious in the
extreme, and while at work are inclined
to chat in a sort of monotone with one
another. During the absence of the
men, they are more disposed to be com-
municative with strangers, seemingly,
not sharing their suspicions of them.
The women are not as passionate as the
men, although easily moved to tears.

The men are very inquisitive, curious
to know about other nations, although
not much impressed by things beyond
their own comprehension, and unable
readily to receive complex ideas. They
are humorous and quite witty, delight-
ing in repartee, hoaxing, and jokes; and
look in a facetious rather than a critical
light upon the awkwardness or discom-
fiture, even though serious, of others.
They laughed and chatted and joked
for hours about the death of one of our
horses, and the predicament it left us
in. The animal, weak after its terrible
passage of the deserts, had staggered
into the river and drowned. Most spirit-
ed and laughable pictures were drawn of
our probable sufferings and tears, when
returning without the horse; but they
said we ought to be comforted in our loss,
even with the prospect of famine or ex-
haustion, when we reflected that it was
a great gain to themselves; furnishing
them plenty of fresh meat, and cheapen-
ing wonderfully the contents of at least
one pack. Their perceptive faculties

[P.546B]

535 a few rude shuffles, half religious, half social — are neither representative nor picturesque, as are the cachinas or kâkâs of the Pueblos. "We know of these things," said Ko-hót, "but we are the children of the Coyote, and he did not teach our fathers to make themselves happy or prosperous by such means; therefore, our fathers did not teach us."

181 The Ha-va-su-paí have, among themselves, few of the crimes which destroy
674 the peace of most nations. A great family in a single house, they have learned to do to others as they would be done by; not as a golden rule, — ah, no! — but as a policy. They are virtuous, and, although base liars, are honest in the use of property to an incredible extent. Not the smallest possession of another is ever appropriated by one of them, and a button or insignificant bead, lost in the sands, would invariably be brought to me, if found by either child or staggering grayhead. The parents are excessively fond of their children, and the
[855 861] latter, though wild and independent, and never corrected by cross word or sharp blow, are remarkably obedient.

They are not so fair-dealing toward
648 the enemy. Ko-hót told me, with strange
721 frankness, that a few years ago his people joined other Indians in war against the whites, and, regarding them as enemies, stole horses and cattle from them whenever they could, bringing them down into the cañon, where they either sacrificed them or killed and ate them.
"But," he added, "the time has come
648 when I see this is wrong, and my peo-
177 ple will listen to me when I tell them to smile on the *Hai-ko* [American], to ask him to eat, and to let his poorest or most tempting possession lie in the place it has been laid in; for has not the Hai-ko given to my children the hard metal and the rich garments you see all around you? [This with a proud wave of the hand toward the array of worn-out clothing in the council, and a down-

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

854 The baby's first
[852] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

● 862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 198 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 [177] The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 553 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 320).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp, then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanso [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I knew how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The Sun Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches [Hrdlička, (d), 491.] The Achomawi-Atsugewi puberty custom is somewhat comparable [Dixon, (e), 216.] Mesqua and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches [Lowie, (i), 265.] [773] [171]

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 514 [516] and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. [834] Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

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841 773 539 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Presently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 ●864 841 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from contacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were [192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔahu ʔ tʃga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔahuʔt' and red as ʔahuʔ'ta by this investigator.

841 864 362 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 292 [622] In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

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[841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

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[181]
[142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

964
894

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1953, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

834 As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
867 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

867 Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
609 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would
[114] result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[177] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

574 Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
857 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
571 cooperative hunting activities, interiribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [604]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [83]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 842 834 836

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the
178 practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

894 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired.) 581 183 832 [762] [208]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [736]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 853 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tutlyi*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [897]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

578 857 865 [114] When I asked my companion the cause of this fight, she shrugged and said, "That [illegitimate] boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. Later observation of the boy did not bear out the judgment that he was "mean." (Leslie Spier, after reading this account, noted that "It has been my experience with Indians elsewhere, time and again, that they use 'mean' to characterize aggressive behavior rather than saying that the person is irritable, disagreeable, or given to petty jealousies.")

578 [181] Verbal rifts occur more frequently than physical combat. It was observed that if an individual knew another person to be angry with him, he made an effort to keep out of sight until the anger had cooled "because he (or she) might try to fight me." There is a public attitude of passivity toward disagreements between individuals. Much talking and little action is customary both in private and public quarrels.

Quarrels frequently arise in connection with marital infidelity, land inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts. On the reservation, jealousy and antagonisms have developed over the few salaried positions available, and alleged favoritism by government employees has occasionally drawn lines between factions. Rivalry over tribal leadership is probably as old as the tribal tradition of chieftainship, with certain disgruntled claimants refusing for a lifetime to concede what they deem rightfully their prerogative.

Discipline

861 [304] Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's ear lobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to smoke an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by his heels to a tree limb. Two elderly men are said to have undergone this punishment frequently in their youth. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be "mean" "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over, their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 [535] him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 ●866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *sîl'* seeds, piñon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do; then you can carry them hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said." 868

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 326).[1] [751]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off." That is what they told me when I was as old as Lamo [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I knew how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak. [863]

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby." 867

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charm, explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand- 868

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, 6th, 391.) The Athapascan-Navaho puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Hoijer, 6th, 216.) Menges and Matthews I to fathers must run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, 6th, 283.) [773] [171]

2:Cliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

[827] Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[864] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to
[177] go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

571 Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Social Behavior and Relationships

Admonition and Instruction

In former times, all four grandparents of a young girl lectured her on proper behavior. They instructed her to behave politely and sensibly rather than foolishly in the presence of a man. She was told to perform her tasks willingly and quickly. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly, but she was expected to obey them. 603 861 867

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how circumspectly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present. 867

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinyon nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers, for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there were family work to do. A girl was expected to arise before dawn, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she kept a poor camp or neglected her children.

Grandparental and Other Relations

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories, which concerned the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cited examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories. 603 598 867

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562

867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed
[573] at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as
[548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence
[896] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

562 While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai is, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

562 967 181 A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls are firmly given more work to do than boys and are accorded more responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out the possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and such women were always exceptions.

181 562 967 Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one. It means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them, but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her society and which from infancy she is discouraged from adopting. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women apparently learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, the practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with equanimity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The contrasting situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi and Navaho women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life. (Status and role for Hopi women have been documented by Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950; and for Navaho by Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934 and 1936.)

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions still own, houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the seminomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*quagidla*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2-1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

224 [868]

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

224 787

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

224 782 539

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *stit'* seeds, pinon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do: then you can carry them 868
hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said."

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to [751]
return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 326).[1]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time [843]
and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off. That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanas [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I know how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak.

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, 867
tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby."

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, 868
explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand-

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, 6[1], 401). The Jicarilla-Mescalero puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, 6[1], 216). Mohave and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, 11, 263). [773] [171]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [887] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

538 Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, [868] Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

[171] [1]The Pima have the same custom [Russell, (d), 116]. Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run [Dumarest, 144; Parsons, (f), 9]. Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2]Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a throw loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh [Hopkins, 50]. A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck [Dixon, (b), 432].

[3]Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-to-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe. 541 525

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time. 526

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive. 855

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation [487] 526 868

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

526 confirms this. From earliest childhood they are expert
868 swimmers, boys and girls alike learning the art often before they can walk. I have seen mere babies placed in the creek and ditches by their parents and older brothers, and one can scarcely say they are taught to paddle, for it seems to come instinctively. There is not a child in the village who cannot swim and dive expertly, and there is no greater fun than to expend a dozen nickels by throwing them into one of the reservoirs and having the children dive for them. Sometimes they can be induced to bring the coins up in their teeth, even picking them in that manner from the sandy bed of the reservoir. They are as expert swimmers as the children of the South Seas. No Kanaka going out to meet an incoming steamer could ride the billows more daringly than the boys and girls of the Havasu swim in the rapid currents of their little stream. I have been with them to-day for a couple of hours. The boys dived into deep water and rose and fell like loons. I amused myself by throwing a stone into ten or more feet of water, and four or five of the boys would dive for it and get it almost as quickly as I could throw it. It was no sooner in than it was out again. One of the little girls, a sister of one of the boys, stood watching the sport. She became so interested that, suddenly, without removing her calico dress, she jumped into the deep place and enjoyed the fun with the rest.

526 Then, a Havasupai man, riding a burro, brought the
231 animal down into the stream where it was shallow and had a gravelly bed. For an hour he and the boys amused themselves by swimming back and forth through the deep pool, and every now and again one or another would jump on the creature's back and, hanging on,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry; generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. 868 No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
[834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

● 869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children. 866 of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her 868 mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. 524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in 533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. [177] Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. [237] A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. [386] A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. [562] A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. [492] Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.
[535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

● 868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [522] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters 882 very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

515 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 423 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 171 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 127

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crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

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shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jelka* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

881 343 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 887 869 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 262 [263] During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, ellë (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 [237] [531] Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[838] [842] [841] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[852] [826] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

657 Some time after 1910, the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital eventually was closed. In recent years, until 1956, first aid was given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provided medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and temporary hospitalization at Grand Canyon hospital, located 49 miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases were sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly 1953, 57; Leo Schnur, M.D., personal interview, 1952).

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Public Health took over the Havasupai health program. A clinic at Peach Springs, about 75 miles from Supai, is staffed with a doctor and a nurse. The doctor comes to Supai to hold a clinic one day every three weeks. Patients are sent to Kingman or Phoenix for services of a dentist or an optician. Hospitalization is available at Phoenix, Kingman, and Grand Canyon. Helicopter service for emergency cases is available from Luke Air Force Base near Phoenix. All medical service is provided free of charge.

657 A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, was staffed with
●871 one teacher for preprimary through fourth or fifth grade until it was closed about 1956. All students now attend Indian Service boarding schools located in Arizona and Nevada.

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later, students were sent to Fort Mohave, near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade.

Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence
[762] among parents. Suicide of one youth about 1900, while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for school. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teenage daughters in camp work, and it is said that parents "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

Now that elementary school pupils must be sent away from home, Havasupai children begin first grade at the age of seven. In 1952, 10 of 61 school age children were not attending (Kelly 1953, 56). Probably an increased percentage of Havasupai children now are attending school.

[Text continues on page 17]

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home, as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis, except for those men who lived alone or had no woman in the household. However, if an old couple lived alone and the man were the more robust of the two, he did the cooking or assisted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed for a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity to cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if his dependents were not too numerous. 462

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius of camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were usually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared in the work. Gathering the pinyon harvest was a family project in which everyone worked and groups of families camped close together, making it a gala outing lasting two or three weeks. Each family moved from place to place until they judged their harvest adequate for their needs. [222] [476]

After the harvest of pinyons and other wild plants in which men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind, and otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage. Likewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from the fields. Spier (personal communication, 1957) adds that men might also prepare food for storage, especially if they had no women to do it. [251]

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned so long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably saw its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and only a scant description could be obtained from informants. Location of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however, and one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and almost white color from under the eaves of his house where it had been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in Cataract Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men. [323] [317]

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men. [285]

The Havasupai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or 30 years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years. [306] [871]

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house [342] [476]

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These Indians apparently had no knowledge of 273
peyote. There was no intoxicating liquor of any kind on the
reservation. I was beginning to realize that, on the surface, life in 000
this canyon might be like living among children, except when
savage tempers were aroused—and then? Well, I had asked for
adventure.

I still did not know what to write in that annual report.

The school session had been interrupted by the departure of 224
the former superintendent. Vacation, at this school, came in the 222
fall, when the entire tribe made an exodus to the mesa to hunt
game and to gather wild seeds and plants, so I planned to open
school on Monday morning, asking Vesnor to notify the people
in the village. The following Saturday I would be free to take a 161
census of the tribe and determine the acreage under cultivation. So 311
far, I had no basis whatever from which to work out the report
Mr. Ewing wanted. But by verifying the statement of a former
teacher that there were two hundred fifty Indians in the tribe and
three hundred fifty acres in gardens and orchards, I could incor-
porate his figures in my report to Washington.

Even in summer, the sun did not rise in our part of the canyon 132
until after nine o'clock, so it was still gloomy and damp when I
crossed the grounds to the school building Monday morning. The 133
school plant stood at the head of the stream, the dividing line
between the upper, desert end of the canyon and the lower sec-
tion, a jungle of greenness. Immediately behind our schoolhouse
stood a column of stone about three hundred feet high, partly
detached from the wall by rain and frost. If it fell, it would bury
the schoolhouse beneath tons of rock. The danger seemed immi-
nent as I gazed at the upper end of the column, standing straight
and free. Later, I learned that such columns topple over only
after a flood.

I had rung the warning bell, and it was time for school, but no 812
children had appeared. Then the bushes parted violently and 177
dozens of little Indians burst through on the run. Behind them,
maneuvering his well-trained pony with all the skill of a cattleman
rounding up strays, rode Vesnor. The older pupils followed more

812 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [56] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [347] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

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how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

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872 177 stood, had been too meager a protection; the rain had put out the fire, leaving the biscuits half baked.

In the warehouse, we had stacks of wooden boxes filled with 872 177 hardtack—hard, saltless crackers. We opened one of these boxes and served the hardtack, but not one was touched by the children. 262 Frances, who understood the situation, called me aside and laughing, explained.

"It happened a few weeks before you came and we've joked about it ever since," she said. "The Indian women were hired to pack the hardtack down the trail on their burros. One of the burros bumped a case against an outjutting ledge, breaking it open. We suspected that the women had a hand in the accident—gave the burro a shove, maybe—for they are always ready to eat. They gorged themselves, then climbed down to a spring and drank all the water they wanted. Believe me, they were sick! When they finally staggered down to the village, they branded the hardtack 'bad medicine,' saying over and over, '*Hanatoopegal* (No good).' Since then the children will not touch hardtack."

Unless the children could be persuaded to eat the crackers, they would leave the table hungry; also our entire supply would be wasted. I had used experiments many times to intrigue the interest of my public school pupils; a very simple one might do the trick now. I held up one of the hardtack for them to see, calling attention to its size. I laid it in a dish of water and in almost breathless silence they watched it swell and swell. I explained that their mothers had eaten too many crackers and drunk too much water, making their stomachs too full. That was why they suffered.

[520] The children caught the picture of the women's greed causing their pain, and laughed. Like all people who live precariously, the Havasupai found relief from hardship and danger in a ready sense of humor. The discomfiture of even one's own mother was funny, except in cases of illness or severe suffering. But the experiment had restored hardtack to its rightful place as a food. They ate it with their former relish.

262 When I dismissed school that evening, we had no need of

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rigating purposes and an abundant crop is assured him. The almost perpendicular walls of the canyon, which he has made his home, are lined with storehouses which in the autumn he fills with corn, beans, and other products of his labor.

The most discouraging feature at present to the Havasupai is the fact that many of them have no farming implements. The farmer often loans them plows and hoes, which are always promptly returned. When unable to borrow implements, they laboriously loosen the soil with sticks. If farming implements were furnished them, they could easily cultivate all the land to which they have access. Much labor and time would thus be saved, and what is still more important, their surplus products thus gained could be marketed, which would enable them to provide themselves with warm clothing for the winter months.

All of the Indians of this tribe dress in part in citizens' clothes, and most of them are quite willing to adopt the ways of the white man. They depend very little on the professed abilities of the medicine man. . . . As they come in contact with very few white people, except those employed at the school, very few of them speak enough English to make themselves understood.

Havasupai Day School—This school has a capacity of 46, but has been crowded beyond its proper limit, having an average attendance of 71.

We have a good stone school building, but it is not large enough to accommodate the school. The pupils' lunch is served under a cottonwood tree, which fails to protect them from the heavy summer rains we are now having. . . . As there is an abundance of stone in the canyon it would cost but little to build a dining room with a wareroom attached, where the supplies could be safely stored.

Work in the laundry and sewing room is ably conducted. Both boys and girls are detailed to assist in cooking the noonday lunch, and, under the supervision of the cook, do excellent work.

I trust that either 20 of the largest boys and girls will be transferred to the Truxton Canyon Training School when it opens September 1, or a kindergarten department will be added to this school, as it is impossible for one teacher to instruct 71 pupils in a creditable manner.

Permit me to express my appreciation of your support and encouragement.

Very respectfully,

FLORA J. GREGG, *Superintendent*

resources formerly available to them. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave baskets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand for basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the Havasupai had traded. In recent years, basket weaving has decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedious work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort expended. 464 177 562

A younger generation of women has discovered a source of income, larger and more easily acquired than that from basket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. Nearly all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage working at Grand Canyon or elsewhere. Usually, they do maid service or kitchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident white families in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, and the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued in 1955, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, rotating this job among applicants from year to year to distribute the income among families. A number of other women are permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for admission to nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, was a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and presently is employed in an Oakland hospital as a nurse's aid. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is perhaps the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation, a woman unafraid to instigate action in matters that concern the tribe and courageous in speaking her opinions in public meetings of the tribal council.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained white youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys. [872]

Ownership and Inheritance of Property

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and other articles used 422 562

854
291

Infants spend much of their time in cradle boards which their maternal grandmothers make of cottonwood and willow.

177 658 872 361 The Indian Service maintains a day school in the canyon for the young children in which classes are held during the winter months. This, of course, also operates to keep many families in the village all year round. Although some entire family groups live out of the canyon in Indian camps at Grand Canyon, Williams, and a few other small towns, it is more common for the family home to be maintained in Supai while one or two members of the group work outside temporarily. In the spring and fall when planting and harvest are carried out, it is essential for the whole family to be on hand and most of them are.

177 443 655 The store in the village provides at least as much food as the fields do. It is open every day from ten o'clock to noon and stocks an amazing variety of canned foods, and staple goods. It is owned and operated by the Tribal Council for the benefit of the tribe and the prices are far more reasonable than one would think, since every item in the store must be packed into the canyon on horseback. The shelves are stocked with canned meats, spaghetti, chili, soups, and many kinds of sweets. Fresh lemons, canned orange juice, cigarettes, canned milk, Kleenex, and even eggs may be purchased there. Favorite brands have become firmly established and

[P. 41 A]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [738]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatl'ol*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881 ●

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

881 covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

[173] Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'flgd*, lit., red) end.

841 A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire 585 body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. 841 The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

825 Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

758 Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

[171]

[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (i), 143–147, (j), 283, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 278].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

Training at Puberty

A girl usually is prepared in advance by her mother for the physiological phenomenon of menstration. Apparently the experience is seldom traumatic if it occurs while a girl is living with her parents or relatives. However, among women interviewed on this subject, those who were in boarding school when the first menses occurred, almost without exception reported that they were frightened and did not know what to do, although most of them were not taken by surprise either in the occurrence of menstruation or its characteristics. On the other hand, women who observed puberty at home seemed unable to recall an initial reaction of fright or emotional distress. If they remembered their first reaction, it was described as excitement or nervousness. 881

While hysteria or extreme trauma was not reported for girls away from home, a few women reported that they were so frightened that they "cried at first," "cried all night," "went off alone and cried," or something similar. Usually, a girl confided in or sought assistance from a friend or matron.

It may be that the nature of the social environment, rather than the physiological phenomenon itself, is the primary cause of the different responses. Whether or not a pubescent girl has prior knowledge of menstruation and its traditional accompanying ritual appears to be a factor of somewhat less importance.

Although a consistent check was not made to determine how much advance knowledge a girl has of the puberty ceremony, and what her attitude toward its observance may be, most pubescent girls probably are aware that certain customs are followed such as a yucca suds bath and shampoo, body and face painting, and lying for a period of some days on a bed placed over heated rocks.

Upon appearance of a girl's first menses, her immediate awareness that the traditional ceremony cannot be performed for her because of her presence at boarding school may contribute to her emotional distress. Another disturbing factor may be the absence of her mother and other close relatives, and her own absence from the environment where she gained her earliest feelings of security. She may be further disquieted if she happens to be poorly adjusted or unreconciled to life away from home.

If a girl's knowledge of the traditional puberty ceremony is meager, older Havasupai girls in the school may instruct her in proper observance of taboos. If they give her a full description of the customary ceremony, with reasons for observance of its various features, this information probably adds to the pubescent girl's apprehension concerning neglect of the proper ritual.

881. 841 [177] A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 [114] In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butcher-
773 ing, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Pres-
539 ently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although
881 it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from con-
864 tacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak
841 frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were
[192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ʔhu ʔ tʃga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ʔhuʔt' and red as ʔhuʔ'ta by this investigator.

Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other
841 house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two
864 rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for
862 herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1953, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn
292 for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the
[622] men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. [301] Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. [783] Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it,
[841] because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[177] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
415 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 843

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [518] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [882] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [177] [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, 538 Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention [868] until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

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[171] [1] The Pima have the same caution (Russell, (d), 119). Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run (Dumarest, 148; Parsons, (f), 9). Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2] Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a thong loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh (Hopkins, 50). A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck (Dixon, (b), 432).

[3] Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

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867 Moreover, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the
562 teaching of boys.

Fighting and Quarreling

578 In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

883 Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, aged about 16 to 25, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or [573] groups of three or four as close friends, but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pincurl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B.A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby, to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as [548] considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence [8%] alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village, where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she was said to be a prostitute.

883 This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although
578 several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis.
156 It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company with their boy friends, or otherwise found themselves in her presence, men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her alleged prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her. 883 578 156 208

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a troublemaker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as having been antisocial from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive and abusive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be tolerated. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, [831] obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "-----writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." The informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did. 157 158 589

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat her kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends, sometimes outside the Havasupai tribe, with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations. 156 157 579 572

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes, or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven. 578

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

Recognition of Puberty

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood to near adult status. 881

It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development and the latter as a mental and emotional condition. Maturity is characterized by them as the attainment of experience and wisdom which can only be achieved with the passing of time and therefore cannot be expected of young adults. Thus, while a youth may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things, such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways. Emotional stability or an even temperament is much admired, but those who are said to possess this quality are not among the tribal leaders. They may be consulted for advice, especially among their own kinship group, but this is a normal function for senior family members, even tempered or otherwise. 885 881

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage. 881 582

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do. 881

Gilliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place.

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste.

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do.

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *satams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
887 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a
469 good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silé (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 8 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[839] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[942] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[941] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[852] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[826] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1964 NEUA: Flagstaff: Tumacacori NEUA: Havasupai

shrines—appropriate pictographs on walls or stone. The ashes of deer droppings, sprinkled at specified times and places, made success more certain.

Physical punishment was seldom inflicted on a child. In all my experience I never saw an Indian parent strike a child. A whipped child loses courage, they said, and his soul withers and dwindles away until he dies, for the soul of a child is a tender thing and easily hurt.

However, the case of old Captain Burro was utterly at variance with this gentle philosophy. He seldom appeared at the school, spending his time among the villagers, where, as a rule, he was ignored or subjected to rude jesting. When a small boy he may have been an incorrigible thief or liar or he may have defied tribal superstitions or taboos for he had been subjected to the *jolkie* punishment, and the ignominy of it went with him through life. One can well believe that this savage punishment would shrivel a child's soul, for the excrement of animals was used to make a smudge, over which the boy's head was held until he was limp from suffocation. It was not the physical torture that marked his soul, but the revolting form in which it was administered, accompanied by taunts and jeers. This he could not live down, nor could he escape the brand of liar and thief it put upon him. The bitter ridicule of men who loved nothing so well as a jest at another's expense would follow him until death.

His "withered soul" reminded me of Lily's crippled hand, and the Walapai's ridicule. The Indians had not learned to tolerate with sympathy those who did not conform to the established pattern, socially or physically.

Most beautiful of all, to me, was the instruction to children regarding the care of the aged. "When your grandparents are old and blind, lead them gently where they want to go. Break off chunks of the good corn bread baked in the ashes, and put them into their mouths. If they have no teeth, feed them the warm corn mush." I never saw any evidence that the old and helpless were neglected or turned out to die, as was so often

2:Illff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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the custom among the Walapai. One day, in fact, I came upon a wickiup housing four generations. They were all assembled in the yard that afternoon: blind great-grandfather, sprightly grandfather, father and son—talking and laughing, the older men smoking their pipes. Near by, a partially blind elderly woman, who had lost her husband, kept house for her grandchildren. Others, childless and too old to work, were living out their lives comfortably in the homes of relatives.

This village with its abundance of food and carefree atmosphere formed a strange contrast to the Walapai community, where hunger nibbled at the edges, and poverty and sickness stalked within. Contentment, even happiness permeated the village. Secure in their homes, crop failures unknown, storehouses filled, the People of the Blue Water very naturally remained loyal to their gods, who, from the Days of Old, had watched over the Havasupai families and provided for their welfare.

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew
854 during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
736 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
59 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[718] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

889 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she 736 occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing [145] seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean [481]. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear [153]. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets [562]. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they closed in on both sides of the Apache's horse, a Havasupai took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he stood awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swung his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which followed the avenging party home. 721 562

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to, or did, strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or Advice.

In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the law firm engaged by the tribe. 695

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families, and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted. 695 578 562

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage. 888 602 582 562

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. 867 562